SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA

XCII, 1

LE PAROLE E I MARMI

STUDI IN ONORE DI RANIERO GNOLI NEL SUO 70° COMPLEANNO

A cura di RAFFAELE TORELLA

con la collaborazione di CLAUDIO CICUZZA, MARINO FALIERO, BRUNO LO TURCO, FRANCESCO SFERRA, VINCENZO VERGIANI

e la partecipazione di ALVAR GONZÁLEZ-PALACIOS



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ISTITUTO ITALIANO
PER L'AFRICA E L'ORIENTE

SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA

FONDATA DA GIUSEPPE TUCCI

DIRETTA DA

GHERARDO GNOLI

Vol. XCII, 1

ROMA
Is. I. A. O.
2001

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ROMA
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Distributed by Herder, International Book Centre,
120, Piazza Montecitorio, 00186 Rome, Italy.

In Italy by Libreria Distributrice Degrassi,
61/a, Via Fonteiana, 00152 Roma.

In India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka by Munshiram Manoharlal,
Publishers (P) Ltd., Post Box 5715 54, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 110055.

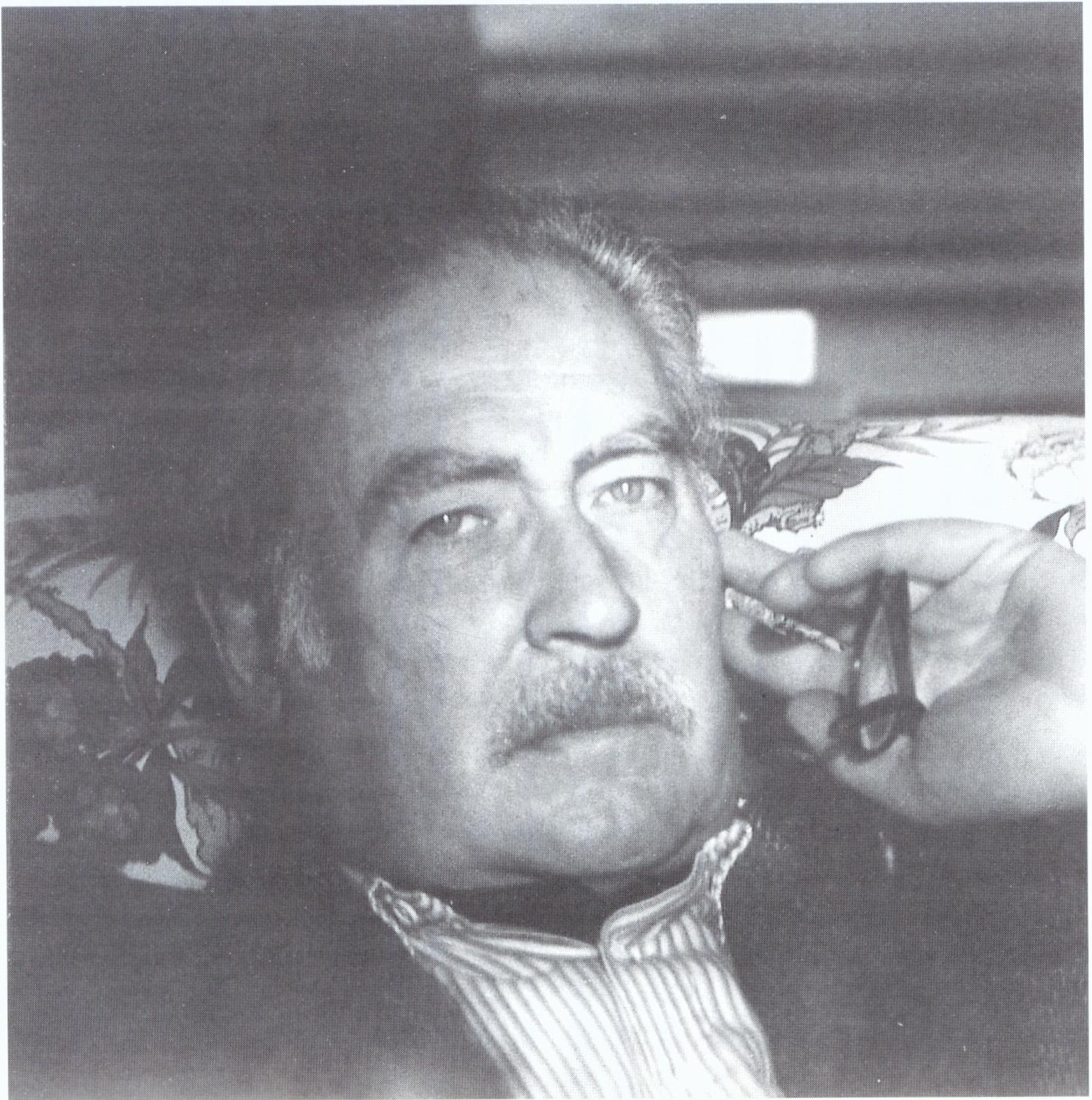
Printed in Italy - Stampato in Italia

Finito di stampare nel mese di dicembre 2001
Grafica Cristal S.r.l., via Raffaele Paolucci, 12/14 - 00152 Roma

INDICE GENERALE

LE PAROLE

I MARMI



MAGISTRO EIDEMQUE FRATRI
D.

Over the past forty years or so, Raniero Gnoli's contribution to Indological studies in Italy has been an extraordinarily valuable one, with his teaching at the University of Rome "La Sapienza" and his prolific scholarly production, from which first the IsMEO and then the IsIAO have benefited enormously. From 1956 onwards eight of his works have appeared in the Serie Orientale Roma: *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, Part I (SOR X 2, 1956); *The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta* (SOR XI, 1956); *The Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti. The First Chapter with Autocommentary* (SOR XXIII, 1960); *Udbhaṭa's Commentary on the Kāvyālaṃkāra of Bhāmaha* (SOR XXVII, 1962); *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu* (SOR XLIX 1-2, 1977/1978); *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu* (SOR L, 1978); *Ricordo di Giuseppe Tucci* (SOR LV, 1985); *Il Commento di Abhinavagupta alla Parātriṃśikā* (SOR LVIII, 1985). As we can see, these include his tribute to Giuseppe Tucci that was published a year after the latter's death. It is the finest and most vivid memorial that has been written about his, and our, Master, who, in the early fifties, had initiated him in the study of Sanskrit and of Indian philosophical and religious thought.

It is mainly due to Raniero Gnoli that Giuseppe Tucci's heritage has not been lost. As a matter of fact, Indological studies in Italy today can boast of a group of capable young scholars who are carrying on the Master's work in some of the fields that were most congenial to him, with the very same spirit and the same method that were typical of Tucci, that is to say, the capacity of immersing oneself in the depths of Indian philosophical thought and conducting original research on unpublished or little-known texts. In this way the Serie Orientale Roma has been enriched by the addition of some important works, such as Raffaele Torella's *The Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā of Utpaladeva with the Author's Vṛtti* (SOR LXXI, 1994); Giacomella Orofino's *Sekoddeśa. A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation*, with an Appendix by R. Gnoli on the Sanskrit Text (SOR LXXII, 1994), and Francesco Sferra's *The* Ṣaḍaṅgayoga *by Anupamarakṣita. With Raviśrījñāna's* Guṇabharaṇīnāmaṣaḍaṅgayogaṭippaṇī (SOR LXXXV, 2000). And these works are by no means the only ones, as other

publications are forthcoming: Claudio Cicuzza, *The Laghutantraṭīkā by Vajrapāṇi* (SOR LXXXVI, in the press) and *The Sekoddeśaṭīkā by Nāropā*, with the critical edition of the Sanskrit text by Francesco Sferra and the Tibetan text by Stefania Merzagora.

If we also consider all his work that has appeared in a number of other studies, published in various scientific journals such as *East and West* and the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, as well as momentous works of translations that have appeared in several publisher's series (especially the translations of Abhinavagupta's works, as the *Tantrasāra*, the *Parātriṃśikā-laghuvṛtti*, the *Bhagavadgītā* with Abhinavagupta's commentary, the monumental *Tantrāloka* and, in the field of Buddhism, the translations of the *Madhyamakārikā* of Nāgārjuna, of the *Sekoddeśa*'s commentary by Nāropā – with Giacomella Orofino – and of many others too), we can get a better idea of the importance of his original contribution to the knowledge of the philosophical and religious culture of India. But his work is not confined to this alone and goes far beyond Indology: the wide range of subjects covered in this collection of studies in his honour tells of the vastness of his learning and the variety of his artistic and antiquarian interests.

To this disciple of Giuseppe Tucci who was always dear to his Master and who as a scholar has carried on his work with a fertile and lively mind, the Board of Directors and the Research Council of the IsIAO wish to pay due tribute with this collection of studies. Professor Luciano Petech, Professor Raffaele Torella and myself were asked to draw up the general layout of the work, and Professor Torella in addition was charged with the job of editing the volume for the Serie Orientale Roma.

I hope I may be allowed to say how glad I am that the office I hold gives me the opportunity of expressing my personal gratitude to Raniero, not so much for the great value of his teaching (owing to my generally known incompetence in his field of studies), nor for his contribution during our longstanding, discreet cooperation in the same Institute, and not even for the role he has played as a brother, but for something which counts more than anything else in human relationships and which forms an everlasting bond between a disciple and his master: the noble example that I have had the good fortune to try to follow, to the best of my ability. For this I should like to express my gratitude to him once again, and I join with his disciples and colleagues and with all who hold him in high esteem in wishing him, on behalf of the whole Institute, all happiness and success for the future.

G. G.

PROLOGO

Quando alla fine degli anni '60, studente di sanscrito alle prime armi, cominciai a frequentare le aule spoglie e vagamente inospitali della "Sapienza" (negli anni le cose non sarebbero poi cambiate granché), la Scuola Orientale presentava una concentrazione forse irripetibile di grandi studiosi, veri e propri mostri sacri dell'Orientalismo internazionale, fra i quali spiccavano i nomi di Alessandro Bausani, Mario Bussagli, Luciano Petech. Su tutti, poi, ancora aleggiava la presenza di Giuseppe Tucci, il quale, maestro dei maestri, sebbene avesse lasciato nel 1964 l'insegnamento per raggiunti limiti d'età, continuava la sua indefessa e geniale attività quale Presidente dell'IsMEO, nella sede anche fisicamente non lontana di Palazzo Brancaccio. Sebbene a quel tempo non ancora quarantenne, già faceva parte a pieno titolo di questa Pleiade Raniero Gnoli, in più circonfuso di una certa qual aria di inafferrabilità se non di mistero.

Ai pochissimi allievi che seguivano le sue lezioni, dopo aver studiato per un anno la grammatica sanscrita con un'assistente, il Professor Gnoli leggeva e traduceva all'impronta, tra il generale sconcerto, alcuni dei testi più ardui della letteratura filosofico-religiosa ed estetica dell'India. Avarissimo di spiegazioni, si alzava e letteralmente scattava verso l'uscita allo scoccare dell'ora, mentre la maggior parte degli studenti era ancora intenta a rintracciare nel testo sanscrito che avevano davanti il brano che era stato oggetto della lezione. Ai rari ardimentosi che talvolta cercavano di fermarlo nella sua fuga, con richieste di spiegazioni o altro, il Professor Gnoli, rallentando solo per un attimo la sua corsa, immancabilmente diceva di "venire a trovarlo a Castello". Lo si sarebbe detto un puro *escamotage* per liberarsi dell'importuno; così invece non era. Se ne accorgevano subito indistintamente tutti, dalla matricola al laureando allo studioso già avanzato, allorché, superate le ultime esitazioni, varcavano la soglia del seicentesco palazzo Patrizi-Montoro, a Castel Giuliano, dove Raniero Gnoli viveva, e vive tuttora, occupandone un intero piano. Quando il giovane visitatore – a seconda dei casi un po' intimidito o rassicurato dall'avvolgente perfetta bellezza degli ambienti – veniva introdotto alla presenza del "signor Conte", quegli si trovava davanti, inopinatamente, ad

un'altra persona. L'eterno fuggitivo della Sapienza aveva lasciato il posto a un signore disteso e sorridente, dall'amabile e variegata conversazione ma anche felice di ascoltare quel poco o molto che l'altro aveva da dirgli. L'insegnamento cominciato e bruscamente interrotto alla Sapienza riprendeva qui.

Raniero Gnoli è nato a Roma il 20 gennaio 1930, nel seno di una famiglia di antica aristocrazia (le prime notizie risalgono al XIII secolo) originaria dell'Emilia-Romagna, dalla quale sono usciti letterati, studiosi ed artisti. All'età di 13 anni cominciò ad interessarsi di letteratura greca, soprattutto di poesia. Percorse tutta la poesia greca (marinava la scuola per leggere alla Biblioteca Casanatense le Dionisiache di Nonno). Alla maturità classica, dove si presentò come privatista al Liceo Visconti, ebbe 10 in greco e 9 in latino. Si fermò nelle sue letture a Giorgio di Pisidia, perché troppo noioso. Il suo primo esame all'Università fu quello di Letteratura Greca con il grande Gennaro Perrotta, che, meravigliato, insistette perché continuasse a studiare con lui. Ma Raniero Gnoli stava già maturando altri interessi. A 17 anni aveva cominciato a studiare copto e sanscrito alla Gregoriana (il sanscrito con padre Patti). Un anno dopo, a 18 anni, sarebbe avvenuto l'episodio decisivo della sua vita di studioso, o forse in gran parte anche della sua vita *tout-court*: l'incontro con Giuseppe Tucci, di cui divenne ben presto, e rimase per sempre, il discepolo prediletto.

Primo in occidente a percepire lo straordinario rilievo speculativo e religioso del cosiddetto Śivaismo Kashmiro, Tucci instradò Raniero Gnoli allo studio dei testi di quella scuola, in gran parte ancora manoscritti. Cominciarono allora per Gnoli una lunga serie di viaggi nel Kashmir, che doveva interrompersi solo all'inizio degli anni '80, quando quel magnifico e sfortunato paese entrò in un tunnel di agitazioni politiche e militari, dal quale a tutt'oggi non è ancora uscito. Argomento della tesi di laurea fu la traduzione del *Tantrasāra* di Abhinavagupta, alla quale avrebbe fatto seguito una lunga serie di edizioni e traduzioni di testi kashmiri, culminata con la traduzione italiana del *Tantrāloka* dello stesso Abhinavagupta, che lo imposero come lo studioso principale in questo settore. Dalla speculazione filosofico-religiosa del Kashmir medioevale a quella estetica il passo era breve; anche in questo campo Gnoli, appena ventiseienne, aprì nuovi orizzonti di ricerca con un volume, *The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta*, che diventò giustamente celebre, stampato prima in Italia (nella Serie Orientale Roma dell'IsMEO) e poi, rivisto ed ampliato, in India nella Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. È di quegli anni una rapida incursione negli studi epigrafici, con i due esemplari volumi di *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*. Nel frattempo gli interessi di Raniero Gnoli si volgevano, sulla spinta del suo Maestro, anche verso un'altra

grande tradizione culturale e religiosa dell'India, il Buddhismo, e nel 1960 vedeva la luce (sempre nella Serie Orientale Roma) l'edizione critica, rimasta tuttora quella di riferimento, della prima sezione (Svārthanumāna) del *Pramāṇavārttika* di Dharmakīrti accompagnata dal commento dell'autore, opera di capitale importanza per il pensiero logico-epistemologico del Buddhismo e dell'India in generale, nonché di proverbiale difficoltà. Sempre nel campo del Buddhismo, rispondendo a un antico desiderio di Giuseppe Tucci, alla fine degli anni '70 Gnoli pubblicò in tre volumi una parte del Vinaya dei Mūlasarvāstivādin, tramandata nei manoscritti di Gilgit. Nel 1985, dopo una lunghissima gestazione, esce finalmente la traduzione, accompagnata da una revisione del testo edito, del *Parātriṃśikāvivaraṇa* di Abhinavagupta. Sentendo forse con questo volume di aver raggiunto, per così dire, "l'altra sponda" dello Śivaismo non-duale del Kashmir, Gnoli non esita a cambiare ancora una volta, in maniera totale, la direzione delle sue ricerche, volgendosi, con la collaborazione di giovani colleghi e allievi, alla tradizione sanscrita e tibetana del ciclo tantrico buddhista del Kālacakra. Ne risultano lavori di edizione e traduzione di grande rilievo, culminanti nella traduzione della *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* di Nāropā, condotta con Giacomella Orofino, e della *Paramākṣarajñānasiddhi*. Il resto appartiene al presente.

Il ritratto di Raniero Gnoli studioso (quello, altrettanto avvincente, della persona sarebbe fuori luogo in questa sede) in realtà non finisce qui. Come diceva per l'appunto il grande Dharmakīrti, alla cui conoscenza Gnoli ha dato un contributo fondamentale, una stessa cosa può essere percepita in più modi, e in fondo dunque avere identità diverse: un corpo di donna sarà visto come un pasto sostanzioso dal cane, come l'oggetto del desiderio dall'amante, come un futuro cadavere dal monaco meditante[1]. A Raniero Gnoli non di rado succede di sentirsi chiedere se non sia per caso parente del famoso esperto di marmi romani, suo omonimo; e viceversa, trovandosi fra storici dell'arte classica, se per caso conosca un certo Raniero Gnoli studioso di cose indiane (a queste domande la sua risposta è generalmente evasiva)[2].

[1] Il riferimento è a un famoso passo del *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* (v. 20), attribuito a Nāgārjuna.

[2] Potrei aggiungere a queste due facce principali, quella di pittore di miniature e chinoiseries, di connoisseur di stoffe e passamanerie antiche, o di ebanista e restauratore (di recente, costruttore di lampadari in cristallo di rocca e di sfere armillari). Ricordo ancora un artigiano di pipe che avevamo conosciuto nelle campagne di Civitavecchia, il quale, venuto poi a Castel Giuliano per consegnare della radica di bosso, chiedeva agli abitanti del piccolo borgo che gli indicassero dove abitava un 'falegname' di nome Raniero Gnoli.

L'interesse di Raniero Gnoli per questo ambito dell'arte e dell'archeologia classiche risale a ben lontano, visto che a 5 anni già andava in cerca di frammenti di marmi antichi. Frutto di decenni di ricerche, coltivate in privato e prima di tutto per diletto, è il volume *Marmora Romana* (1971), l'opera fondamentale sui marmi colorati della Roma imperiale, che Alvar González-Palacios ebbe a definire "uno dei più bei libri di storia dell'arte pubblicati in questo secolo". Allo stesso Prof. González-Palacios spetterà più avanti il compito di delineare il contributo dato da Gnoli a questi studi.

A questo punto sarà diventato chiaro il significato del titolo che ho proposto per questa silloge di studi, ispirandomi a mia volta al titolo italiano di una raccolta di saggi di Giorgos Sepheres[3]. Oltre che a significare la gratitudine e l'affetto dell'allievo che l'ha curata – nonché la stima e l'omaggio dei colleghi e allievi che vi hanno contribuito – essa servirà anche a ricomporre finalmente in unità la poliedrica figura del Maestro festeggiato (ammesso che egli ci tenga)[4].

Rocca Priora, ottobre 2001 — Raffaele Torella

[3] *Le parole e i marmi*, a cura di F.M. Pontani, Milano 1965, dove però significato e motivazioni di tale titolo sono completamente diverse.

[4] Il lettore che invano cercherà in questo volume il rituale elenco delle onorificenze e dei premi conferiti a Raniero Gnoli non pensi a una deplorevole omissione del curatore: semplicemente, uno dei più illustri indologi del secolo che si è appena concluso non ne ha mai avuti.

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LE PAROLE

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THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE OF MANSAR[1]

An Iconological Approach to Indian History: an Example

The fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era are often seen as the classical period of the cultural history of India. During this period India between the Himālaya and Vindhya mountains was united in the kingdom of the Guptas, whereas the northern part of the Deccan, south of the Vindhyas, which today forms the state of Maharashtra, was ruled by the Vākāṭaka kings. These two kingdoms, the northern and the southern ones, Gupta and Vākāṭaka, though formally independent, were threaded together by a continuous exchange, ranging from military to matrimony, from political ideology to culture, from religion to merchandise. During the first quarter of the fifth century Gupta influence, channelled through the Gupta princess Prabhāvatī, who became the virtual occupant of the Vākāṭaka throne in Nandivardhana, seems to have been at its peak, but this did not lead to cultural subordination of the Vākāṭakas. On the contrary, it fertilized the germs already there and generated a valuable culture in its own right.

Whereas the Gupta kings were Bhāgavatas or worshippers of Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva, the majority of the Vākāṭaka kings were Māheśvaras or devotees of Śiva-Rudra. As such they acted as patrons of the early Śaiva movement, usually designated by the generic term Pāśupata. They built temples and feeding-houses, none of which has survived; however, excavations in Mandhal have disclosed the foundations of some Śaiva temples and have brought to light images installed in them. These appear to be iconic idols of Śiva, or of his many forms, or of members of his entourage, the Māheśvara pantheon[2]. Aniconic *liṅga* or phallus worship is not attested in

[1] Fieldwork for this article has been made possible by a grant of the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO).

[2] Bakker 1997: 80 ff., 95 ff.

the later Vākāṭaka layers and this conforms to the impression we get from the literature of the elite of this period, the Sanskrit texts, in which *liṅga* worship is only reluctantly acknowledged[3].

The iconography of the images reflects the Māheśvara conception of God as known from the *Mahābhārata*: a god of yogins and ascetics in whom awesome features predominate. As such can be mentioned the exposed phallus, indicating complete control over the sexual drive, the attributes of rosary and skull, whereas the crescent often adorns the ascetic coiffure of matted hair worn by way of a crown.

The spirit of the Bhāgavata religion seemed to have been altogether different. In it God, Bhagavat, was worshipped either in one of his *avatāra* manifestations or in the form of a set of deities that may have its origin in a group of deified human heroes, of which Vāsudeva is the foremost. This devotional movement distanced itself from traditional Brahmanism in that it took issue with the animal slaughter involved in Vedic sacrifices[4]. And although Viṣṇu, like Śiva, is a great lord of yoga, the Bhāgavatas appear to have set greater store by devotional and ritualistic worship than their Māheśvara counterparts. Their images are on the whole iconic, anthropomorphic or theriomorphic, dependent on which form of God is object of veneration, but they are usually adorned with regalia and without the signs and paraphernalia of the ascetic. Among the iconographic features most characteristic of the Viṣṇu images of the Gupta realm, found in the texts and in the sculptures, are his crown adorned with flower and jewel wreaths, his garland and his four arms, holding various attributes such as the mace or *gadā*, the conch or *śaṅkha*, and the discus or *cakra*, the insignia of royalty, i.e. (mundane) power par excellence.

As noted above, there has been a continuous interaction between the northern and southern kingdoms, an exchange also affecting the sphere of religion. Not all Vākāṭaka kings were devotees of Śiva; a significant change of religious affiliation occurred at the end of the fourth century, when the Gupta emperor Candragupta gave his daughter Prabhāvatī in marriage to the Vākāṭaka prince Rudrasena. From an inscription of the latter we know that he conceived of his rule as being established by the Lord, Bhagavat, whose emblem is the *cakra*, i.e. by Viṣṇu[5]. Inscriptions of

[3] Bakker forthcoming.
[4] MBh 12.323.10-11, 12.327.78.
[5] Shastri-Gupta 1985: 227 l. 11.

his son Pravarasena II, who himself was again a Māheśvara, confirm this remarkable interim conversion of the dynasty[6].

In all probability Rudrasena did not reign for long. After his death his Gupta wife Prabhāvatī acted as a regent for their three minor sons, and she did so for much longer than one would normally expect, at least for fourteen years. This we know from two inscriptions of hers in which she styles herself as monarch to all intents and purposes. And also after she finally let her youngest son, Pravarasena, ascend the throne, she remained politically active, making land donations etc., documented again in inscriptions of her own[7]. During her long life a religious centre arose dedicated to the Bhagavat on a prominent hilltop, Rāmagiri, 6 km north of the royal residence Nandivardhana; five temples survive to this day, but the main one, on the spur of the hill, was replaced by a Yādava temple in the thirteenth century. The last inscription of Prabhāvatī dates from the twentieth regnal year of her son Pravarasena, c. AD 442, issued from 'the footprints of the Bhagavat of Rāmagiri'[8].

It is all the more noticeable that Pravarasena, who ruled half his life with this extraordinary mother at his side, had returned to the faith of his ancestors. In the six inscriptions that we have of him pertaining to the period that his mother was still alive he styles himself as a *paramamāheśvara*, who by Śiva's grace carried the lance (*śūla*) instead of the discus (*cakra*)[9]. And perhaps even more conspicuous, at one stage of his rule he had begun to issue his charters no longer from Nandivardhana, but from a residence called Pravarapura, evidently named after himself. Whereas the location of Nandivardhana is uncontested, at the foot of the Rāmagiri, the site of Pravarapura is controversial.

In order to solve the controversy and to gain a deeper insight in the political, cultural and religious history of this period we have no other choice than to exploit all the sources available. The inscriptions provide us with an outline of the political history of the Vākāṭakas, the Sanskrit texts of this period inform us about the cultural and religious life, and the archaeological remains testify to how this culture actually materialized. When this synthetic approach takes its start from the visual material, that is from images and works of art including architecture, it is known under the

[6] CII V, 12 ll. 13-14.
[7] CII V, 36 l. 10; Shastri 1992: 233.
[8] Shastri 1992: 233; cf. CII V, 35 l. 1.
[9] CII V, 12 l. 16, 71 ll. 1-2.

name of 'iconology.' The aim of the present article is to demonstrate the usefulness of this method in the field of the study of Hinduism.

In 1972 a splendid sculpture was found on the so-called Hiḍimbā Tekḍī, a natural hill to the east of the village of Mansar[10], situated less than 5 km due west of the Rāmagiri. Earlier Mansar had yielded some stone sculptures that have since disappeared and a set of five Vākāṭaka copper plates, the whereabouts of four of which are unknown, but one plate of which was saved and published by Mirashi under the name of Rāmṭek Plate of Pravarasena II[11]. The face of the rock of the western slope of the Hiḍimbā Tekḍī contains an inscription in 'shell script' (*śaṅkhalipi*).

At present the sculpture found in 1972 adorns the entrance hall of the National Museum in Delhi (Plate I). This image defies identification as one specific form of Śiva or Maheśvara, though its identification as an idol of this god is safeguarded by his attributes, such as the rosary, the skull, the crescent, the matted hair etc. The site where the image was found – about 7 km north-west of the Vākāṭaka residence of Nandivardhana and 5 km west of the sacred centre of the Rāmagiri – and the sheer quality of the sculpture, both point to royal patronage. Considerations of style lead to a dating of the image in the second quarter of the fifth century and thus connect it with the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II.

Epigraphical evidence informs us that during the reign of Pravarasena, when his residence was still at Nandivardhana, a temple existed that was known as Pravareśvara and that was important enough to possess some land: in the eleventh regnal year of this king a resident of the 26th *vāṭaka* of Pravareśvara, Sūryasvāmin, was the recipient of two grants[12]. Inscriptions

[10] The village of Mansar (Manasara) is bordered at its eastern side by a lake or water-reservoir. On the further, eastern side of this lake is the Hiḍimbā Hill. An artificial dam along the southern side of the reservoir connects the village with the hill. The name of the village is thought to derive from the name of the lake. As such is mentioned 'Mānasarovar.' However, Mirashi (Mirashi 1959: 22) derives the name from 'Maṇikālasara,' which he thinks was the original name of the lake. The Ramtek Stone Inscription of the time of Ramachandra mentions a Maṇikālakuṇḍa (Bakker 1989: 484 vs. 75). The (late) *Sindūragirimāhātmya* 2.6 mentions a *tīrtha* Maṇikāla where a man, after a bath, should worship Hiḍimbā. In the *Sthāna Pothī* (p. 5) of the Mahānubhāva sect a seat of Cakradhara is mentioned, called Manasīḷa.

[11] CII V, 73-75.

[12] CII V, 19 ll. 13-14 & 14-15. It is generally assumed that both sets of Belora Plates (A & B), in which the grants to Sūryasvāmin are described, were issued from Nandivardhana in the 11th regnal year of Pravarasena, though set A, which contains the first plate and



Plate I – Mansar: Śiva (courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi).

of Pravarasena also tell us, as we have already noted, that he had decided to build a new residence, Pravarapura, to which his court must have moved before the sixteenth year of his reign[13]. Finally, a charter issued from the Pravareśvaradevakulasthāna in the king's twenty-nineth regnal year seems to imply that the Pravareśvara temple had been granted the status of state (*vaijayika*) sanctuary (*dharmasthāna*)[14]. The deity of this temple complex was evidently named after its founder 'the Lord of Pravara' (Pravareśvara), in accordance with common practice, and this most probably was Pravarasena II[15].

In my *The Vākāṭakas* I advanced the hypothesis that the Śiva image found in Mansar may have been the idol of the Pravareśvara temple and, consequently, that this temple was situated near Mansar, on the so-called Hiḍimbā Tekḍī, the findspot of the sculpture[16]. The evidence of the Mansar Śiva and its apparent connection with the political context of its time would, if this hypothesis is correct, make it plausible that Pravarasena built his new residence in the vicinity of the Pravareśvara temple, which then acquired the status and function of a state sanctuary in Pravarapura, like the Rāmagiristhāna was the state sanctuary of Nandivardhana. The move may have sealed the process in which the king broke away from his mother and her Bhāgavata milieu. The iconological analysis of the Mansar Śiva thus takes the image as an important piece of evidence in the reconstruction of the political and religious reality of the time. What, on the other hand, does this reality contribute to our understanding of the image? The answer is that it could possibly explain why this unique figure, in the words of Joanna Williams, has no 'exact parallel in iconography'[17].

The image combines in an asymmetric but harmonious way two principal, though opposing aspects of God, viz. life and death, world-affirming and world-renouncing. This appears, for instance, from the unusual combination of attributes in the four hands, whereas the four arms in themselves are also significant: though standard in Viṣṇu images of the

therefore the place of issue (Nandivardhana), lacks the last plate with the date, while set B, which is dated in the 11th regnal year, misses the first plate and hence the place of issue.

The plates have been re-examinated by A.M. Shastri (1997: 13-16) who came to the conclusion that we are actually concerned with one set only (plate II of set B being a forgery).

[13] Shastri 1992: 231.

[14] CII V, 65 l. 1, 67 l. 35.

[15] Bakker 1997: 1 ff. Cf. Mirashi 1963 in CII V, 18.

[16] Bakker 1997: 88.

[17] Williams 1983: 227 n. 3.

time, they are unusual in images of Śiva of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period[18]. The god sits in the pose of *mahārājalīlāsana* the relaxed, gentle but sovereign pose of a king that is known from the contemporaneous Narasiṃha images of Rāmagiri. In a way, the Śiva of this image has become fully domesticated; his wild traits, his weapon, third eye and his ithyphallic mark have purposely been omitted.

It is precisely this hybrid character that makes this image and its iconography so unique; it seems to testify to the influence which the Bhāgavata environment still held over the Māheśvara faith of king Pravarasena. We see, as it were, the complex political and religious reality of the Vākāṭaka kingdom in the second quarter of the fifth century reflected in the image of a god, who, on the one hand, is a god of devotion (*bhakti*), who creates and sustains the universe (symbolized by the lotus and ornaments), and who by his grace safeguards the one who worships him: a true Ruler of the World, who bestows blessing upon his subjects by his right hand that reaches out towards them; and, on the other hand, a god who destroys all that belongs to the realm of space and time (symbolized by the skull and the fist of the left hand), who points the way out of the circle of birth and death only to him who shakes off his ignorance and attachment by choosing the path of asceticism and mortification of the flesh (symbolized by the rosary and matted locks).

There is no denying that some circularity inheres in the applied methodology, but this does not, in my view, detract from its usefulness as a valuable heuristic device. The hermeneutic circle can only be broken, or rather widened, when new evidence becomes available. In this respect the latest developments are promising.

Excavations in Mansar by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the Nagpur University, by the Archaeological Survey of India under the direction of Dr Amarendra Nath, and the present excavations at the Hiḍimbā Tekḍī itself carried out by J.P Joshi and A.K. Sharma (ASI) have established that the site around this hill was a very important habitation area in the fifth century AD.

Dr Nath excavated the western side of a mound situated a few hundred metres east of the Hiḍimbā Tekḍī, exposing a large brick structure of unusual plan (Plate II). A report has not yet been published, but the excavator informed me that he thinks that the long brick walls he

[18] Kreisel 1986: 162.

uncovered are the walls of a terrace on which stood a temple. He also informed me that some images in stucco (reliefs?), among which a Rudra and a Umāmaheśvara, have been found, but no *mūrti* in the sense of a main temple idol. Hence the conclusion that we are here concerned with a temple complex seems to me premature. The complex, according to Nath, was destroyed by fire in the 6th or 7th century AD. The present excavators, Sharma and Joshi, intend to excavate this mound further from its eastern side; until this has been carried out we shall not know for certain whether we are here concerned with a temple or, perhaps, a residential building (a monastery or palace).

The excavation by the University of Nagpur in 1989 (under the direction of Dr Ismail Kellellu) at the foot of the Hiḍimbā Tekḍī and a surface survey by myself of the field between this hill and the mound of Amarendra Nath have yielded sufficient evidence for the thesis that this terrain was once built-up area. Discussions with several archaeologists acquainted with the site have confirmed this thesis.

The first phase of the excavations at the Hiḍimbā Tekḍī itself under the direction of J.P. Joshi and A.K. Sharma lasted from January to March 1998. The second phase started on December 26 of the same year and was still going on in March 1999, when I visited the site. The excavations, licensed by the ASI, take place under the auspices of and are partly financed by the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna Smāraka Saṃsthāna or Centre of Buddhist Archaeology (Nagpur); this Japanese sponsored organisation also built a museum at the site.

The excavation results are spectacular. A wealth of sculptures have been found which are presently kept in the museum. The stratigraphy of the site is a very complex one and for details and their interpretation we have to wait for the excavators' report that is forthcoming.

Roughly speaking the excavators seem to distinguish three periods. An early one which they date from the 2nd century BC to 1st century AD, a pre-Vākāṭaka one (1st to 4th century AD) and a Vākāṭaka one (4th to 6th century AD). According to the excavators they found the remains of a Buddhist *stūpa* in the earliest layer on the bedrock. No Buddhist images, however, have been found up to now. The second period is characterised by Red Polished Ware among which a sprinkler. The four *liṅga*s that are uncovered so far on the southern and western slopes of the hill are installed on square platforms made of brick and enshrined (encapsulated rather) in brick constructions of an intricate pattern featuring projecting and receding surfaces; they are said to belong to the Red Polished Ware layers, just as an extraordinary, more than life-sized image of a man (*puruṣa*) made in clay,

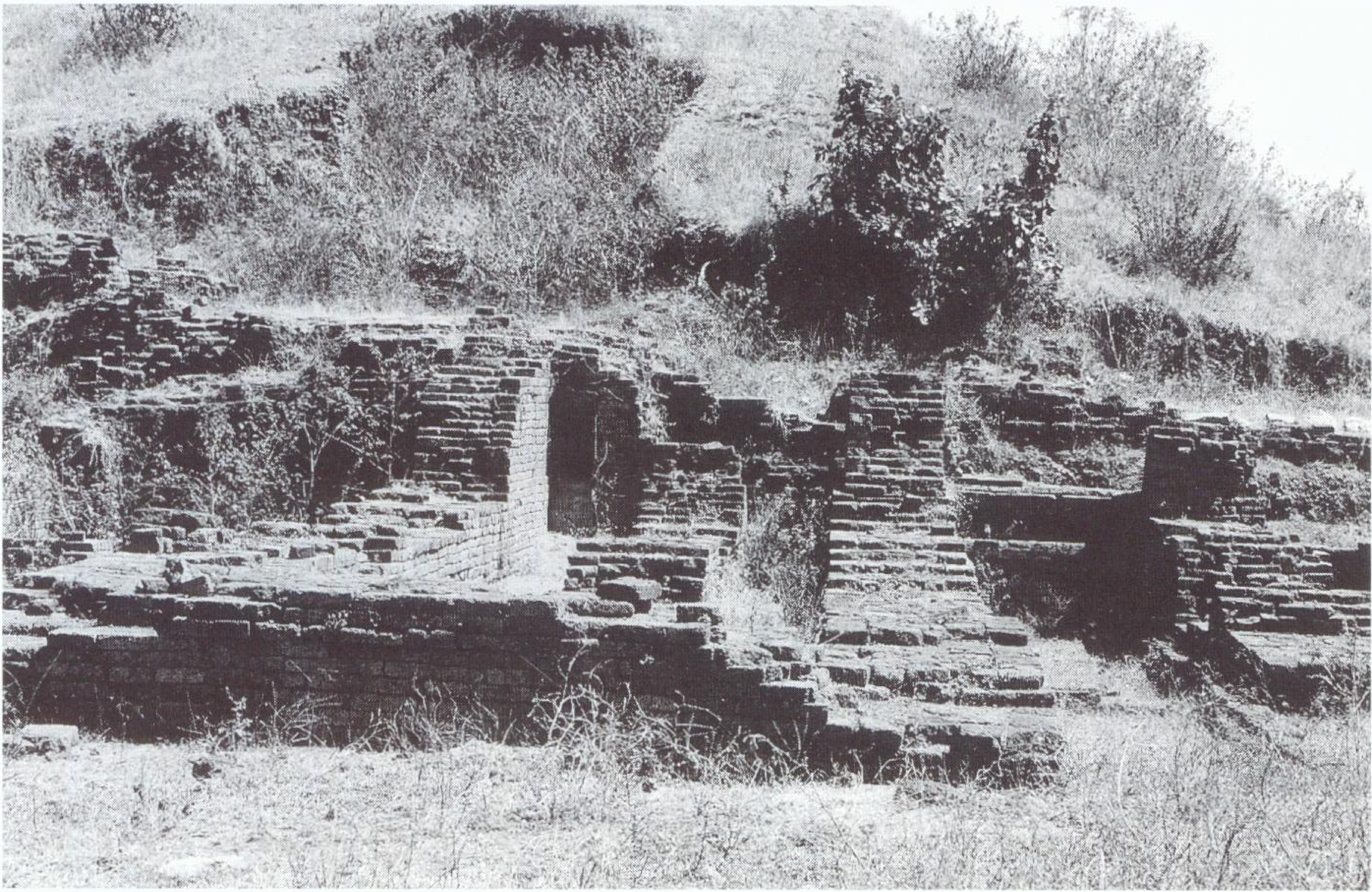


Plate II – Mansar: mound to the east of the Hiḍimbā Tekḍī excavated by Dr A. Nath, seen from the west (courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India).



Plate III – Mansar: the Hiḍimbā Tekḍī excavated by J.P Joshi and A.K. Sharma, seen from the east (courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India).

found lying within a similar intricate, brick masonry work (altar?). Though it might be obvious to assign these layers to the Sātavāhanas, it should be noted that so far no Sātavāhana coins have been found.

In the uppermost layers a Viṣṇukuṇḍin type coin was found. To these layers, assigned to the Vākāṭaka period, belong a large flight of steps at the eastern side and the foundation walls of a temple on top of the hill, all executed in red brick (Plate III). The size of these bricks is said to conform to the one found in Mandhal (40 × 24 × 8 cm). The many iron nails that have been recovered suggest that the building at the top, which must have been facing east, that is towards the Rāmagiri, was partly constructed out of wood. All the images are said to have been found in the layers pertaining to the 2nd and 3rd periods and are Śaiva in nature. Moreover, the excavators claim that they can now identify the spot where the Mansar Śiva image had been found in 1972, in a layer that preserves the remnants of the last, i.e. Vākāṭaka temple.

The discoveries briefly discussed above – a full, illustrated description will be published by the excavators – make it abundantly clear that Mansar has been a very important (religious) site, before and during Vākāṭaka rule. By reinforcing our hypothesis of a Vākāṭaka Śiva temple and residence there, these discoveries thus seem to endorse the validity of the iconological method that generated this hypothesis. The conjecture that this temple and residence were named Pravareśvara and Pravarapura has not been proven and cannot be proven, unless textual evidence is found. The theory, though, that conceives of the Hiḍimbā Hill as a fully fledged Śaiva counterpart of the Vaiṣṇava Rāmagiristhāna, a tribute to the traditional persuasion of the Vākāṭaka kings and Pravarasena's personal response to the Bhāgavata faith of his parents and Gupta rivals, has gained in credibility.

POSTSCRIPT

After this article had been sent to the press, I was informed by Prof. Dr. A.M. Shastri that written evidence has been found on the Hiḍimbā Tekḍī, namely sealings, carrying the name 'Pravareśvara' (letter to the author, d.d. 13-10-1999).

ABBREVIATIONS

CII *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
MBh *Mahābhārata*

TEXTS

Mahābhārata (The), for the first time crit. edit. by V.S. Sukthankar and others, Poona 1927-59.

Sindūragirimāhātmya, edited by S.M. Ayācit, Nagpur 1985.

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THE SATIRE OF TANTRIC FIGURES IN SOME WORKS OF KṢEMENDRA

This preliminary study aims at investigating the witty criticism of tantric figures in some of Kṣemendra's works[1]. Seen in this particular perspective, these texts acquire a double dimension, as they are very interesting both for their detailed accounts of contemporary tantric practices, and for the literary tour de force at making light of them. The main works examined are the satires *Deśopadeśa*[2] (from now on, *Deś.*), *Narmamālā*[3] (from now on, *Narm.*) and *Samayamātṛkā*[4] (from now on, *Sam.*) with some excursus into the *Caturvargasaṃgraha*[5] and the *Daśāvatāracarita*[6] (from now on, *Daśa*).

The fact that the same matter is also touched in the two latter texts, which are not satirical works, testifies to Kṣemendra's interest in the subject. The treatment of these motifs in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[7] (from now on, *Rāj.*), written some hundred and fifty years later, shows a very similar attitude, revealing both a similar historical situation as well as a possible literary influence of Kṣemendra on Kalhaṇa.

[1] I think that a complete assessment of his views is called for, but this will be only possible when all his works have been examined, which goes beyond the scope of the present study. I should also mention that all translations found here are my own.

[2] Sharma, Rāghavāchārya, Padhye 1961. There is also an English translation in Sato 1994, in which many tantric overtones are overlooked.

[3] As the *Narm.* has recently been the object of my particular study, here it will be used only as a term of comparison. For its first translation, an assessment of tantric practices in this work, and a discussion of the editions and manuscript of the *Deś.* and *Narm.*, cf. Baldissera 1999/2000.

[4] Sharma, Rāghavāchārya, Padhye 1961. For a discussion of the studies on this text, cf. Sagramoso Rossella 1984.

[5] Same edition as above. Cf. also the Italian translation, Della Casa 1961-62.

[6] Durgāprasād, Kāśināth Paṇḍuraṅg 1930. I am very grateful to Professor Oscar Botto for supplying me with his own copy.

[7] Cf. Stein 1900. Bad gurus are criticized in *Rāj.* VI. 10-13; VII. 277-78; 297; 523.

These works present a humorous depiction of tantric gurus and devotees taken mostly from the Kaula current, but as Kashmir in Kṣemendra's times also presented tantric developments in the Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava traditions, there are a few references to adepts of Vajrayāna and Pañcarātra[8].

Kṣemendra's social criticism is rather virulent, especially in the *Narm.*, where it highlights the connivance between political might and tantric authority, by showing how several devotees, powerful and politically influential, exploit an apparently impeccable religious façade to further political and economic corruption. The scheming but outwardly sanctimonious *kāyastha*, "government officer", prime object of the *Narm.*'s satire, a *kaula* adept, in the opening verses is designated as the *sarvādhikārin*[9], the chief counsellor, a title that today would correspond to "Prime Minister".

The *Deś.*, another satire which ridicules dishonest characters, reveals tantric overtones in several episodes; chapter eight in particular contains descriptions of a number of roguish devotees who resort to their guru for help in their various endeavours.

In all these works tantric adepts are shown as greedy, exploitative and hypocritically ambiguous also in sexual matters. Kṣemendra's satires characteristically expose his *mauvais sujets* by clever punning: even when they appear engaged in pious operations an ingenious double entendre gives them away. What is also remarkable in these texts is the style of Kṣemendra, his elegance in choosing his wording and his poetic figures. His language is rather complex, for it mixes technical terms, rare words, local expressions and swearwords. In the eighth chapter of the *Deś.* (VIII. 1b) he explicitly states that he is going to also use "the local language", *deśabhāṣāpadair miśram adhunā kriyate mayā*. Thus some of his words are *hapax legomena*, which at times makes it very difficult to interpret him correctly. There is also a formal aspect which is puzzling; the manuscript of the *Narm.* and *Deś.* presents divisions, or "captions", that give a definition of the character described in that section: I have not been able to ascertain whether they belong to the original or are later interpolations. On the other hand the divisions in chapters in the *Sam.* are called *samaya*, an interesting pun.

In the case of this work, the title itself, which could be translated as "The mother by convention", or "The mother of appointments", or even

[8] Bhāgavatas are mentioned in *Narm.* I. 50, I. 83.

[9] For the *Rāj.* references and discussion, cf. Baldissera 1999/2000, note to I. 8.

"The mother [found] at the appropriate time" is also a pun, doubly charged with tantric *dhvani*, if one considers the relevance for tantric practice of both the *samaya*, 'tantric pledge', and the *mātṛkā* series. That it was used to indicate a bawd must have been felt as the ultimate insult.

These satirical texts teem with tantric terminology, and punning, which at times involves sexual innuendoes, invests both rather common terms used in tantric practice, and very specific technical terms. Examples of the former are words such as *paśu* 'a head of cattle' and 'an uninitiated person, a bonded soul' as opposed to *dīkṣita*, 'initiate'[10]. As regards the latter instances, on the other hand, Kṣemendra makes use of very specific, technical tantric terms like *tālaka*, *nirvikalpavrata*, *mṛtoddhāra* and *mṛtoddhāraka*, *kāmatattva* and *kāmatattvika*, and hints jokingly at *śivahastavidhi*. The interesting thing in fact is that most of these terms appear in puns, or are "improperly used", that is, are employed in non-tantric or non-ritual contexts.

A special case is that of ***cākrika***, a word found in the *Narm*. (I. 46, caption after I. 61, I. 90; II. 143) and *Deś*. (VI. 31 and 36) as well as in the *Rāj*. (V. 267, 268, 280), and of compounds formed with *cakra-* that I think are connected with particular forms of *cakrapūjā*. The *Daśa*. (X. 26) has *cakrasthiti*, while *Deś*. (V. 9) has *cakracārin*, which is however the object of a pun, while *Rāj*. has *cakramelaka* (VI. 108) and *cakramīlana* (VIII. 2730). I found that a comparison between these different texts could throw some light on this puzzling term. The context is important, because Kṣemendra here is drawing together religion as seen in its extreme esoteric form, and political games[11].

Often the tantric affiliation, or the status of being a *dīkṣita* is only implied by some characteristic details – as regards for instance the *maṭhadaiśika* in *Narm*. II. 33-54, signs of his being an initiate are his particular type of matted hair, *pṛthujūṭabhṛt*, II. 35, and his shrinking from the touch of uninitiated Brahmins, II. 36.

The mishandling of śaiva religious observances is particularly offensive in a passage of the *Narm*[12]. Here an important *kāyastha*, the illustrious devotee of a *kulācārya*, loudly recites the first two verses from the *Stavacintāmaṇi* but at the same time intersperses each half verse by issuing

[10] This is a word for which the *Deś*. (VIII. 3, and see below) provides a very interesting false etymology – pointed out by Gnoli (1999: 10 n. 1).

[11] This will be shown below, when treating of the *chāttra* in *Deś*. VI. 36.

[12] For a translation and discussion of the whole passage, cf. Baldissera 1999/2000, v. I. 39-44 and Introduction.

death orders against the Brahmins who had engaged in hunger strike (*prāya*) to oppose his policies. Religious zeal here is exposed for what it is throughout this text, a useful cover that could hide dangerous alliances.

As concerns tantra and sexual innuendoes, however, one could perhaps also detect a tantric resonance in the *Narm.*'s account of the 'hypocritical religious observances' of the young *brahmacārin* who sports with the *raṇḍā* at the holy fords[13]. In *Tantrāloka* XXIX, vv. 97-100, a true *brahmacārin* is said to be he who observes the three M, i.e. enjoys *maṃsa*, 'meat', *madya*, 'wine', and *maithuna*, 'sexual intercourse'. On the other hand tantric Buddhist texts, such as for instance the *Paramārthasaṃgraha-nāmasekoddeṣaṭīkā*[14], identify more precisely the practice of *brahmacarya* with sexual intercourse without emission of semen.

Kṣemendra appears to know about these esoteric practices, but either to regard them from the point of view of the *vaidika* orthodox, averse to extremism, or to criticize those who are not true believers but only don the garb of ascetics, gurus and devotees in order to achieve their advantage. The difficult point here is to determine whether it is the tantric ritual itself that is deemed base, or whether Kṣemendra shows that the intrinsic baseness of the characters described demean the scope of the ritual. Whereas the latter view seems to be correct with regard to the satires, in the two non-satirical texts it would appear that Kṣemendra finds tantric practices themselves objectionable. Eating and drinking forbidden substances, disregard for some caste rules and sexual intercourse with low caste women are enjoined during some particular types of initiation in both śaiva and Buddhist tantric texts. In *Narm.* II. 126, for instance, a magistrate does obeisance to a *caṇḍālī*. A technical tantric term such as the *nirvikalpavrata* "the vow of non discrimination", an aim difficult to achieve, in the *Narm.* and *Samaya.* is taken out of its proper context and employed as an excuse for illicit sex and betrayal. The *Daśa.*, on the other hand, uses *avikalpa*[15], a different term but derived from the same root and used to describe the enjoyment of an indiscriminate orgy, but in the ritual context of *cakrasthiti*.

This "orthodox" stand of Kṣemendra is especially noticeable in his description of the *kaliyuga* found in the tenth *avatāra* of his *Daśa.*, called

[13] *Narm.* III. 36-40.

[14] Cf. Gnoli, Orofino 1994: 165-6, 185.

[15] Cf. a similar use in the *gatavikalpatvaṃ* of *Rāj.* VII. 278: *guror gatavikalpatvaṃ tasyānyat kim ivocyatām | tyaktaśaṅkaḥ pravavṛte svasutāsurate 'pi* ||, where *surate* is glossed by MS A3 as*: ātmīyā cāsau putrī tasyāḥ surate svabhoge.*

Karkyavatāra. An extreme deterioration of customs, where the correct order of the *varṇa*s is subverted, contemplates also the violation or disappearence of the *āśrama* succession, and the rise of very ignorant and stupid gurus, here depicted as śaiva and *kaula* adepts. Here however it seems quite clear that *brahmacarya* is intended in its *vaidika* acceptance. (*Daśa*., X. 24-28a):

brahmacaryam atikrāntaṃ gṛhiṇo veśyayoṣitaḥ |
vānaprasthasthitir nāsti yatīnāṃ saṃyatiḥ kutaḥ ||24||
uktaṃ svayaṃ bhagavatā girīśena śāstraṃ
yad vedavidbhir adhigamyam aśeṣavidyaiḥ |
tan me (?) ***pramūrkhaguravaḥ*** *pravihāya kaṣṭaṃ*
kurvanti kalyakuravaiḥ (?) *rūpadeśacarcām* ||25||[16]
cakrasthitau *rajakavāyakacarmakāra-*
kāpālikapramukhaśilpibhir ekapātre |
pānena muktim avikalparatotsavena
vṛttena cotsavavatā guravo vadanti ||26||
labdhaṃ nirmalamokṣadhāma munibhir bhṛgvaṅgiraḥkaśyapā-
gastyātreyamukhair yugair api na yattatprāptam evābudhāḥ |
manyante khalu ***kaulagolagurubhir*** *grastārthadhārāḥ kṣaṇād*
ucchiṣṭārpaṇavedadhūnanakathāmātreṇa niryantraṇāḥ ||27||
dambhaḥ *sarvasya lobhān niravadhir adhikakrodhakāmas*
tapasvī | (28a)

24. "The [vow of] *brahmacarya* is transgressed, householders have prostitutes for wives, the status of *vānaprastha* does not exist [any more] – how much less the penance of ascetics!".

25. "That *śāstra* which was uttered spontaneously by the Lord Girīśa, that one has to be learned by those learned in the Vedas, whose knowledge is perfect, [whereas] alas! Extremely stupid gurus, disregarding evil, perform recitation on the subject of form[17] through voices distorted by liquor".

26.[18] "The gurus praise liberation [attained] through drinking from the same vessel with artisans such as washermen, weavers, leather workers and

[16] The verse is apparently corrupt: I am not able to emend *tan me*, but agree with the editors' *ku-ravaiḥ*.

[17] I think that *rūpa* here could be intended as indicating the philosophical concept "*nāmarūpa*".

[18] This verse is quoted in Lorenzen 1972: 67.

*kāpālika*s[19] while following *cakra* practice[20], by indiscriminate sexual enjoyment[21] and by a festive[22] behaviour".

27. "An immaculate state of liberation was obtained by sages such as Bṛghu, Aṅgiras, Kaśyapa, Agastya, Ātreya. 'It was not attained by whomsoever through the ages!'. So think now the foolish, the streams of whose wealth is swallowed in an instant by the gurus of the *kaula* circle, and who are uncontrolled due to the extinction of the wind from the brush which gathers the *ucchiṣṭa*"[23].

28a. "The hypocritical ascetic, out of greed for everything, does not set himself any limit, he is endowed with far too much lust and wrath[24]!"

The voracity and sexual appetites of gurus and devotees is hinted at even in the *Caturvargasaṃgraha*, another work of no satirical intent. In the second chapter, devoted to *artha*, II. 10 lists the people who ruin one's hard-earned wealth, and one of the culprits is defined as *...duṣpūro gurur arthabhoganicayair*: "...a guru difficult to fill [even] with heaps of food and riches". A further observation on this motif occurs at II. 14, where are listed the people who enjoy the wealth of others:

> ***guruganakair abudhānāṃ*** *kṣayacaturaiś cauramūṣakair vaṇijām* |
> *kāyasthagāyanagaṇair bhūmibhujāṃ* ***bhujyate lakṣmīḥ*** ||14||

II. 14. **"The wealth of silly people is enjoyed by gurus and astrologers**, that of the merchants by thieves and mice skillful in damaging, that of kings by hordes of *kāyastha*s and singers".

[19] The mention of these ascetics in a list of *śilpin*s seems rather strange; obviously the polluting character of the members of the list is what counts. Unless, but I haven't encountered it anywhere else, *kāpālika* was also the term used to indicate the particular type of leather worker who could clean a skull.

[20] Literally "while standing in the *cakra*" during the ritual.

[21] I suppose "orgy" would also render the idea, like the one described in *Narm*. III. 84 as *nirvibhāgo...* ***raticakra****mahotsavaḥ*.

[22] i.e. "licentious".

[23] I propose to interpret this as follows: the wind caused by the brush used during the sacrifice is a purifying wind; if proper sacrifices aren't performed any more, their would-be patrons, no more purified, entertain wrong beliefs.

[24] These are the two usual faults of ascetics throughout Sanskrit literature, but it could also be a criticism of tantric Buddhist practices, where the initiates belong to the different "families" of the five Buddhas: *rāga*, passion, lust, is correlated to Amitābha, *krodha*, wrath, to Akṣobhya. The same faults are criticized in *Deś*.

In the same work the chapter on *kāma* presents a picture of spring so attractive that even a *kāpālika* ascetic could not abandon his beloved (v. III. 21b):

ahaha virahabhītyā kāminīṃ kaṇṭhālagnāṃ tyajati navavasante hanta kāpālikaḥ kaḥ ||

"Alas, in this beginning of spring which *kāpālika* even could abandon a beloved who hangs from his neck from fear of separation?".

The three satires exaggerate more in their critique, and often display common traits. One of the more frequent is a series of different puns on the identity of various frauds and Śiva, or different types of ascetics. Their second common characteristic is the greed and despicability of gurus and devotees, as well as the rather crude sexual descriptions.

The *Deś.* presents many interesting comparisons of bad characters with Śiva, with tantric ascetics and initiate devotees, and makes a parody even of the *Bhagavadgītā*[25]. One of the initial verses compares the villain, *khala*, to someone who is an initiate into *nirvāṇa*, and the first hemistich is taken from *Bhag.* (I. 6):

samaḥ śatrau ca mitre ca tathā mānāpamānayoḥ |
vṛtticchedakṛtābhyāsaḥ khalo nirvāṇadīkṣitaḥ ||6||

I. 6. "Equal to friend and foe, and to honour and disgrace, the villain is an initiate into *nirvāṇa*[26], because his mind is steadied through cutting off his actions",

or: "because he has the habit of cutting off [other people's] livelihoods".

Another bad character, the miser, *kadarya*, is compared first to a *muni*, then to Śiva (II. 2):

yatendriyaḥ pāṃśuśāyī niḥsaṃgaḥ prasṛtiṃ pacaḥ |
kadaryo munir akruddhaḥ kin tu tṛṣṇāsya vardhate ||2||

II. 2. "His senses controlled, he lies in the dust, unattached, he cooks just a handful: the miser is a sage without wrath. But, his craving increases".

kadaryaś carmavasano rūkṣo 'snānāt sadā jaṭī |
malena śyāmalagalaḥ śūlī vilavaṇāśanāt ||9||

[25] There are four instances: *Deś.* I. 6 is a parody of *Bhag.* XII. 18, *Deś.* I. 10 of *Bhag.* XIII. 13, *Deś.* II. 35 of *Bhag.* II. 69, and *Deś.* III. 28 of *Bhag.* V. 10.

[26] According to Kālacakra doctrines, however, prevalent in Kashmir in Kṣemendra's times, *nirvāṇa* is considered still a minor achievement for the true *sādhaka*.

II. 9. "The miser dresses in leather; he is always soiled; his hair is matted from not bathing; his throat is black with filth; he suffers from colic, for he does not eat any salt".

Here one only needs to translate a few words in their different meaning to have a perfect portrait of Śiva:

II. 9. "He dresses in skins; he is always emaciated; his hair is matted from not bathing; his throat is black with the [poison's] filth; he is armed with a spear, because [thus] he can reach [as far as] the sound from the caves"[27].

Several other people are then ridiculed by comparing them to ascetics or supernatural beings. The courtesan is first equalled to a *yoginī*, then described as a śaiva devotee (III. 2):

spṛhārāgavinirmuktā niṣkāmā kāmacāriṇī |
svadhyānaśīlā gaṇikā yoginīva guṇojjhitā ||2||

III. 2. "Free from longing or passion, not enamoured, behaving without restraint, practising meditation on herself, the courtesan is like a *yoginī* who has abandoned her virtue".

The translation, if referred to the *yoginī* as a female ascetic/supernatural being, would be almost the same:

"Free from longing or passion, free from desire, moving at will (flying), endowed with the virtue of meditation on the Self...".

Similar feelings are echoed at III. 28:

mokṣagāmi mano manye veśyāyā ratisaṃgame |
lipyate yan na rāgeṇa padmapattram ivāmbhasā ||28||

III. 28. "The mind of a courtesan, I think, attains deliverance in sexual intercourse. It is not tainted by passion, like a lotus leaf is not soiled by water".

prasiddhāyatane veśyā kṛtvā ***liṅgārcanavratam*** |
mahāśveteva niryāti ***śaivaloka****jigīṣayā* ||41||

III. 41. "At a well-known temple she performs *liṅga* worship[28], and sets out like Mahāśvetā[29], wishing to conquer the world of Śiva (or: wishing to conquer the śaiva devotees)".

[27] That is, as far as the echo can reach.

[28] *liṅgārcana* of a special kind, performed by the *raṇḍā*, is also mentioned in *Narm*. III. 44.

[29] "Of dazzling whiteness", appellation of Devī or Sarasvatī, and cf. also the *apsaras* Mahāśvetā in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*.

Here there seems to be a mixture of religious contexts (often found in Kashmir or Nepal). The last verse speaks of śaivas, whereas III. 2, with the use of words such as *śīla* and *gaṇikā*, often found in Buddhist texts, as well as I. 6, which mentions *nirvāṇa*, points to a Buddhist context.

A formidable bawd is even more similar to tantric ascetics: she is so dreadful that even Śiva fears her, and looks like the skeleton of a *kāpālika* (IV. 2-3):

śakrarājyāpaharaṇakṣamā vibudhavarjitā |
kuṭṭanī brahmahatyeva bhavasyāpi bhayapradā ||2||
kālakāpālikottālakaṅkālākṛtir ākulā |
kuṭṭanī mānuṣān atti raktākarṣaṇaśālinī ||3||

IV. 2. "The bawd, who is able to steal even Indra's realm, is avoided by the wise. She can inspire fear even unto Bhava, as if she were brahmanicide".

IV. 3. "Looking like the horrid skeleton of a śaiva[30] *kāpālika*, skilled in drawing[31] blood, the flurried bawd eats men"[32].

Even the *viṭa*, the lewd parasite, by a stretch of the imagination is compared to a *yogin*; as he is like one of the false ascetics of the *kaliyuga* (V. 5):

antarmukho 'ntarālīno dhyānavān saṃhṛtendriyaḥ |
kṣaṇād avāpto yogitvam ātmārāmasthitir viṭaḥ ||5||

V. 5. "With his face drawn inwards (or: having his mouth into [everything]), clinging inwardly (or: abiding indoors), engaged in meditation (or: scheming), remaining in the state of delight in the Self (or: in the state of being pleased with himself)[33], the *viṭa* has reached in a moment the state of a *yogin*".

The inmate[34] of a religious college, *maṭha*, is also jokingly compared to Śiva (VI. 1); he poses as an initiate, but has not actually received initiation. The *maṭha*, moreover, is depicted as a frightful cave full of *rākṣasas*.

[30] I take *kala-* to mean Śiva. Perhaps it is a corruption of *kaula-*.

[31] *ākarṣaṇa* is a technical term found in tantric texts. It means "attracting an absent person into one's presence (by magical formulas)". M.W.

[32] This, referred to the bawd, is obviously a grotesque exaggeration, but in his *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (84th *avadāna*, story of Madhurasvara, vv. 32-37) Kṣemendra gives a gory description of a Durgā temple reddened by human blood.

[33] A very similar expression describes the *kaula* guru in *Narm*. III. 11a: ***athātmārāma-tādambhā****mīlitāghūrṇitekṣaṇaḥ*... "then, with his eyes rolling slightly beneath half-closed lids in a false show of delight in the Self", which implies that he is both selfish and drunk.

[34] Here there is a difficulty of interpretation, because the inmate is called by three different appellations throughout the chapter: *chāttra*, *gauḍa* and *daiśika*. The last epithet

namaś chāttrāya satataṃ sattre vāmārdhahāriṇe |
ugrāya viṣabhakṣāya śivāya niśi śūline ||1||

VI. 1. "Salutation to the student, who always takes the best share in the asylum, is fierce, a poison-taker, happy [but] afflicted with colic at night!"

The translation referred to Śiva reads:

"Salutation to the sheltered one, who always takes the left half in the sacrificial session, is fierce, drinks poison, is auspicious (or: Śiva) at night [and] brandishes a spear".

Other verses (V. 31 and 36) describe the inmate as a *cākrika*, then as an ascetic doing penance with five fires, his five main occupations, or create a different *āśrama* for the *chāttra*s (VI. 32), or reveal his uninitiated status (VI. 35). The further *cākrika* passage at VI. 36 helped me in trying to interpret this difficult term.

veśyāsakto dyūtakaraś cākrikaḥ prāyakṛt sadā |
kukṣibhedī maṭhavane chāttraḥ pañcatapā muniḥ ||31||

na brahmacārī na gṛhī na vanastho na vā yatiḥ |
pañcamaḥ pañcabhadrākhyaś chāttrāṇām ayam āśramaḥ ||32||

VI. 31. "Attached to courtesans, addicted to dice, a ***cākrika***, always on hunger strike, with a pained belly, the student is an ascetic with five fires in that forest which is his monastery".

VI. 32. "This is not a religious student, nor a householder, a forest-dwelling sage nor a renouncer: this is a fifth stage of life, that of the students, called 'endowed with the five auspicious things'[35]".

The *chāttra* appears to care for his purity as if he were an initiate (VI. 3), but in fact he has not received any initiation (VI. 35):

kṣatriṇaḥ sapavitrasya sparśahuṃkārakāriṇaḥ |
lajjante munayo 'py agre gauḍasyāparapākinaḥ ||3||

presents a problem, because the *Narm.* has a *maṭhadaiśika*, and there the context would require him to be the "guru" from the monastery, not a student or simply a "foreigner", as *daiśika* could have both meanings. As for the metre, *chāttra*, "student", could be emended to *chattra*, "teacher", without any trouble.

[35] This is obviously a joke, but I suppose that here one should also bear in mind that *bhadra* is often used as an apotropaic measure, so as not to attract evil by naming it.

śṛṅgagrāhī dadhikṣīre sūdāghāteṣu daṇḍadhṛt |
maṭhacchāttraḥ sadācchattrī ***na tathāpi sa dīkṣitaḥ*** ||35||

VI. 3. "Even sages become bashful in front of the Gauḍa, a *kṣatriya* who wears the sacred thread, utters the sound '*huṃ*' if he's touched, and has no rivals in simplicity".

VI. 35. "The student of the monastery grasps a horn[36] – for curds and milk, holds a staff – for striking the cooks, always carries an umbrella [— above his guru], but even then he is not an initiate".

The first mention of the *chāttra* as *cākrika* only hints at the hardships or evil nature of the profession, as being a *cākrika* is said to be one of the five "fires" of austerity (four fires in the four directions, and the sun overhead). In the second occurrence, in the following verse (VI. 36), the mention of his reaching *śivatā*[37], the state of being Śiva, of being absorbed in Śiva, seems to me to throw some light on the meaning of *cākrika* according to Kṣemendra: I think that *cākrika* in his works indicates a participant into the tantric rites connected with *cakrapūjā*, i.e. a member of the ritual *gaṇacakra*. One of the pledges taken by the participants was that they had to keep their rites secret, and a kind of brotherhood developed between them, as they were pupils of the same guru[38]. As in many secret societies, members could cull useful, reserved information from their meetings. I suppose that the meaning "informer", "spy", which seems an appropriate translation in the *Narm.* passages[39] is a secondary one. The *cākrika* becomes an important informer to politicians because he has access to the people who gather at the *cakra* ceremonies. In the *Rāj.*'s use of the term one may also detect a further, political overtone, in that by extension the *cakra*s seem to become special cliques, circles of people plotting intrigue.

[36] These characteristics, correctly applied, would describe a *dīkṣita*, but here it is only a matter of punning: *śṛṅgagrāhikā*, "taking by the horns", is a particular logical procedure in philosophical discussion; holding a horn, moreover, is also the mark of some śaiva ascetics who low instead of speaking. Staff and umbrella are the marks of a distinguished teacher, but the *chāttra* makes a different use of all these implements.

[37] *Narm.* III. 79 has a joke on *śivatā/śavatā*.

[38] That pupils of the same guru used to help each other in ordinary life matters is explicitly stated in *Narm.* I. 89.

[39] Where in fact, in one instance, it is equated (albeit in one of the captions found at the end of every description, which might be later additions) with *piśuna*, "informer, spy, betrayer".

A more neutral usage, such as "a circle of people" can be found in *Deś.* VIII. 23, *kitavacakra*, "a circle of gamblers, a ring of gamblers". Even in *Narm.* I. 90 a fellow *bhakta* (and it appears that the two are followers of the same *kulācārya*) advises a temple's functionary on how to win over by gifts "five or six pernicious *cākrikas*" in order to spoliate temple's properties. There the *cākrikas* seem to be connected with that particular temple. Here the Gauḍa *cākrika* is quite pleased with himself (VI. 36):

cākrikaḥ śivatāṃ yātaś cauraḥ karmakarair dhṛtaḥ |
gauḍo garvonnatagrīvaṣ ṭhakkuro 'smīti bhāṣate ||36||

VI. 36. "A *cākrika* who has attained *śivatā*, a usurper (also "thief") supported by his servants, the Gauḍa proudly raises his neck, and says 'I am a venerable being'"[40].

In this same work a term connected with *cākrika* is attributed to a *viṭa*, a character traditionally well-known to further intrigue and to play the go-between. And perhaps it is interesting to recall that in the beginning of the *Narm.*'s passage mentioned above, the temple officer who received the useful piece of advice had been employed thanks to the services of a *cākrika*[41], and had in his turn employed a *viṭa* in order to "seize many temples"[42].

In the *Deś.*'s verse, however, one is reminded of Kṣemendra's delight in *dhvani*, for he has preserved in the punning one of the older meanings of *cākrika*, "charioteer" (V. 9):

gatāgateṣv akhinnena satataṃ ***cakracāriṇā*** |
kharasvanena prakaṭaṃ viṭena śakaṭāyate ||9||

"Indefatigable in his coming and going,
he is always engaged in *cakra* gatherings,
with his sharp voice: the *viṭa* openly acts like a chariot".

Referred to the chariot, the translation is:

"Indefatigable in its comings and goings,
it always moves on wheels making a sharp noise:
the *viṭa* openly acts like a chariot".

[40] I think that the meaning of *ṭhakkura* here, after saying that the man has reached *śivatām*, even though only as an usurper or thief, and the fact that he is carried by his servants (perhaps in a palanquin), approaches more, in his eyes, the status of a deity rather than that of a chief.

[41] *Narm.* I. 56-60.

[42] *Narm.* I. 65.

The *Deś.*'s eighth chapter gives a detailed description of a tantric guru[43], and provides an interesting gallery of his initiate devotees, (called in the captions *gurubhakta*), where tantric terminology is often ridiculed. First the guru is described (VIII. 2-4):

rāgadveṣasamākulam ugramahāmohalobhadambhabhayam |
gurum api lāghavahetuṃ bhavam iva bahuvibhramaṃ vande ||2||

VIII. 2. "Salutation to him, full of passion and hatred, formidably endowed with great delusion, greed, deception and fear, a cause of degradation in spite of being a guru, and very confusing, like mundane existence".

The second half of the verse is a pun that can be rendered as:

"a cause of lightness in spite of being heavy[44], and very violent, like Bhava".

guṇarahito rutakārī śiṣyavadhūnāṃ sadā gurur gaditaḥ |
dīnārakṣayakaraṇād dīkṣety uktā *kṛtā tena* ||3||

VIII. 3. "Devoid of qualities, prone to bellow, always rumoured to be the guru of his disciples' wives, he performs an initiation, which is called *dīkṣā* as it is the cause of the destruction (***kṣa****ya*) of money (***dī****nāra*)".

sulabham aho bata pūṃsāṃ kalikāle līlayaiva mokṣapadam |
hīṣāmaṇḍakam adhunā vakti gurur jñānasarvasvam ||4||

VIII. 4. "Fie! In the Kali age it is easy for people to attain a pretended state of deliverance: the guru now sings a musical air, which starts with [the sound] *hīṣā*: the entire treasure of his knowledge".

The guru's followers, some of whom are said to be *dīkṣita*, are described as they approach him one by one in order to obtain their particular advantage; the first character is a *divira*, a government functionary (5-7), then come a *kulavadhū*, "respectable [married] woman" (8-10), a *bhaṭṭa* (11-13), a merchant (14-16), a poet (17-19), an alchemist (20-22), a gambler (23-25), a silly pupil (26), a roguish pupil (27-29), a

[43] It is a very short passage, compared to the long descriptions of *Narm*. On the other hand the *Deś.* presents more details about his disciples.

[44] Here the reference is to the *siddhi* of *laghimā*, the supernatural faculty of assuming excessive lightness at will.

lute-player (30-32), a doctor (33-35), a *nirguṭa*[45] (36-38), a pandit (39-42), a scribe (43-45), an ascetic (46-48), a [merry] widow (49-51)[46].

luṇṭhitasakalasuradvijapuranagaragrāmaghoṣasarvasvaḥ |
punar api haraṇākāṅkṣī vrajati guruṃ dīkṣito diviraḥ||5||

VIII. 5. "After stealing the whole treasure of all the gods, Brahmins, cities, towns, villages and cattle stations, yet desirous to plunder anew, the *divira* initiate goes to his guru".

The next "customer" is a married woman:

...viracitaveśā yāti guruṃ dīkṣitā patnī (VIII. 8b)

***paśu**saṃsparśād vimukhī **samayavihīnasya** gehinī bhartuḥ* |
āyāti sadā kṛtvā gurusuratapavitram ātmānam ||9||

VIII. 8b. "...the initiate married woman, donning beautiful clothes, goes to the guru".

VIII. 9. "Averting her face from contact with her husband, who is a *paśu* (uninitiated, like a head of cattle), for he has not taken up the [tantric] pledges, the wife always comes back after having purified her soul through sexual intercourse with the guru".

Here the parody of tantric observance is quite obvious. There could also be a pun involved in the joke, by taking *paśu* literally, and *samaya* in the meaning of "good manners": "...with her husband, who is a beast as he has no manners", and then *ātmanām* could just be "herself".

Next a *bhaṭṭa*[47] is described as an initiate *kaula* adept, as well as a drunkard (VIII. 11):

[45] The meaning of the word is doubtful: it occurs also in the *Rāj.* (VIII. 975), in *Narm.* (II. 21-22) and in *Sam.* (VII. 21). The meaning seems to be 'chief of a village', probably a cadet belonging to a small royal family, as here (*Deś.* VIII. 36) he is defined as *candrāpīḍānvayī*, "a descendant of Candrāpīḍa". It may also be the name of a particular honorary position at court. Here, as in the *Sam.* (where he is called *kṣīṇasārākhya*, "he whose wealth has been ruined" or, if we prefer to see also a joke on the possible inbreeding of these princely families, "he whose sap has been destroyed") and in *Narm.*, he seems to have been ruined by debts and taxes. Cf. Baldissera 1999/2000, II. 21-22 and note.

[46] I quote only verses that are connected to tantric practices or help to clarify the socio-religious context.

[47] The usual term to indicate a Kashmiri Brahmin; in the *Narm.*, however, speaking about the *āsthānabhaṭṭa*, "law court clerk" (II. 133-145, and especially 142-145), Kṣemen-

madhupāne kṛtabuddhiḥ kaulakathānaṣṭajātisaṃkocaḥ |
matsyaśarāvakahasto gurugṛham āyāti dīkṣito bhaṭṭaḥ ||11||

VIII. 11. "His mind made up about drinking liquor, [though] cowering lest he undergoes loss of caste through talk about *kaula*[48], the initiate *bhaṭṭa* comes to the guru's house with a platter of fish in his hand".

Then an avid merchant resorts to the guru to gain more wealth, but ends up milked by him (VIII. 14b, 16b):

vaṇig arthodayakāṅkṣī gurugṛham āpto na mokṣārthī |

VIII. 14b. "The merchant reached the house of the guru because he craved to increase his wealth, not because he wished for deliverance".

vaṇijaḥ kṛto vidhātrā ***śrīgurunāthaḥ*** *praṇālaniṣkarṣaḥ* |

VIII. 16b. "...the glorious Lord guru was made by the creator,
a pipeline to extract [the wealth] of the merchant".

The poetaster approaches the guru to find the supernatural power of the **kula** goddess of speech (VIII. 17):

sārasvatamantrārthī *kiṃcit saṃskāraliptajihvāgraḥ* |
kulavāgīśī*siddhyai yāti guruṃ kāvyahevākī* ||17||

VIII. 17. "The tip of his tongue anointed by a purificatory ceremony, asking for an **eloquence- granting mantra**, a man devoted to poetry goes to the guru to obtain the supernatural power [bestowed by] **the kula goddess of speech**"[49].

The guru's old, unsuccessful alchemist devotee is called *rasāyanasiddha* (VIII. 20) and *sūtasiddha* (VIII. 22), while a gambler who offers the guru sacrificial substances is compared to an ascetic and to Śiva (VIII. 23-25):

*śvetārkākṛtigaṇapati****mantrārthī kitavacakra****vijayāya* |
kitavaḥ ***śapharīmaṇḍakasindūrakaro*** *guruṃ yāti* ||23||

mūtranirodhāt kṛcchrī satatam anaśanavrato jito maunī ||
dhatte tāpasavṛttiṃ citraṃ saṃsāravañcakaḥ kitavaḥ ||24||

dra says they are of very low origins: it is either a joke on their unlawful behaviour, or a sign that *bhaṭṭa*, as a member of this compound, had become a general word of respect, not connected to a particular brahminical *jāti*.

[48] I.e. through people talking about him as a *kaula* adept.

[49] This could also be a very peculiar reference to the *siddhi* of *īśītvam*, referred to Vāc, "speech".

bhasmaviliptaśarīraḥ satataṃ nagnaḥ kapālapāṇiś ca |
īśvararūpo 'pi bhṛśaṃ dāridryaniketanaṃ kitavaḥ ||25||

VIII. 23. "A gambler goes to the guru with fish, cakes and red lead[50] in his hand, asking for a mantra for an image of Gaṇeśa made of *śvetārka* (*Calotropis Gigantea*), in order to win in a circle of gamblers".

VIII. 24. "In pain because of his retention of urine, always under a vow of fast, defeated (or: with his senses restrained) and silent, how marvellous! the gambler, who cheats the whole world, leads the life of an ascetic!".

VIII. 25. "His body smeared with ashes, always naked, with a skull in his hand, the gambler, though looking exceedingly like Śiva, is the abode of poverty".

As for the guru's disciples, first comes a silly pupil, qualified as *buddhivihīna* (VIII. 26), then three verses describe the perfect *gurubhakta*, a pupil who is even more dishonest than his teacher (VIII. 27-29):

gurur iti vitarati sarvaṃ ***paśusaṃkāśo*** *gatānugatiḥ* |
buddhivihīnaḥ śiṣyaḥ ***kevalabhakto***[51] *galāṭa…*[52] *madhyaḥ* ||26||
yāgagṛheṣv āsanno ***bhojanapānaikasevakaḥ***[53] *śiṣyaḥ* |
caurasyāpy aticauraś carati sadā vañcakasya guroḥ ||27||
jaya jaya bhagavan mokṣakṣapaṇaikanimittadattasaṃsāra |
magnam adharmapathe mām uddhara nātha ***svahastena***[54] ||28||
ityādistutivacanaiḥ pādāgrālīnamastakaḥ sa guroḥ |
bhuṅkte pibati ca dambhād ***bhaktivihīno*** *mahādhūrtaḥ* ||29||

[50] This succession of items, or a similar one, *matsyāpūpa…* and the use of *sindūra* are often mentioned by Kṣemendra in connection with these gurus (cf. in particular *Narm.* II. 109, the description of the *kaula* guru:

sindūrapūrṇagambhīranābhirandhropaśobhitaḥ |
lopikāpūpaśapharīmiśrābhṛtamahodaraḥ ||

"he was adorned with a deep chasm for a navel, full of red lead powder, and had a large belly filled with a mixture of fish, rice cakes and sweetmeats"). *Rāj.* VI. 11 has *matsyāpūpayāgas* conducted by stupid gurus.

[51] This might be a joke on *kevalādvaita*.

[52] This lacuna has been emended in *galāṭavīmadhyaḥ* by Sato 1994: 64.

[53] A very similar compound describes the guru's devotees in *Narm.* III. 18: *pānabhojakasevaka*.

[54] This seems to be a reference to the *śivahastavidhi*, found also in *Narm.* III. 51.

VIII. 26. "He is the guru! [So thinking] the simple-minded disciple goes through anything, following his steps like a **beast**: he is a pure devotee in a forest of necks[55]".

Here *paśu* may also refer to his uninitiated condition, and that this particular initiation is in treachery is made clear by the following verses, which describe his true *bhakta*. In *Narm*. II. 102b the guru is described as *māyākuhakalaulyānāṃ dīkṣāsamayamaṇḍalam*: "the *maṇḍala* in the initiation rites of trickery, slight of hand and lust".

Deś. VIII. 27. "Sitting in the sacrificial halls, devoted only to food and drink, the disciple always acts even more thievishly than his guru, who is a thief and a cheat".

VIII. 28. "Victory, victory to your Honour! Your round of existence is only dedicated to deliverance and fasting! Uplift me, sunk into the path of *adharma*, with your own hand, my Lord!".

The second sentence can also be read: "Your round of existence was given as a unique means of destroying deliverance!".

VIII. 29. "So with these and other praises, with his head stuck to the toes of the guru, this great swindler devoid of devotion eats and drinks out of deceit".

The guru is performing a sacrifice, for a bad lute player, his pupil, is depicted as he enters the sacrificial area (VIII. 30b):

tumbakavīṇā*skandhaḥ praviśati yāge guroḥ śiṣyaḥ*

VIII. 30b. "With a *vīṇa* made out of the *tumba*[56] gourd on his shoulder, a disciple of the guru enters the sacrificial area".

Then a quack doctor approaches the guru (VIII. 33):

āturadhanasampūrṇacūrṇārdhaślokapāṭhapāṇḍityaḥ |
vaidyo gṛham eti guroḥ śiṣyadhanavyādhibhakṣasya ||33||

[55] This verse is strongly reminiscent of *Narm*. II. 114: "Vying with each other, all the people have fallen at his feet and with their heads they imitate the trembling of metal pots rolling about in an earthquake".

[56] *tumbavīṇa* is also an epithet of Śiva (*MBh*. XIII. 1213). The *tumba* or *tumbaka* is the gourd *Lagenaria Vulgaris*.

VIII. 33. "His scholarship consisting in reciting half a *śloka* and in powders that fill him with the wealth of the sick, a doctor enters the house of the guru who feeds upon the disease that is his disciple's wealth".

The next interesting character is the scribe devotee, *lekhaka* (VIII. 43):

mithyā prātaḥ prātar dātā sarvasya carmakāra iva |
likhati bhagārcanakalpaṃ yāti guruṃ lekhako bhaktaḥ ||43||

VIII. 43. "[Saying] deceitfully to everyone "I will give it tomorrow, in the early morning", he is like a shoe-maker; he writes down the rules for the worship of Bhaga (or: "for the worship of the vulva"); the scribe devotee goes to the guru".

Also some ascetics, *jaṭin*, enter the sacrificial area: they resemble Śiva and affect dire penance, but in fact they do eat (VIII. 46 and 48):

nayanaśivaḥ khalvāṭo…[lacuna] *danturaś ca rūpaśivaḥ* |
jaṭino viṣanti yāge dhyānaśivas tantramantrahīnaś ca ||46||

VIII. 46. "The ascetics, one a Śiva for his eyes, a bald…[lacuna], a Śiva in outlook with projecting teeth and a Śiva in meditation [but] destitute of mantra and tantra [knowledge] enter the sacrificial area".

tantrasthānā*yātaḥ prāyatapobhiḥ* ***śaṭījapadhyānaiḥ*** |
aśnāti maṭhatapasvī ***śivatāsiddhyai*** *punar viṣamaḥ* ||48||

VIII. 48. "Having reached ***tantrasthāna*** through austerities such as solemn fasts[57], meditation and muttering on deceit[58], the inconstant ascetic from the monastery eats again in order to attain *śivatā* ".

The last devotee is a *raṇḍā*, "widow/slut", a character ridiculed in *Narm.* (III. 21-45) for her extraordinary sexual promiscuity. Both these texts mention the *mṛtoddhāra* ritual, here called *mṛtakoddhāra*[59] (VIII. 49b, 50):

madhumāṃsāśanahīnā raṇḍā trāṇaṃ guruṃ smarati

[57] *prāya* and *prāyasthāna* occur in *Narm.* I. 41 as well as in *Rāj.* (where the latter term is called *prāyopaveśa*): cf. *Rāj.* V. 465-466, 468; VI. 336-37, 343-44; VII. 13, 1088, 1157, 1611; VIII. 51, 110, 658, 709, 768, 808, 939, 2224, 2225, 2733, 2739.

[58] If *śaṭī* is the correct reading. If it is *jaṭī*, the translation would be "through prayers, meditation, adopting matted hair".

[59] And called *mṛtoddhāradīkṣā* in *Narm.* III. 43. "For this kind of *post mortem* initiation see *Netratantra* XVIII. 112c-118 and commentary; *Tantrāloka* chapter XXI; and Sanderson 1995: 32-33" (Sanderson, personal communication).

VIII. 49b: "...abstaining from eating liquor and meat the widow remembers (or: "loves") her refuge, the guru!".

śrāddhe bhartur avidyāṃ[60] *tyaktvā sā bhaṭṭabhojakaśrāddham* ǀ
bhaktyā ***mṛtakoddhāre*** *jaghanaṃ haste guroḥ kṣipati* ǁ50ǁ

VIII. 50. "At the *śrāddha* ceremony of her husband, having abandoned ignorance, [i.e.] the funerary rite of feeding the *bhaṭṭa*s, with [great] devotion she puts her loins in the hand of the guru in the ceremony of rescuing the dead one [from hell]".

In the *Sam.* the figure of the bawd is often endowed with tantric resonance, both śaiva and bauddha: in I. 51b she appears as *niryantrāṇāṃ niyamajananī bhogināṃ mantramudrā*: "the mother of restraint for unrestrained enjoyers/lovers, [their] *mantra* and *mudrā*", where I suppose all terms have also tantric connotations: the woman is the *mudrā*, the tantric consort, and has attained also the state of Mantra; *bhogin* "enjoyer, lover" among other meanings is also a technical tantric term "the enjoyer of heaven as the reward of tantric initiation"[61], and *niyama*, besides "restraint", means also "rule" and "contract". The meaning appropriate to the brothel situation is "mother of contracts", which were drawn between the gallants and the courtesans. But the tantric meaning makes her figure very powerful and absolutely central: she appears to be the *mudrā*, not her young protegée. A barber introduces her life story with a meaningful salutation (II. 2):

sarvabhakṣāṃ namaskṛtya tāṃ eva ***bhavabhairavīm*** ǀ
vadāmi caritaṃ tasyāḥ kukṣau yasyā jagattrayī ǁ2ǁ

II. 2. "Salutation to the Bhairavī of Bhava who has eaten everything: I'll tell the adventures of the woman in whose belly lies the triple world".

This resourceful woman changes her name at every new enterprise: she ends up with about 20 different names, and the more interesting ones for our concern are Śikhā (II. 58), Vajraghaṇṭā (II. 61), Tārā (II. 76), Bhavasiddhi (II. 85), Kumbhādevī (II. 86) and Kalā (II. 88). Even before becoming a bawd, she obviously moved in very seedy surroundings, and kept company with various religious mendicants. As Śikhā she

[60] Sato (1994: 63) suggests to emend this in *avidyā*, and translates "the ignorant woman, overlooking the funerary rite of feeding the *bhaṭṭa*s".
[61] Cf. Baldissera 1999/2000, notes to I. 118 and to II. 118.

accompanied herself with the ascetic Bhairavasoma (II. 58), then she stole his deity's substances (*devamātra*) and she went to the Buddhist monastery of Kṛtyāśrama, "The abode of the witch"[62] where (II. 61b):

bhikṣukī vajraghaṇṭākhyā *babhūva dhyānaniścalā* ||

"...she became a Buddhist nun, motionless in meditation, known as Vajraghaṇṭā".

Then in one of her sudden changes she appears mad, naked, embraced by dogs: two or three similar female characters, sort of Indian counterparts of the Greek cynics, are described as followers of the *kaula* guru in *Narm.* III. 16b[63]. The *Deś.* reads (II. 86):

tata unmattikā bhūtvā sā nagnāliṅgitā śvabhiḥ |
kumbhādevīti vikhyātā prāpa pūjāparaṃparām ||86||

II. 86. "Then appearing crazy she remained naked, embraced by dogs: known as Kumbhādevī she became the object of great worship".

Her next "victim" is the drunken ascetic (*tapasvin*) of the humorous name Kaṭighaṇṭa (II. 89): in the stupor of wine she steals his seven bells. After various vicissitudes, she again resorted to a monastery, the Pañcāladhārāmaṭha[64], then set herself up as a religious figure (II. 94):

kvacid ***yogakathābhijñā*** *kvacin māsopavāsinī* |
kvacit tīrthārthinī mithyā sā paraṃ pūjyatāṃ yayau ||94||

II. 94. "Here because she was conversant with magical **incantations**, there because she kept month-long fasts, in another place because she was pretending she wanted to visit the holy fords, she received great worship".

She bragged about her pretended accomplishments, claiming she had lived already for a thousand years (II. 103a-b):

varṣāṇāṃ me sahasraṃ gatam adhikataraṃ vedmy ahaṃ ***dhātuvādaṃ***
siddho me ***vākprapañcaḥ*** *karatalakalitaṃ traipuraṃ* ***kāmatattvam*** |

II. 103a. "I am a thousand years old, I know alchemy exceedingly well, I have perfected the manifestation of the Word (or: 'I have perfected [the art of]

[62] The legend of its founding is narrated in *Rāj.* I. 137-147.

[63] The *Narm.*'s passage reads: *...dvitrāś conmattavanitāḥ śvabhiḥ parivṛtās tathā*, "...and two or three crazy women surrounded by dogs".

[64] Identified by M.A. Stein as the *maṭha* on the Pīr Pāntsal Pass (Stein 1900, vol. II: 375, 395-6).

cheating[65] through speech'), I hold on the palm of my hand the *kāmatattva*[66] of the triple world (or: 'the essence of lust of the triple world')".

The *Sam.* is the work of Kṣemendra where asceticism, and ascetic terminology, is mingled with eroticism: IV. 8 plays with the symbols of the *mahāvrata* in connection with love:

veśyāvanaikapālinyā yayā ***rāgamahāvrate*** |
kṛtā kāmukalokasya ***khaṭvāṅga****śaraṇā tanuḥ* ||8||

IV. 8. "By this unique guardian of the forest of courtesans the body of the [whole] world of lovers was reduced to have the *khaṭvāṅga* for its refuge in the great *mahāvrata* of passion".

Another verse (IV. 11) compares her to Brahmā (called Caturānana), Viṣṇu (called Janārdhana) and Śiva (called **Bhairava**).

Among her customers, two seem to be tantric adepts, the ascetic (*jaṭābhṛt*) Līlaśiva (VI. 9) and the old guru Śambarasāra (VI. 25), who dyes his hair (*kṛṣṇīkṛtakeśa*):

rāgeṇa kṛṣṇīkṛtakeśa eṣa valīviśeṣasphuṭavṛddhabhāvaḥ |
yogāgṛhaṃ śambarasāranāmā yāgāya yugyena[67] *guruḥ prayāti* ||25||

VI. 25. "With his hair dyed black out of passion, but his old age revealed by the marks of his wrinkles, the guru Śambarasāra rides in a chariot to the house of Yogā for a sacrifice".

One of the customers, the clever rogue Śrīgupta, praises the bawd with a verse that reminds me of the invocation to Cāmuṇḍā in *Mālatīmādhava* V. 22-23:

[65] A similar pun on *prapañca* is in *Narm.* I. 7, where it refers to Śiva or to the *kāyastha*: *kṛtiviśvaprapañcāya* referred to the dishonest *kāyastha* is "[to you], author of every fraud", whereas referred to Śiva is "author of the multiplicity of the entire universe". Again, *māyāprapañca* is used in *Sam.* IV. 11, where the bawd is compared to Śiva.

[66] It is a highly technical tantric term, concerning a particular achievement, *siddhi*, of the Śākta tradition: at the occurrence of *kāmatattvika* in *Narm.* III. 17 Sanderson remarked: "The sense is 'one who has achieved mastery of the *kāmatattva*, the essence of desire, with the result that he believes himself able to subject any woman to his desire'. For the Śākta *kāmatattva* and its power see *Tantrāloka* II. 165c-173b; *Vāmakeśvarīmata* V. 1, IV. 34-46" (personal communication).

It is interesting to observe that Kṣemendra mentions *kāmatattva* twice in a work on poetics, *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* I. 1 and I. 14.

[67] Notice the interesting *anuprāsa yog°*, *yāg°*, *yug°* in the second hemistich.

pātālottālatālupravitatavadanaspaṣṭadṛṣṭogradaṃṣṭrā
viśvagrāsāvahelākulitaśikhiśikhāvibhramodbhrāntajihvā |
meṣāṇāṃ caṇḍamuṇḍāharaṇakaṭakaṭārāvapiṣṭāsthisaṃsthā
siddhā śuṣkātipūrṇā jayati bhagavatī kuṭṭanī caṇḍāghaṇṭā ||30||

VI. 30. "Her terrifying tusks are clearly visible in her mouth with a gaping palate as horrid as hell; her quivering tongue flickers like a flurried flame of fire which could easily devour everything (or: 'the whole world'); she is the sacrifice (or: 'killing') of the rams in which the bones are crushed with a *kaṭakaṭa*[68] noise, in the offering to Caṇḍamuṇḍā[69]; victory to the venerable bawd Caṇḍaghaṇṭā, the *siddhā* overflowing with drought[70]".

In the group of men that attend the courtesans' gathering there is the last tantric adept, a *mahāvratin* whose name ends in °*śakti* (a lacuna obliterates the first part of his name) who is said to have once performed the funeral rites for the young courtesan's father (VII. 33).

The *Narm.* presents three instances of *mahāvratin*s: first (I. 30) it tells how the *kāyastha*, to escape the angry villagers, became a *mahāvratin* – and then (I. 31) how some time later, no longer feeling in danger, he abandoned his vow; III. 15 describes a *mahāvratin* whose nose was cut off, and III. 16 mentions a naked *velāvratin*, "one who has taken a temporary *mahāvrata* vow"[71].

This brief survey of tantric images in the texts so far examined[72] shows the richness of Kṣemendra's themes. I confide that more interesting data will emerge from further investigation of his numerous works.

[68] *Narm.* I. 99 has the similar onomatopoeic sound *khaḍakhaḍārāva* of a door.

[69] If one reads *caṇḍamuṇḍa-āharaṇa* the translation would be "in the battle against Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa".

[70] This is a kind of paradox, but maybe the reading is corrupt: it could perhaps be *śuṣkāsthipūrṇā*, "full of dried bones".

[71] Cf. Baldissera 1999/2000, and Sanderson's observation *ad loc.*

[72] This is only a glimpse of "work in progress". As regards the *Narm*, however, here I have only mentioned some of the motifs it shares with the other works examined: there is much more to it, and I have discussed it in Baldissera 1999/2000.

ABBREVIATIONS

Bhag.	*Bhagavadgītā*
Daśa.	*Daśāvatāracarita*
Deś.	*Deśopadeśa*
Mbh.	*Mahābhārata*
Narm.	*Narmamālā*
Rāj.	*Rājataraṅgiṇī*
Sam.	*Samayamātṛkā*
M.W.	*Monier Williams Dictionary*

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Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (see Stein 1900).

Kṣemendra, *Narmamālā* (see Sharma, Rāghavāchārya, Padhye 1961).

Kṣemendra, *Caturvargasaṃgraha* (see Sharma, Rāghavāchārya, Padhye 1961).

Kṣemendra, *Daśāvatāracarita* (see Durgāprasād, Kāśināth Paṇḍuraṅg 1930).

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«NĀNDYANTE SŪTRADHĀRAḤ» CONTRIBUTION D'ABHINAVAGUPTA À LA QUESTION DE LA BÉNÉDICTION LIMINAIRE DANS LE THÉÂTRE*

Oie sauvage pour ce fleuve qu'est un noble cœur, cette [strophe], parce qu'elle suffit à réjouir les poèmes, la troupe des poètes éminents, les acteurs et les excellents spectateurs, est ici appelée *nāndī*, la réjouissante.

Nāṭyapradīpa, cité dans Rāghavabhaṭṭa ad *Śakuntalā*.

Le mythe d'origine

Reprenant ici la question de la *nāndī*, on aimerait revenir aux sources: le mythe d'origine du théâtre dont le récit est au premier chapitre du *Nāṭyaśāstra*[1].

Conduits par le grand Indra, les dieux, comme on sait, s'adressèrent à Pitāmaha: «Nous voulons quelque chose qui soit objet de jeu (*krīḍanīyaka*), quelque chose qui soit à voir et à entendre. Pour ces générations de *śūdra*, la pratique des Veda ne peut faire l'objet d'une transmission orale. Émets donc un nouveau et cinquième Veda destiné à toutes les classes[2]».

* L'article voudrait saluer dans le dédicataire du volume le pionnier érudit et sensible à qui l'on doit, entre tant d'autres œuvres considérables, ce livre qui fit date: *The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta*.

[1] Le *Nāṭyaśāstra* (= NŚ) serait probablement du I[er] ou du II[e] siècle de notre ère. Au X[e] siècle, Abhinavagupta en a donné un commentaire, indispensable à l'intelligence du traité, l'*Abhinavabhāratī* (= ABh.). Nous nous référerons à l'édition suivante: *Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni with the commentary Abhinava-bhāratī*, ed. by R.S. Nagar, Delhi-Ahmedabad, Parimal Publications, 1981-1984, 4 vol. (Parimal Sanskrit Series, 4). On citera les *śloka*, en désignant par *a* le premier hémistiche, par *b* le second.

[2] NŚ I 11-12:
mahendrapramukhair devair uktaḥ kila pitāmahaḥ
krīḍanīyakam icchāmo dṛśyaṃ śravyaṃ ca yad bhavet //
na vedavyavahāro 'yaṃ saṃśrāvyaḥ śūdrajātiṣu /
tasmāt sṛjāparaṃ vedaṃ pañcamaṃ sārvavarṇikam //

On peut, grâce au commentaire, tenter de retrouver la logique sous-jacente à cette requête, qui suit immédiatement un ample tableau des désordres du monde (NŚ I 1-10). En effet, cette anarchie à laquelle veulent remédier les dieux est, selon eux, un effet de l'ignorance des textes – Veda et *śāstra* – et des normes qu'ils édictent. Or cette ignorance elle-même n'est à leurs yeux qu'un effet de la difficulté de ces textes: les hommes, et en particulier les *dvija*, les deux-fois-nés, seuls habilités à connaître les Veda, ont cessé de les étudier et se trouvent ainsi ravalés au statut de *śūdra*. Un abaissement qui n'est pas seulement symbolique mais se réalise dans les faits, avec l'apparition de castes hybrides, issues d'unions scandaleuses:

> Chacun, dans le Kṛtayuga, observait son devoir personnel car, alors, la prépondérance du *sattva* était grande. Mais, aujourd'hui, en raison de leurs dispositions rājasiques, dominés par un immense orgueil, et semblables à des *śūdra* – c'est-à-dire appartenant à ces [castes hybrides que sont les] *karaṇa*[3], etc. –, aucun ne se consacre aux devoirs respectifs des trois classes. [...] Aussi ne sont-ils pas faits pour les enseignements des Veda et des *śāstra*[4].

Ainsi voit-on s'accomplir, dans la saisissante vision qu'en donne Abhinavagupta, un scénario en quatre temps: négligence délibérée des lois, confusion des mœurs, confusion des classes, confusion des devoirs.

De ce nouvel objet qu'ils demandent à Brahmā, les dieux attendent donc que, se substituant à l'austère et longue étude des Veda et des traités, il fasse ludiquement et spontanément accéder l'ensemble de la société humaine au contenu des textes qu'elle délaisse: l'enseignement du *dharma* – le *ṛta*, dans le Veda – et des moyens nécessaires à sa réalisation, en l'occurrence et pour l'essentiel l'observance des quatre *puruṣārtha*[5]. Comme tel, le théâtre mérite pleinement le statut de Veda puisque, nous rappelle Abhinavagupta, la racine *vid* implique l'immédiateté et la spontanéité de la connaissance[6]. Par la généralisation du savoir que

[3] Appartiennent à la classe des *karaṇa* ceux dont la mère est d'une classe immédiatement inférieure au père.

[4] ABh. ad NŚ I 11-12, vol. I, p. 11: *kṛtayuge sattvotkarṣabalād eva sarvaḥ svadharmam anupālayati / adya tu rājasatvāt śūdraprakārāḥ karaṇādijātīyāḥ sarve 'kharvagarvākrāntā varṇatrayānuvṛttiṃ na vidadhate / [...] na ca te vedaśāstropadeśayogyāḥ /*

[5] Voir notre article: «Drama and Dharma in Indian Speculations», *Indologica Taurinensia* (sous presse).

[6] ABh. ad NŚ I 17, vol. I, p. 14 (avec quelques corrections): *tenākramya yojanātmaka-niyogātmakaśāsanaprāṇaśāstravailakṣaṇyena svayam upārūdhajñānābhidhānā vidaḥ prā-ṇaḥ /* «L'essence de la racine *vid*, c'est de signifier un savoir acquis spontanément, contrairement aux *śāstra* dont l'enseignement, une fois qu'on les a approchés, consiste essentiellement à prescrire et assujettir [quelqu'un à une action donnée]».

favorisent conjointement le plaisir esthétique et l'expérience directe – ou plutôt presque directe – qu'il crée[7], le théâtre contribue ainsi à restaurer l'ordre socio-cosmique qu'avait mis à mal la généralisation de l'ignorance.

Il faut y insister: il ne s'agit pas simplement ici de «faire entendre le Veda aux castes de *śūdra*», comme on le comprend généralement[8], donc de réparer l'injustice qui consiste à écarter de l'étude des textes la quatrième et dernière classe de la société hindouiste. Même si le raisonnement des dieux tient compte de cela aussi, l'enjeu est bien plus considérable: à ce moment de l'évolution socio-cosmique où ils interviennent, en ce Tretāyuga dominé par le *rajas*, principe de passion, d'orgueil et d'instabilité, c'est toute la société qui a été ravalée à la condition de *śūdra*[9] pour s'être adonnée à cette «règle des rustres», à cette «loi vulgaire» (*grāmyadharma*), dont le dédain du savoir et la licence sexuelle sont les signes les plus manifestes. L'inconduite – quelles que soient ses formes – apparaît donc comme le premier indice du désordre social, lequel met en péril l'ordre du monde. Car, poursuit la glose, les hommes n'offrent plus de sacrifices aux dieux, ou s'ils les offrent, c'est en les colorant de ce *rajas* qui les caractérise, exposant les immortels à une étrange contamination: le cœur désormais pénétré de ce même *rajas*, ils connaissent à leur tour la joie et la peine, à l'égal des hommes[10].

Rappelons, à grands traits, la suite du récit.

La pratique du théâtre est confiée à Bharata et à ses cent fils, après que les dieux, sollicités, se sont récusés – «pour excès de bonheur», observe le commentateur[11] – (19-39a). Dès lors, tout s'enchaîne très vite: répétitions, auxquelles se joignent Svāti pour la musique et Nārada pour le chant, et introduction de la *kaiśikī vṛtti*, la Manière gracieuse, qui est la beauté propre à la scène (39b-51a)[12]; première représentation (51b-58a) – Brahmā en fixe

[7] Cf. Bansat-Boudon 1998: 12-13.

[8] Ainsi Kuiper (1979: 121) résumant NŚ I 11-12: «As they [the gods] pointed out to him, knowledge of the four Vedas was not allowed to the śūdras.» C'est aussi l'occasion pour nous de revenir sur la traduction que nous donnions, sans nous expliquer davantage, dans Bansat-Boudon 1992: 137.

[9] D'où notre traduction de *śūdrajātiṣu*: «ces générations de *śūdra*».

[10] On trouvera l'analyse détaillée de toute cette discussion dans «Drama and Dharma in Indian Speculations», *Indologica Taurinensia* (sous presse).

[11] Cet excès de bonheur (*sukhabhūyiṣṭatva*) est ce qui caractérise les dieux et les distingue des hommes. Or, qu'est-ce que le théâtre, sinon la représentation du complexe assemblage de peine et de joie à quoi se résume la vie des hommes? Voilà les dieux ontologiquement disqualifiés.

[12] Cf. Bansat-Boudon 1992: 169-177.

le moment: la Fête de la bannière d'Indra; Bharata en règle le détail selon un protocole précis: à la *nāndī* (56b-57a) succède un prologue montrant le combat furieux des dieux et des démons (57b-58a); satisfaction des dieux, qui font des présents aux acteurs (58b-63a); colère des démons (et, à leur tête, des Vighna), auxquels est insupportable le spectacle de leur défaite; usant de leur *māyā*, leur pouvoir magique, ils paralysent les interprètes, arrêtant ainsi la représentation (63b-66a); s'ensuit un nouveau combat des dieux et des démons; Indra les met en pièces avec la hampe de son étendard, qui reçoit aussitôt le nom de *jarjara*: «le pourfendeur» (66b-75); sursaut des Vighna rescapés du massacre; afin de protéger définitivement le spectacle, Viśvakarman, architecte des dieux, construit une salle de théâtre que les dieux, postés par Brahmā en tous lieux, et jusque sous la scène, sont chargés de défendre contre d'éventuels assauts (76-98).

La fin du récit montrera toutefois que cela ne suffit toujours pas. Il ne restera plus à Brahmā qu'à se faire pédagogue, et, s'adressant lui-même aux démons, à leur expliquer la nature et la vocation du théâtre. C'est l'occasion d'un véritable manifeste poétique et métaphysique, où sont jetés les fondements de toute la pensée esthétique indienne, en même temps que s'y réfractent quelques-uns des concepts fondamentaux autour desquels s'organisent les spéculations philosophiques et religieuses (99-119).

Puis, revenant à la matérialité du nouvel édifice, Brahmā invite les dieux à célébrer le «culte de la scène» (*raṅgapūjā*), promis à servir de modèle aux cérémonies des mortels. Il s'incarnera, dans les pratiques humaines, en deux rituels successifs: le *raṅgadaivatapūjana* et le *pūrva-raṅga* (respectivement décrits aux chapitres III et V), eux aussi destinés à protéger le spectacle (120-127).

Le théâtre et les difficultés qu'il a rencontrées ont suscité le rite, ou plutôt la panoplie de rites qui doivent garantir son succès. En sorte qu'après ce premier essai infructueux – la représentation, interrompue, est laissée inachevée –, l'économie spectaculaire est définitivement établie, entérinée par l'organisation même du traité: le chapitre II décrit la construction de la salle de théâtre et sa consécration; le chapitre III traite du *raṅgadaivatapūjana*, tandis que le *pūrvaraṅga* apparaît dans le chapitre IV – sans justification explicite, il est en place dès la troisième représentation[13] – avant que le chapitre V n'entre longuement dans le détail

[13] La deuxième représentation est celle d'un *samavakāra*, intitulé *Amṛtamanthana* «Le barattement de l'océan d'ambroisie», œuvre de Brahmā (NŚ IV 2-4). La troisième représentation, donnée devant Śiva, reprend l'*Amṛtamanthana*, et le fait suivre d'un *ḍima*, le *Tripuradāha*, «L'incendie de Tripura» (NŚ IV 5-10). Voici le texte (NŚ IV 10): *pūrvaraṅgaḥ*

de sa procédure. Les Sages n'obtiendront de réponse sur la raison d'être du *pūrvaraṅga* qu'au chapitre XXXVI (16-28), au moment d'interroger Bharata sur les ultimes arcanes du théâtre: il a pour vocation d'écarter les obstacles (*vighnanirvahaṇa*)[14], ne serait-ce qu'en plaisant aux dieux, et aux Asura eux-mêmes, dont il s'attire ainsi la faveur[15]. Vocation qui est aussi celle de la *nāndī*, comme son nom l'indique[16].

La première représentation

Reprenons le récit à l'endroit où la pratique du théâtre est confiée à Bharata – qui devient ainsi le premier Nāṭyācārya, en même temps que le premier Sūtradhāra, ou directeur de troupe – et à ses fils (I 24-39a).

Après les répétitions (I 39b-51a) vient le moment de songer à la première représentation (I 51b-58a). Brahmā s'adresse à Bharata:

> Voici que se présente une grande occasion pour cette représentation. La glorieuse (*śrīmat*) Fête de la bannière d'Indra (*Indradhvajamaha*) commence. C'est ici, maintenant, qu'il faut mettre en pratique ce Veda nommé théâtre (I 54-55a)[17].

Puisque, souligne le commentaire, l'occasion s'en présente d'elle-même, «sans effort» (*ayatna*), c'est donc un hasard, un destin (*daiva*) heureux qui fait coïncider le premier spectacle avec la célébration de l'*Indradhvajamaha*, «cette Fête (*mahan*) où a lieu le culte (*pūjana*) de la bannière [dressée] en l'honneur d'Indra (*Indrārtha*)»[18]. Un rituel dont le *Nāṭyaśāstra* nous apprend

kṛtaḥ pūrvaṃ tatrāyaṃ dvijasattamāḥ / tathā tripuradāhaś ca ḍimasaṃjñaḥ prayojitaḥ // «Après qu'on eut d'abord exécuté le *pūrvaraṅga*, celui-là [l'*Amṛtamanthana*] et le *ḍima* intitulé *Tripuradāha* furent représentés.»

[14] NŚ XXXVI 16.

[15] Il leur plaît notamment par le chant, la musique, les bénédictions et les louanges (autant de traits que la *nāndī* regroupe exemplairement) qui s'y déploient (NŚ XXXVI 18-20). Ce n'est là, toutefois, qu'une des raisons de la vocation protectrice du *pūrvaraṅga*. La première d'entre elles étant qu'on y manie le *jarjara*, pourfendeur des démons hostiles, recommençant ainsi de façon symbolique l'épisode mythique dans lequel Indra se portait au secours de la première représentation. Une autre étant que, par nombre de traits, le *pūrvaraṅga* se présente comme un rituel propitiatoire. Cf. Bansat-Boudon 1992: 67-80, et *infra*, p. 50.

[16] Cf. *infra*, pp. 53-54.

[17] NŚ I 54-55a: *mahān ayaṃ prayogasya samayaḥ pratyupasthitaḥ / ayaṃ dhvajamahaḥ śrīmān mahendrasya pravartate // atredānīm ayaṃ vedo nāṭyasaṃjñaḥ prayujyatām /*

[18] ABh ad NŚ I 54, vol. I, p. 22: *dhvajasyendrārthasya mahanaṃ pūjanaṃ yatra sa dhvajamahaḥ*. C'est le texte de GOS et de Parimal. Kuiper (p. 138, n. 126) lit différemment (d'après Ghosh): *dhvajasyendrasya*, et comprend: «where there is a *mahana* (worshipping) of the *dhvaja*, that is Indra.»

encore, par l'intermédiaire d'un composé *bahuvrīhi*, qu'il est (littéralement) «ayant [pour objet] les Asura et les Dānava massacrés» (*nihatāsuradānava*), c'est-à-dire qu'il commémore le massacre des Asura et des Dānava, ces adversaires démoniaques des dieux[19]:

> Alors, dans cette Fête de la bannière commémorant le massacre des Asura et des Dānava, dans cette célébration (*utsava*) de la victoire de Mahendra, où les immortels, exultant, s'étaient assemblés, je fis d'abord la *nāndī*... (I 55b-56)[20].

Cette articulation de la première représentation sur la Fête de la bannière signale d'emblée, au sein du mythe d'origine, le lien profond du théâtre et du rite, du moins l'une des réalisations de ce lien: le théâtre est cet événement, cette cérémonie, qui s'ajoute à un rituel – déjà splendide et glorieux, dit le *Nāṭyaśāstra* – pour en exalter l'éclat, tandis que, symétriquement, le rite protège le théâtre. Ce sera désormais la règle: le théâtre se donnera associé aux fêtes, religieuses pour la plupart, dont est scandée, dans l'Inde, la vie des hommes[21].

Ici, le rituel consiste à dresser la bannière qui suffit à signifier la lutte dont elle symbolise l'enjeu: ériger le ciel au-dessus de la terre grâce à l'étai cosmique qu'elle figure, et par là consacrer la victoire des dieux sur les démons[22], donc celle du *dharma*, l'ordre cosmique, sur l'*adharma*, son contraire. Le théâtre quant à lui, la suite du texte l'établira, renchérit sur la procédure rituelle, en montrant dans le prologue, c'est-à-dire, conformément à sa vocation (I 11), en donnant «à voir et à entendre», ce fameux combat originel où les démons furent défaits (NŚ I 57b-58a). Ainsi, comme le veut le complément de définition offert par le vers 14, le théâtre est-il propice au *dharma* dont il montre la victoire sur l'*adharma*[23].

[19] Telle est bien l'analyse d'Abhinavagupta (p. 22): «En employant l'adjectif (*viśesaṇa*) *nihatāsuradānava*, il montre l'origine (*saṃbhava*) de la Fête de la bannière.»

[20] NŚ I 55b-56: *tatas tasmin dhvajamahe nihatāsuradānave // prahṛṣṭāmarasaṃkīrṇe mahendravijayotsave / pūrvaṃ kṛtā mayā nāndī...*

[21] La fête du printemps, par exemple, comme dans *Mālavikāgnimitra* ou *Ratnāvalī*, la fête de Kālapriyanātha (Śiva) dans l'*Uttararāmacarita*; des noces (NŚ XXXVI 24-25 ou *Kumārasaṃbhava* VII 91); un sacrifice royal (NŚ XXXVI 24-25). Certaines pièces, telles *Vikramorvaśī* ou *Śakuntalā*, cependant, se donnent sur commande, afin de complaire à un auditoire cultivé.

[22] Cf. Kuiper 1979: 129-142.

[23] NŚ I 14-15: *dharmyam arthyaṃ yaśasyaṃ ca sopadeśyaṃ sasaṅgraham* / [...] *nāṭyākhyaṃ pañcamaṃ vedaṃ setihāsaṃ karomy aham* // Notre traduction s'autorise du commentaire d'Abhinavagupta: «Propice au *dharma* (*dharmya*) [et aux autres *puruṣārtha*], désirable (*arthya*) et célébré comme tel (*yaśasya*), renfermant les enseignements [nécessaires], suscitant leur parfaite intelligence [...], tel je fais, moi, l'associant à la Fable

UNE OU DEUX *NĀNDĪ*?

«Je fis d'abord la *nāndī*...»[24] Ainsi commence la description du protocole spectaculaire: «Il [Bharata] montre l'ordonnance (*krama*) de la représentation», observe Abhinavagupta.

Première séquence de ce protocole, la *nāndī* mérite que l'on s'y attarde, non seulement parce qu'elle relève du rituel, mais aussi parce qu'elle a fait l'objet de querelles d'interprétation. Il y a une question de la *nāndī*, qui occupe encore les indianistes, mais dont on débattait déjà, à date ancienne, comme en témoignent la glose d'Abhinavagupta au *Nāṭyaśāstra*, et, nombreux et touffus, les commentaires aux drames.

Une question suscitée par la place autant que par le contenu de la didascalie liminaire des pièces, et qui se formule doublement: non seulement quelle est la *nāndī* que mentionnent les didascalies – et la strophe inaugurale des textes dramatiques est-elle cette *nāndī*? – mais aussi quel en est le locuteur?

Dès une époque reculée, nombre d'exégètes, en Inde comme en Occident, ont voulu reconnaître dans la *nāndī* qu'évoque le paratexte des pièces la *nāndī* du *pūrvaraṅga*. Or l'enseignement du *Nāṭyaśāstra*, relayé par son commentaire est clair: il y a une *nāndī* du *pūrvaraṅga* et une autre du théâtre. Distinguer l'une de l'autre est essentiel, car il s'agit de savoir où commence le théâtre, entendu comme la représentation d'un texte de fiction, et où s'achève le *pūrvaraṅga*, cet ensemble ritualisé d'actions qui en constitue les préliminaires.

PŪRVARAṄGA ET REPRÉSENTATION

Nous avons montré ailleurs que le *pūrvaraṅga* – littéralement la «scène antérieure», pour reprendre la traduction de Charles Malamoud (1998: 26) – est un rituel théâtralisé, car destiné à établir la théâtralité de l'événement qu'il introduit[25]. Au reste, le *pūrvaraṅga*, cérémonie réglée qui prélude invariablement à tout spectacle de théâtre dans l'Inde ancienne (et, à un

(*itihāsa*), le cinquième Veda nommé théâtre (*nāṭya*).» Sur cette définition du théâtre, voir notre développement dans «Drama and Dharma in Indian Speculations», *Indologica Taurinensia* (sous presse).

[24] NŚ I 56b: *pūrvaṃ kṛtā mayā nāndī*... .

[25] Cf. Bansat-Boudon 1992: 68-80, et 1995: 123-126.

moindre degré, dans l'Inde contemporaine), participe de la représentation. La glose d'Abhinavagupta est explicite à cet égard: «Ainsi, ce qui, comportant chant, rythme, musique, danse et récitation [utilisés] ensemble ou séparément, est donné en représentation et participe du théâtre, c'est le *pūrvaraṅga*. Voilà ce qui a été dit[26]». De fait, le spectacle commence dès le *pūrvaraṅga*, ou plutôt il est constitué de la représentation successive du *pūrvaraṅga* et de l'œuvre dramatique. C'est pourquoi, sans doute, les *prāśnika*, ces experts chargés d'évaluer la qualité du spectacle, incluent dans leur examen, sinon toute l'exécution du *pūrvaraṅga*, du moins celle de sa dernière partie[27]. Notons qu'il ne figure pas dans les textes dramatiques; il est l'affaire, non du poète, mais du praticien, qui se conforme au strict protocole consigné dans le *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

La *yavanikā* (ou *javanikā*), le rideau de scène, est le signe le plus net de cette ambivalence du *pūrvaraṅga* dont les dix-neuf séquences se distribuent en deux segments selon qu'elles ont lieu «derrière le rideau» (*antaryavanikā*) – demeurant invisibles au spectateur, elles relèvent du chant et de la musique – ou devant (*bahiryavanikā*).

Car, s'il est vrai que la présence de la *yavanikā* tire le *pūrvaraṅga* du côté du théâtre, elle évoque aussi le voile qui, dans la classe de Pythagore, séparait disciples débutants et confirmés: les uns, «exotériques acousmatiques», entendant pendant cinq ans l'enseignement du maître, sans être autorisés à le voir; les autres, élevés à la dignité d'«ésotériques» pour avoir acquis le droit, la période probatoire achevée, de se tenir derrière le rideau, avec le maître. Dans l'Inde, le spectateur, au cours d'une seule et même session, passerait donc du statut d'exotérique acousmatique à celui d'ésotérique. A la lumière de l'analogie, on serait tenté de voir dans le *pūrvaraṅga* une propédeutique du théâtre – ce qui justifierait sa longueur – et dans le théâtre un mystère révélé. Telle paraît être, aussi bien, la position du *Nāṭyaśāstra*: dans l'avant-dernier chapitre, Bharata, sollicité par les Sages qui l'entourent – «Enseigne-nous les arcanes du théâtre» (*nāṭyaguhyaṃ nidarśaya*)[28] – s'explique sur la dimension rituelle et ésotérique du *pūrvaraṅga*, et le dernier chapitre, dans la version du texte

[26] ABh. ad NŚ V 6, vol. I, p. 211: *tena gītatālavādyanṛttapāṭhyaṃṭ vyastasamastatayā prayujyamānaṃ yan nāṭyāṅgabhūtaṃ sa pūrvaraṅga ity uktaṃ bhavati*.

[27] Le chapitre XXVII (v. 41) enseigne qu'ils doivent commencer leur travail après le *jarjaramokṣa*, l'abandon du *jarjara*, qui paraît coïncider avec ce moment de la *mahācārī* où le Sūtradhāra remet le *jarjara* à l'un de ses assistants. Pour d'autres indices de la théâtralité du *pūrvaraṅga*, voir Bansat-Boudon 1992: 73 (n. 109) et 77-80.

[28] NŚ XXXVI 10b.

que commente Abhinavagupta, est celui du «récit de la vérité secrète» (*guhyatattvakathana*). Nature duelle, donc, du *pūrvaraṅga*, signalée d'emblée par la *yavanikā*, et confirmée par des procédures associant rituel et théâtralité[29].

Lui correspond une double fonction dans l'économie générale de la représentation. On connaît la logique mythique: le rite, l'*Indradhvajamaha*, protège le théâtre et fonde un autre rituel à son image, le *pūrvaraṅga*, destiné à lui garantir indéfiniment cette protection. Et ce nouveau rituel s'organise autour de deux objets qui signifient sa double dimension: la *yavanikā*, on l'a vu, et le *jarjara*. En effet, avatar scénique de la bannière dont Indra s'est fait une arme pour en découdre avec les démons hostiles, le *jarjara*, perpétuant le souvenir de l'*Indradhvajamaha* dont le *pūrvaraṅga* est issu, réaffirme aussi, au seuil de chaque représentation, la nature et la fonction rituelles de ces préliminaires où il paraît.

Rituellement donc, le *pūrvaraṅga* protège le spectacle, au même titre que le pur rituel qui le précède, le *raṅgadaivatapūjana*[30], l'un et l'autre ayant en commun le rôle essentiel dévolu au *jarjara*. Si ce n'est pas dit explicitement dans le *Nāṭyaśāstra* avant le chapitre XXXVI (16-28), on peut toutefois considérer que le moment du mythe d'origine (NŚ I 63-74b), où les dieux forment le vœu que le *jarjara* soit désormais le protecteur de la représentation, vaut pour une injonction à faire précéder du *pūrvaraṅga* (et aussi du *raṅgadaivatapūjana*)[31] toute représentation future. En effet une grande partie des séquences qui ont lieu «devant le rideau», consistent en une mise en scène du *jarjara* et dans le complexe protocole de sa manipulation (ce n'est qu'au terme de la *mahācārī* que disparaît le *jarjara*, remis par le Sūtradhāra à l'un de ses assistants[32]). Le commentaire ne s'y trompe pas, qui observe, dans l'*avataraṇikā* à tout ce passage: «Ensuite, il [Bharata] commence à montrer, par le

[29] Pour une analyse détaillée, voir Bansat-Boudon 1992: 71-77.

[30] Le traité (NŚ III 97a) est explicite: *yajñena saṃmitaṃ hy etad raṅgadaivatapūjanam* / «ce *raṅgadaivatapūjana* est semblable à un sacrifice.»

[31] Voici le texte (NŚ I 71-74b): «Quand tous – Vighna et Dānava – eurent été massacrés, exultants, tous les habitants du ciel prononcèrent cette parole: "[...] puisque avec cet [étendard] les Vighna et les Asura ont été mis en pièces (*jarjarīkṛta*), c'est *jarjara* qui sera son nom. Et pour ce qui est des [autres] violenteurs qui viendront violenter [la représentation], à la seule vue du *jarjara*, eux aussi s'en iront de même." Alors Śakra répondit aux dieux: "Qu'il en soit ainsi. Ce *jarjara* sera le protecteur de tous"».

[32] Cf. Bansat-Boudon 1992: 75. Sur le sens du terme *sūtradhāra*, voir Bansat-Boudon 1992: 218-219.

mythe (*itihāsa*), qu'il faut faire le culte du *jarjara* (*jarjarapūjā*) pour pacifier les Vighna»[33].

Esthétiquement, le *pūrvaraṅga* prépare le spectateur au spectacle, en lui donnant «à voir et à entendre» les traits principaux de la théâtralité. Outre la musique, le chant et la danse – la catégorie de *pūrvaraṅga* que la théorie (au chapitre IV) désigne comme «bigarré» (*citra*) comporte des intermèdes dansés –, y paraissent, pour la première fois, l'acteur (représenté par le Sūtradhāra et ses deux assistants) et son jeu, ainsi que le dialogue: dans l'épisode du *trigata*, les trois protagonistes du *pūrvaraṅga* – l'un des assistants a pris alors la conduite, le langage, le costume et le grimage du Vidūṣaka – ont ensemble une conversation dont Abhinavagupta observe qu'elle est «la caractéristique du *nāṭaka* à venir, ou de toute autre pièce[34]».

Encore la vocation esthétique du *pūrvaraṅga* n'est-elle pas sans rejoindre sa vocation rituelle, puisque cette préparation insensible du spectateur au spectacle, dont le commentaire observe à propos de la *prastāvanā*, dernier élément du *pūrvaraṅga*, qu'elle est pour lui un perfectionnement (*saṃskāra*)[35], est comparable à la consécration du sacrifiant, cette *dīkṣā* qui le qualifie pour le sacrifice. N'est-ce pas ainsi qu'il faut entendre la déclaration de Bharata, au chapitre XXXVI (28a): «Ainsi ai-je fait le *pūrvaraṅga*, afin de qualifier [le théâtre] pour le culte [des dieux]»?[36].

Considéré dans sa dimension esthétique, le *pūrvaraṅga* paraît fonctionner comme la matrice d'où surgit la structure générale du spectacle qu'il inaugure, de la même façon que de ce prélude qu'est l'*ālāp* s'élève le *rāga*, la mélodie. En effet, la correspondance qui s'établit entre *pūrvaraṅga* et représentation (*prayoga*) a d'abord valeur prospective: le rôle de la «scène antérieure», est bien d'anticiper sur la scène proprement dite. C'est pourquoi, sans doute, la théorie prend soin d'établir une classification symétrique du *pūrvaraṅga* et de la représentation, celui-là se réglant sur celle-ci dont il adopte et signale par avance quelques-uns des traits, en l'espèce la tonalité émotionnelle ou le rythme qu'on lui imprime. Abhinavagupta met ainsi en

[33] ABh. ad NŚ I 64-74b, vol. I, p. 26: *atha vighnopaśamanāya jarjarapūjā kāryeti darśayitum itihāsenopakramate*.

[34] ABh. ad NŚ V 28, vol. I, p. 220: *sañjalpo bhaviṣyannāṭakādiviśeṣaḥ*.

[35] ABh. ad NŚ V 165, vol. I, p. 253: *hṛdayanirmalīkaraṇaṃ rasāsvādocitasaṃskārāt [...] kuryāt* «[le Sthāpaka, prononçant la *prastāvanā*] doit faire en sorte que leur cœur devienne limpide en le dotant des perfectionnements appropriés à la gustation du *rasa*». Sur la *prastāvanā*, voir *infra*, p. 69.

[36] NŚ XXXVI 28a: *evaṃ pūjādhikārārthaṃ pūrvaraṅgaḥ kṛto mayā*. Le texte complet est donné *infra*, n. 48.

lumière la distinction qu'opère le *rasa* dominant entre virilité et féminité, impétuosité et voluptueux alanguissement:

> Il y a deux sortes de *nāṭya*: le véhément (*uddhata*) et le tendre (*sukumāra*), parce que deux *rasa* seulement travaillent à l'accomplissement de tous les «buts de l'homme»: l'Héroïque (*vīra*) et l'Amoureux (*śṛṅgāra*) tels qu'ils s'incarnent dans le héros. Dans le cas du premier [*rasa*: l'Héroïque], on présente le *pūrvaraṅga* de façon qu'y dominent les attitudes de Maheśa, mais quand le *nāṭya* est dominé par l'Amoureux, c'est [à la catégorie] *sukumāra* [que le] *pūrvaraṅga* [doit appartenir][37].

Ce n'est pas un hasard si l'exégète s'exprime de la sorte dans le chapitre du rythme (*tāla*), car le rythme est un autre critère de classification applicable aux deux objets: on distingue deux sortes de *pūrvaraṅga* et de représentation selon que les organise le *tryaśratāla*, rythme «triangulaire» (appelé aussi *cācapuṭa*), c'est-à-dire à trois temps, ou le *caturaśratāla* (autrement nommé *cañcatpuṭa*), rythme «quadrangulaire», à quatre temps[38]. Double organisation rythmique à laquelle, on le verra, la *nāndī* obéit également, qu'elle soit segment du *pūrvaraṅga* ou de la pièce.

De même faut-il déceler, entre autres éléments en miroir, deux catégories de *lāsyāṅga*, petits drames en abyme[39], deux catégories de *prastāvanā*, ou prologue[40], deux catégories de *prarocanā*, invitation à regarder le spectacle[41], et deux catégories de *nāndī*, en fonction de leur appartenance au *pūrvaraṅga* ou à la représentation. Réduplication favorable, on s'en doute, au gauchissement et à la confusion. C'est ainsi que, dans les traités postérieurs à celui de Bharata, on a pu prendre l'un pour l'autre ces objets symétriques, pourtant clairement distingués, ou bien, comme fait le *Sāhityadarpaṇa* à propos du *raṅgadvāra*, affecter à la représentation une séquence appartenant de plein droit au *pūrvaraṅga*[42].

[37] ABh. ad NŚ XXXI 330 *sq*, vol. IV, p. 268:
idaṃ dvividhaṃ hi nāṭyam / uddhataṃ sukumāraṃ ca / vīraśṛṅgārayor eva nāyakagatayor aśeṣapuruṣārthasiddhiṣu vyāpārāt / tatra prathame samudyataḥ pūrvaraṅgo maheśacaritaprādhānyena / [...] *śṛṅgārapradhāne tu nāṭye sukumāra eva pūrvaraṅgo* [...].

[38] Cf. *infra*, pp. 62-63.

[39] Abhinavagupta note que les uns, ceux du théâtre, ne sont que la mise en emphase d'un trait de beauté, particulièrement spectaculaire des autres, ceux du *pūrvaraṅga* (cf. Bansat-Boudon 1992: 281-303, et 1991).

[40] ABh. ad NŚ V 161b-169a, vol. I, p. 254: «Il y a deux sortes de *prastāvanā* ...», cité et commenté *infra*, p. 69.

[41] *Ibid.*: «Il faut savoir qu'il en est ainsi également pour la *prarocanā*.»

[42] Cf. *infra*, pp. 73, le passage du *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. Sur le *raṅgadvāra*, voir Bansat-Boudon 1992: 74-75.

Qui veut comprendre la *nāndī*, ou plutôt ses deux réalisations, doit ainsi se plier, à l'instar d'Abhinavagupta, à un constant va-et-vient entre le mythe d'origine du chapitre I et l'exposé que le chapitre V consacre au *pūrvaraṅga*. L'exercice permet de relever deux définitions de la *nāndī* qui, en dépit de similitudes, ne sont pas entièrement superposables. Conformément au principe de non-redondance des *śāstra*, érigé en principe d'exégèse, la différence des définitions établit ainsi celle des objets.

Deux *nāndī*

Définitions

Voyons les définitions du *Nāṭyaśāstra* et la glose d'Abhinavagupta.

D'un côté, au chapitre Ier, une définition d'un *śloka*; de l'autre, au chapitre V, deux définitions d'un *śloka* chacune, et un exemple (occupant quatre *śloka*: 105-108), suivi d'un *śloka* (109) renseignant sur la diction de cette *nāndī* du *pūrvaraṅga*.

Comparons:

NŚ I	NŚ V
56b-57a *pūrvaṃ kṛtā mayā nāndī hy āśīrvacanasaṃyutā // aṣṭāṅgapadasaṃyuktā vicitrā vedanirmitā /* «Je fis d'abord la *nāndī*, dotée de bénédictions, constituée de huit *pada* [c'est-à-dire de huit] *aṅga*, d'une merveilleuse diversité, conforme au Veda».	24 *āśīrvacanasaṃyuktā nityaṃ yasmāt prayujyate /* *devadvijanṛpādīnāṃ tasmān nāndīti saṃjñitā //* «Parce qu'elle est toujours exécutée comme dotée des bénédictions [appelées] sur les dieux, les brahmanes, les rois, etc., pour cette raison, la *nāndī* est appelée telle». 104 *sūtradhāraḥ paṭhet tatra madhyamaṃ svaram āśritaḥ /* *nāndīṃ padair dvadaśabhir aṣṭabhir vā 'py alaṅkṛtām //* «Là, le Sūtradhāra, recourant à la note moyenne, doit réciter une *nāndī* ornée, par exemple, de douze ou de huit *pada*».

NŚ I	NŚ V
	109 *nāndīpadāntareṣv eṣu hy evam āryeti nityaśaḥ /* *vandetāṃ samyag uktābhir vāgbhis tau pāripārśvikau //* «Et les deux assistants doivent toujours montrer leur respect [au Sūtradhāra] en proférant "Qu'il en soit ainsi, Monsieur", avec des mots parfaitement articulés, au moment des pauses entre les *pada* de la *nāndī*».

On voit que, définie au chapitre I, la *nāndī* des origines, qui est aussi celle de la première représentation, pose d'emblée les éléments que reprendra la *nāndī* du *pūrvaraṅga*. Mieux: on s'aperçoit que les définitions du chapitre V contribuent à dissiper la relative obscurité – inhérente au style puissamment aphoristique du traité – de la définition première, en la déployant. Aussi, en bon herméneute maîtrisant l'ensemble du texte qu'il commente, et convaincu de sa cohérence profonde, Abhinavagupta examine-t-il d'abord la *nāndī* définie au chapitre Ier, en se référant aux définitions du chapitre V, quand elles sont susceptibles de l'éclairer.

Pour retrouver son chemin dans la jungle des interprétations qu'ont suscitées tant la place de la didascalie des textes dramatiques que son ellipse (cf. *infra*, p. 63 *sq.*), il n'est pas inapproprié, emboîtant le pas à l'exégète, de revenir au traité fondateur – dont tous, au demeurant, se réclament – et au mythe d'origine sur lequel il s'ouvre. C'est en amont qu'il faut chercher la solution à l'énigme posée en aval par les œuvres dramatiques elles-mêmes.

Ceux qui, exégètes anciens ou contemporains, sont partis des textes en aval ont trébuché sur l'anarchie des données ultérieures, ou se sont fourvoyés, tentant de raccrocher leur interprétation à ce qui leur semblait être l'enseignement du *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Or, pour la plupart d'entre eux, l'enseignement du *Nāṭyaśāstra* sur la *nāndī* est au chapitre V. Sans plus d'examen, ignorant, ou feignant d'ignorer, le récit du premier chapitre, ils en tirent une conclusion hâtive: il n'est de *nāndī* que du *pūrvaraṅga*.

«Faux», répliquent Abhinavagupta et – seul, semble-t-il, entre les commentateurs des pièces – Rāghavabhaṭṭa, qui le suit fidèlement. C'est négliger la tradition et faire fi de la cohérence mythique dont rend compte, aussi bien, l'économie du traité: le mythe d'origine décrivant le protocole de la première représentation est au chapitre I, quand l'exposé du *pūrvaraṅga* n'est donné qu'au chapitre V. Lisez le texte, les invite Abhinavagupta: la première représentation, prototype de toutes les représentations futures, commence par une *nāndī*, et cette *nāndī* – que le *Nāṭyaśāstra* prend soin de définir – n'a rien à voir avec le *pūrvaraṅga*.

En effet, s'il y a antériorité fonctionnelle du *pūrvaraṅga* sur le spectacle, il faut toutefois souligner que, dans la chronologie mythique de cette genèse du théâtre, le *pūrvaraṅga* n'apparaît que dans un deuxième temps, après que les démons ont tenté d'arrêter la représentation, laquelle a d'abord lieu seule, sans aucun des préliminaires rituels que l'expérience des obstacles imposera ultérieurement. Voici ce passage de l'*Abhinavabhāratī* (ad NŚ I 56b-57a, vol. I, p. 22), dans lequel Abhinavagupta recourt à l'autorité de son maître, Bhaṭṭa Tauta:

> Certains disent que cet élément essentiel et de bon augure que l'on nomme *nāndī* signifie implicitement l'ensemble des éléments constitutifs du *pūrvaraṅga*[43]. Pour d'autres, le sens est celui-ci: de tous les éléments du *pūrvaraṅga*, la *nāndī* peut être employée seule. Cependant, mon maître [Bhaṭṭa Tauta] dit: «Tant que les Daitya n'ont pas suscité d'obstacles (*vighna*), quelle occasion y a-t-il d'un *pūrvaraṅga* exécuté selon les règles?» Celui-ci, en effet, en tant qu'il protège [la représentation] des obstacles [qui en menaceraient le cours], est principalement destiné à satisfaire les divinités installées en divers lieux du théâtre. Et, secondairement, il est [aussi] une source de satisfaction pour les Daitya[44]. Le *pūrvaraṅga* commence après que les obstacles sont apparus.

Et, ajoute Abhinavagupta, à qui rien n'échappe de l'organisation du traité, ce n'est qu'au chapitre IV que, pour la première fois, l'exécution du *pūrvaraṅga* précédera la représentation, en l'espèce la troisième, celle que Bharata donne devant Śiva. On y voit le dieu inviter le *ṛṣi* à introduire la danse et le chant dans le *pūrvaraṅga* (désigné dès lors comme *citra*, «bigarré»), par conséquent, dans la représentation même, puisque la fonction du *pūrvaraṅga* est d'initier le spectateur aux traits constitutifs de la théâtralité du spectacle qui lui succède.

[43] C'est-à-dire que la *nāndī* serait emblématique de tout le *pūrvaraṅga*. «D'abord, je fis la *nāndī*» signifierait donc que Bharata met en œuvre la totalité du *pūrvaraṅga*.

[44] Cf. *supra*, n. 16.

Adoptant une méthode originale consistant pour partie à citer (ici NŚ IV 10) et pour partie à gloser – en résumant l'ensemble de l'épisode tout en faisant mine de laisser la parole à Bharata – Abhinavagupta observe (vol. I, p. 22):

> Et l'on dira au chapitre IV: «J'exécutai le *pūrvaraṅga* et le montrai au bienheureux Śiva, l'illustre seigneur». Ainsi donc, en aucun cas, l'installation [sur la scène] de l'orchestre, etc. ne peut être appelé *pūrvaraṅga*. Par conséquent, ici, [il est question de] l'exécution de la seule *nāndī*[45].

La logique mythique l'emporte ainsi sur la logique historicisante. Ce n'est pas, comme veut Kuiper (1979: 170, cité *infra*, pp. 71-72), que, dans les temps anciens, la *nāndī* était un élément du *pūrvaraṅga*. Au contraire: au début était la *nāndī*, avant même le *pūrvaraṅga*.

La *nāndī*, strophe inaugurale du drame

L'exigence de cohérence narrative a donc permis d'établir ce principe: la *nāndī* du premier chapitre n'est pas la *nāndī* du *pūrvaraṅga*. Reste à expliquer la raison d'être de cette *nāndī*-ci au début de la représentation. La raison d'être du *pūrvaraṅga* – comportant également une *nāndī* au nombre de ses dix-neuf séquences[46] –, c'est, on l'apprendra plus tard, de protéger le spectacle de ce qui peut lui nuire. Mais pourquoi cependant, demande Abhinavagupta, cette *nāndī* originaire? La réponse est à trouver dans l'épithète *vedanirmitā* (NŚ I 57 a.).

vedanirmitā

En effet, cette *nāndī* est «conforme aux [prescriptions du] Veda» (*vedanirmitā*), dans la mesure où, développe le commentaire (p. 22), «la Śruti [le Veda] énonçant: "Là, il prononce une bénédiction (*āśīṣam*

[45] Abhinavagupta réfute ici une dernière interprétation, qui, alléguant l'analogie possible entre l'installation des musiciens qui précède toute représentation et quelques-unes des phases canoniques du *pūrvaraṅga*, voudrait établir que la *nāndī* du mythe d'origine est celle du *pūrvaraṅga*. Non, répond Abhinavagupta, l'installation des musiciens n'a rien à voir avec le *pūrvaraṅga*, la *nāndī* se donne seule, et, telle est la conclusion implicite, elle n'est pas celle du *pūrvaraṅga*.

[46] Signe de l'inflation propre à la théorie, et probablement à la pratique, ces dix-neuf séquences deviendront vingt-deux dans les traités ultérieurs, tel le *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* (l. 1121).

āśāste)"[47], enjoint que toute action soit précédée de bénédictions (*āśīs*). C'est pourquoi on exécute la *nāndī* [au début de la première représentation], et non pas parce qu'elle est un élément du *pūrvaraṅga*». C'est l'occasion de vérifier une fois de plus cette vérité: dans l'Inde, les commentateurs sont les premiers éditeurs des textes, et on se trouverait bien d'en faire cas. Ici, la logique mise en œuvre par Abhinavagupta est imparable et plaide pour le maintien de sa leçon (*vedanirmitā*) contre celle qu'adopte, par exemple, Kuiper (p. 144, n. 145) à la suite de Ghosh: *devasaṃmatā*, «autorisée par les dieux».

La preuve est faite: la *nāndī* mise en place par Bharata est bien rendue nécessaire par les injonctions de la Śruti, la strophe inaugurale du drame, entendu comme une action qui commence. De surcroît, il nous est aisé de le vérifier puisque, passant à l'explication d'une autre épithète: *aṣṭāṅgapadasaṃyuktā*, Abhinavagupta donne pour exemple de *nāndī* la dernière des strophes liminaires de *Ratnāvalī*, dont le texte nous est parvenu (vol. I, p. 23). De même Rāghavabhaṭṭa, nous le verrons (*infra*, pp. 59-60), reconnaît une *nāndī* canonique dans la strophe liminaire de *Śakuntalā*.

Notons encore ceci: on sait que dans ces *sūtra*, chaque mot fait sens, et que c'est là un des principes d'où surgit l'exégèse indienne. Aussi faut-il prêter attention au *pūrvam*, «d'abord», par quoi commence le vers 56b et à son lien étroit avec l'épithète *vedanirmitā*: l'adverbe n'est pas anecdotique, il ne relève pas de la simple narration, il signifie la dimension rituelle de cette *nāndī* placée, comme l'exige la Śruti, au seuil de cette action nouvelle qu'est la représentation.

āśīrvacanasaṃyuktā

Abhinavagupta ne commente pas ici l'épithète *āśīrvacanasaṃyuktā*, «dotée de bénédictions». Sans doute parce qu'elle s'entend d'elle-même, et que la définition symétrique du chapitre V (24) se charge de la déployer: «dotée des bénédictions (*āśīrvacanasaṃyuktā*) [appelées] sur les dieux, les brahmanes, les rois, etc.». Observons toutefois que, en exégète scrupuleux, Abhinavagupta aura soin de commenter le «etc.» (*-ādi*) en ajoutant un élément à la liste qu'il laisse à son tour inachevée avec *-prabhṛti* en dernier élément de composé: «Avec "etc." [on signifie] le commanditaire de la représentation (*prekṣāpati*), etc.» (ABh. ad NŚ V 24, vol. I, p. 219).

[47] Par exemple *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* I 3, 1, 26: *yāṃ vai kāṃ ca yajña ṛtvija āśiṣam āśāsate yajāmanasyaiva sā*.

Étymologies

Cette première définition du chapitre V a l'intérêt, d'autre part, d'offrir l'étymologie du terme, première occurrence d'un exercice, ou plutôt d'un jeu, dont on trouve quelques exemples dans les chapitres suivants du *Nāṭyaśāstra*, et d'autres, d'une inventivité presque innombrable, dans les traités ultérieurs et les commentaires aux pièces. Ainsi, l'étymologie du *Nāṭyapradīpa*, donnée en épigraphe.

Rappelons le texte de cette définition: «Parce qu'elle est toujours exécutée comme dotée des bénédictions [appelées] sur les dieux, les brahmanes, les rois, etc., pour cette raison, la *nāndī* est appelée telle». La *nāndī* – ici, celle du *pūrvaraṅga*, mais cette définition très générale qui déploie celle du premier chapitre vaut pour la *nāndī* liminaire dans le dispositif de la pièce – est donc cette strophe qui doit son nom à ce qu'elle «réjouit» (c'est le sens de la racine *nand* dont *nāndī* est dérivé) ceux-là, dieux, brahmanes, rois, etc., pour lesquels elle formule une promesse rituelle de bonheur. On notera ici l'emploi de *āśīs*, parole qui porte fruit, qui se distingue de *vara*: promesse, destinée à s'accomplir, d'une divinité satisfaite. De cette bénédiction on attend que ses destinataires, ainsi réjouis, n'en soient que mieux disposés à accorder leur protection au spectacle et aux spectateurs.

Les définitions suivantes (NŚ XXXV 28, XXXVI 19-21 et 28)[48] ajouteront la dimension de la louange et de la célébration (*stuti*), au reste implicite dans la racine *nand*, à laquelle théoriciens et dramaturges donneront, par la suite, une part prépondérante. Au fil du temps et de

[48] NŚ XXXV 28: *stutyabhivādanakṛtair madhurair vākyaiḥ sumaṅgalācāraiḥ / sarvaṃ stauti hi lokaṃ yasmāt tasmād bhaved vādī //* «Parce qu'elle célèbre le monde entier avec de douces paroles, pratiques de bon augure, faites d'hommages et de louanges, pour cela, elle doit être appelée telle [*nāndī*]». Et NŚ XXXVI 19-21: *stutyāśīrvacanaiḥ śāntaiḥ karmabhāvānukīrtanaiḥ / mayā pāpāpaharaṇe kṛte vighnanibarhaṇe // stutigītābhi-saṃhṛṣṭair devair abhihito 'smy aham / nitarāṃ parituṣṭāḥ smaḥ prayogenāmunā ca te // devatāsuram ānandya yasmāl lokaṃ ca nandati / tasmād ayaṃ prayogas tu nāndīnāmā bhaviṣyati //* «Quand j'eus ôté les péchés et détruit les obstacles [ou les Vighna] par des paroles de bon augure [consistant en] louanges et bénédictions, et célébrant actions et sentiments, les dieux, exultant de ces chants de louanges, s'adressèrent à moi: "Nous sommes très heureux de ta représentation (*prayoga*); puisqu'elle réjouit (*nandati*) les hommes après avoir réjoui (*ānandya*) dieux et Asura, pour cette raison, cette exécution sera nommée *nāndī*"». Enfin NŚ XXXVI 28: *evaṃ pūjādhikārārthaṃ pūrvaraṅgaḥ kṛto mayā / nānāstutikṛtair vākyair devatābhyarcanena ca //* «Ainsi ai-je fait le *pūrvaraṅga* comme un hommage aux divinités, avec des paroles consistant en multiples louanges, afin de le qualifier [ou: de qualifier le théâtre] pour le rite».

l'inspiration des poètes, la *nāndī*, en effet, a tendu à devenir une célébration de la divinité dont on sollicite la grâce salvatrice pour le spectateur, individu déterminé par son adhésion aux valeurs de la société hindouiste, donc fondamentalement un *mumukṣu*, désireux d'accéder à la délivrance. On en donnera pour exemple la strophe inaugurale de *Vikramorvaśī*:

> Lui que le Vedānta nomme l'Être Suprême,
> Qui occupe, investis, et le ciel et la terre,
> Dont le nom de Seigneur,
> S'appliquant à lui seul, signifie pleinement,
> Et que cherchent en eux, leurs souffles maîtrisés,
> Les hommes aspirant à être délivrés,
> Que ce dieu immuable, où la pérenne foi
> Et la contemplation accèdent aisément,
> Vous donne le bonheur[49].

Aṣṭāṅgapadasaṃyuktā

Reste un point obscur de la définition du chapitre I: comment faut-il comprendre le composé *aṣṭāṅgapadasaṃyuktā*, littéralement: «dotée de 8 *pada*, qui sont autant d'*aṅga*»? C'est ici que l'exégète recourt à la comparaison avec le chapitre V, en l'occurrence avec le long appendice que font à la définition de base (V 24) les vers 104 à 110.

Le raisonnement est complexe. Comme il est d'usage dans le protocole herméneutique, Abhinavagupta rend compte d'abord de toute la tradition d'exégèse du *Nāṭyaśāstra* en même temps que de toute la pratique littéraire, avant de présenter ce qui lui paraît l'avis autorisé. Premier moment, donc, de la démonstration (vol. I, p. 23): les *pada*, qui sont des «segments (*aṅga*) [de signification]», sont ou bien des mots fléchis (verbes ou noms) ou bien des propositions (*avāntaravākya*)[50], «selon que [la *nāndī* consiste en] une phrase (*vākya*) ou en une grande phrase (*mahāvākya*).» C'est pourquoi l'on dit que la *nāndī* est *vicitrā*, c'est-à-dire «d'une merveilleuse diversité». Merveilleuse diversité dont – c'est le deuxième moment de la démonstration – Abhinavagupta donne un exemple en empruntant à *Ratnāvalī*:

[49] Traduction Bansat-Boudon 1996: 227.

[50] Le *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* (l. 1102) donne de *pada* une définition – d'autant plus précieuse que nous n'en avons pas trouvé d'autres – susceptible de valoir pour *avāntaravākya*, en vertu de l'équivalence *pada/avāntaravākya* établie ici: *anyas tv āha / kriyākārakayuktaṃ vākyaṃ padam iti* / «Un autre dit: "un *pada* est une phrase consistant en un verbe et sa rection"».

Ainsi, par exemple:
«Victoire au maître des étoiles! Hommage aux dieux! Puissent les taureaux parmi les brahmanes ignorer l'affliction! Et que la lune des rois, dont la beauté est celle de la jeune lune, protège la terre aux récoltes mûries».
Cette *nāndī* aussi, connue pour être conforme aux règles de Bharata, et citée comme telle par Kohala, répond [à la définition du *Nāṭyaśāstra*].
En ce cas, en effet, tout se passe comme dans le *śloka* [NŚ V 109]: «Et les deux assistants doivent toujours montrer leur respect [au Sūtradhāra] en proférant: "Qu'il en soit ainsi, monsieur", avec des mots parfaitement articulés, au moment des pauses entre les *pada* de la *nāndī*», où il faut voir que le mot *antara* signifie la coupe (*viccheda*) séparant les propositions (*avāntaravākya*).

L'exemple de *Ratnāvalī* permet à Abhinavagupta d'introduire sa propre interprétation: *pada*, dans la définition du chapitre I, comme dans celle du chapitre V, est au sens de «proposition». A ce point de sa démonstration, l'exégète produit un argument décisif, présenté comme celui des «hommes de discernement» – au nombre desquels on peut penser qu'il se compte –: *pada* ne signifie pas «mot» *ou* «proposition», mais seulement «proposition», car, et c'est là l'argument décisif, il faut tenir compte du mot *aṅga* à entendre ici comme «segment, unité [de signification]».

«Au reste, poursuit donc Abhinavagupta (p. 23), les hommes de discernement disent (*vivecakās tv āhuḥ*): "Ici [NŚ I 57a], il faut considérer [que *pada* vaut pour] proposition (*avāntaravākya*), puisque [le mot] *aṅga* est employé [dans la définition de la *nāndī*]"».

L'argument a d'autant plus de force qu'il succède au rappel de la règle de pratique théâtrale, énoncée en V 109, en vertu de laquelle les assistants du Sūtradhāra interviennent et marquent leur approbation par *evam astu*, ou *evam ārya*. Approbation qui ne peut être donnée qu'après la saisie d'une unité de sens complète, c'est-à-dire après une proposition et non pas après un mot, nom ou verbe.

Aussi proposons-nous de traduire *aṣṭāṅgapadasaṃyuktā* comme suit: «dotée de huit propositions, lesquelles sont autant d'unités de signification».

De surcroît, poursuit Abhinavagupta, 8, dans la définition du chapitre I, n'est pas un chiffre fixe. Il faut comprendre, aussi bien, 12, comme le dit explicitement *Nāṭyaśāstra* V 104, et, au-delà de 8 et de 12, toutes les possibilités de scansions qu'offrent respectivement les rythmes à trois et à quatre temps. Voici le texte (p. 23):

En ce cas, il faut entendre un chiffre de 8 ou de 12, car il y a deux *pūrvaraṅga* selon qu'ils suivent le rythme à trois ou à quatre temps. [En effet, il est dit] là [au chapitre V]: «La *nāndī* est ornée de 12 ou de 8 *pada* aussi bien» (NŚ V 104). Ici, le mot *api*, «aussi», implique que, dans le rythme à quatre temps, il y a 4 ou 16 *pada* [ou propositions] et que, dans le rythme à trois temps, il y a 3 ou 6 *pada*.

Rappelant ici que la représentation, *pūrvaraṅga* inclus, est continûment soutenue par le jeu des tambours et des cymbales selon l'un ou l'autre des rythmes ou *tāla* qu'enseigne le *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Abhinavagupta nous permet d'en mieux saisir le fonctionnement: le *tryaśra* et le *caturaśra* s'organisent respectivement selon une progression géométrique: 3/6/12, pour le premier, 4/8/16, pour le second. Ainsi, peut conclure le commentaire (p. 23), y a-t-il «3 et 3 *nāndī*»: 3 (à 3, 6 ou 12 propositions) dans le rythme à trois temps, et 3 (à 4, 8, 16 propositions) dans le rythme à quatre temps.

Notons au passage que la glose à V 104 confirme celle à I 57 et l'affine même en faisant un sort non seulement à *api*, mais aussi à *vā*[51], et surtout en complétant l'interprétation du terme *antara*. Si *antara* ne signifiait que «pause», «coupe» entre deux propositions, il en résulterait qu'à la fin de la dernière proposition les assistants n'auraient pas à prononcer *evam ārya*. La symétrie et la beauté de la récitation s'en trouveraient affectées. D'où la nécessité de garder à l'esprit un second sens possible d'*antara*, glosé par l'adjectif *viśeṣa*, «particulier», «chaque» (ABh. ad NŚ V 104 *sq*., vol. I, p. 240). On comprendrait alors (V 109): «que les deux assistants montrent leur respect [...] en prononçant: "Qu'il en soit ainsi, monsieur" après chaque proposition de la *nāndī*».

Parvenu au terme de sa démonstration (vol. I, p. 23), Abhinavagupta reprend la strophe de *Ratnāvalī* qu'il avait donnée pour exemple et y reconnaît une *nāndī* à 4 *pada*, ou propositions, à scander ainsi:

> 1. Victoire au maître des étoiles /
> 2. Hommage aux dieux! /
> 3. Puissent les taureaux parmi les brahmanes ignorer l'affliction! /
> 4. Et que la lune des rois, dont la beauté est celle de la jeune lune, protège la terre aux récoltes mûries[52]!

Telle est donc la position d'Abhinavagupta: bien qu'il ne rejette pas explicitement l'interprétation possible de *pada* comme «mot» – il lui faut rendre compte de l'extrême diversité de la pratique dramatique[53] –, sa

[51] ABh. ad NŚ V 104., vol. I, p. 240: *vāgrahaṇād apiśabdāc catuṣṣoḍaśapadatvaṃ caturaśre pūrvaraṅge / tryaśre tu triṣaṭpadatvam api labhyate* «L'emploi du mot *vā*, "ou bien", et *api*, "aussi", signifie que dans le *caturaśrapūrvaraṅga*, il y a aussi 4 ou 16 *pada*, et que, dans le *tryaśra*, on peut avoir 3 ou 6 *pada*. Nous l'avons exposé dans le premier chapitre».

[52] *jitam uḍupatinā namaḥ surebhyo dvijavṛṣabhā nirupadravā bhavantu / avatu ca pṛthivīṃ samṛddhasasyāṃ pratipaccandravapur narendracandraḥ //* Abhinavagupta donne également l'exemple d'une *nāndī* à 16 *pada*, mais il la cite sous la forme de son *incipit*, son *pratīka*: *jayati bhuvanakāraṇam*, que nous n'avons pas pu reconnaître.

[53] Traités et poètes retiendront ces interprétations, comme en témoigne le *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, cité *infra*, p. 73.

lecture scrupuleuse du texte de Bharata le conduit à comprendre ainsi le traité fondateur: la *nāndī* définie en I 57b ou V 104 est une strophe constituée soit de 8 (ou 4 ou 16), soit de 12 (ou 3 ou 6) propositions; notation qui implique une récitation sur un rythme à quatre ou trois temps[54]. C'est ainsi que se révèle, sous l'apparente sécheresse du *sūtra*, toute la richesse de la pratique théâtrale la plus ancienne.

Bien plus tard, probablement au XVII^e^ siècle[55], on voit Rāghavabhaṭṭa faire sienne l'analyse d'Abhinavagupta. Non sans consigner une autre interprétation, plus banale, du terme *pada* – celui de quart de stance –, lui aussi compare (p. 6) les définitions du chapitre I et du chapitre V, avant de résumer efficacement la position d'Abhinavagupta:

> Ce vers a été expliqué dans l'*Abhinavabhāratī*, le commentaire du vénérable maître Abhinavagupta. Ainsi [faut-il comprendre] que la *nāndī* [qui suit le rythme à trois temps] est à 3, 6 ou 12 *pada* et que, lorsqu'elle suit le rythme à quatre temps, elle est à 4, 8 ou 16 *pada*; il y en a donc trois catégories dans l'un et l'autre rythme [...]. Il a encore été dit en guise d'explication que les *pada* sont ou bien ces segments de *śloka* qui se terminent par des désinences nominales ou verbales, ou bien encore qu'ils sont la quatrième partie du *śloka* (*turīyāṃśa*), ou bien encore qu'ils sont des *avāntaravākya* [c'est-à-dire des propositions]. Mais, pour le maître [Abhinavagupta], le sens véritable du mot *pada* est *avāntaravākya*. Tel est aussi le sens auquel parvient le *Nāṭyapradīpa*: «Pour certains, *pada* signifie le *pāda* d'un *śloka* (c'est-à-dire quart de vers); pour d'autres [c'est] un [mot] terminé par une désinence nominale ou verbale. D'autres encore ont soutenu que *pada* avait pour seule signification celle d'*antaravākya*».

La contribution de Rāghavabhaṭṭa est importante. Il montre en effet que, dans le *Nāṭyaśāstra*, les *śloka* 105 à 108 du chapitre V constituent un exemple de *nāndī* à 12 *pada* ou propositions, c'est-à-dire un exemple de *nāndī* comme *mahāvākya* – ce sur quoi Abhinavagupta ne s'expliquait pas. «Voici, observe Rāghavabhaṭṭa (p. 6), une *nāndī* à 12 *pada* donnée comme exemple par l'auteur du texte fondateur (*mūlakāra*) lui-même», et de citer NŚ V 105-108.

[54] Ou, pour le dire autrement: susceptible d'être récitée sur un rythme à quatre ou trois temps, la *nāndī* doit être constituée de 3/6/12 *pada* ou de 4/8/16 *pada*. Ainsi, lorsque Lévi ([1890] 1963: 132) observe: «Bharata semble ne reconnaître formellement que deux espèces: la nândî à huit padas et celle à douze padas; toutefois il rapporte, sans la combattre, une autre opinion qui autorise le chiffre de quatre ou de seize padas», il y a malentendu. Ce n'est pas la position d'un autre, mais bien celle de Bharata lui-même. On peut se demander de surcroît, à quel passage du NŚ Lévi fait ici allusion.

[55] De Rāghavabhaṭṭa on sait peu de choses. Le colophon de l'*Arthadyotanikā*, son commentaire à *Śakuntalā*, nous apprend qu'il composa à Bénarès (*śrīviśveśvarapattane*) et qu'il était le fils de Pṛthvīdhāra. Pour sa date, on peut tout au plus avancer qu'elle serait postérieure au *Nāṭyapradīpa* (1613), qu'il cite. Voir P. K. Gode, *Studies on Indian Literary History*, Bombay, 1955, t. I (cité par Renou, *Journal Asiatique* 1955 (3), p. 379).

De cette *nāndī* à 12 *pada* nous reproduisons le texte établi par l'édition Parimal. La pause entre les *pada* est signalée par /:

namo 'stu sarvadevebhyo dvijātibhyaḥ śubhaṃ tathā /
jitaṃ somena vai rājñā / śivaṃ gobrāhmaṇāya ca / (105)
brahmottaraṃ tathaivāstu / hatā brahmadviṣas tathā /
praśāstv imāṃ mahārājaḥ pṛthivīṃ ca sasāgarām / (106)
rāṣṭraṃ pravardhatāṃ caiva / raṅgasyāśā samṛdhyatu /
prekṣākartur mahān dharmo bhavatu brahmabhāṣitaḥ / (107)
kāvyakartur yaśaś cāstu / dharmaś cāpi pravardhatām /
ijyayā cānayā nityaṃ prīyantāṃ devatā iti / (108)

«1. Hommage à tous les dieux et prospérité aux deux-fois-nés[56]! 2. Victoire au roi Soma! 3. Et prospérité aux vaches et aux brahmanes! 4. Et que triomphe le *brahman* (la parole védique?)[57]! 5. Et que les ennemis du *brahman* soient anéantis! 6. Que le monarque gouverne cette terre avec les océans! 7. Et que prospère le royaume! 8. Que s'accomplissent les vœux du théâtre (c'est-à-dire, d'après le commentaire, les vœux des hommes de théâtre[58])! 9. Que grand soit pour le faiseur de spectacle le mérite (*dharma*) promis par Brahmā[59]! 10. Que la gloire du poète soit établie! 11. et que prospère le *dharma*! 12. Et que les dieux soient toujours propitiés par ce sacrifice [qu'est le théâtre][60]!»

[56] On a ici une seule proposition, car *tathā* coordonne deux segments de la même phrase: le verbe *astu* est en facteur commun. Cf. *supra*, n. 50, la définition *in absentia* de l'*avāntaravākya*.

[57] A moins qu'il ne faille entendre: «4. Et que triomphent les brahmanes! 5. Et que leurs ennemis soient anéantis!» Cependant, ce serait redondant avec la phrase précédente. Lévi (p. 133) traduit: «Que la religion triomphe, et que ses ennemis soient détruits».

[58] ABh. ad NŚ V 107b, vol. I, p. 241: *raṅgasyeti naṭakuśīlavavargasya* «[les vœux] du théâtre (*raṅga*), c'est-à-dire de la troupe des acteurs et des *kuśīlava* (probablement, dans ce contexte, les musiciens)». Lévi (p. 133) traduit une autre leçon, celle de Rāghavabhaṭṭa: *caiva raṅgaḥ svāṃśaḥ samṛdhyatu* «et que le théâtre, qui en est une partie, réussisse!».

[59] Lévi ([1890] 1963: 133) comprend différemment: «Que l'acteur à qui Brahma lui-même dicta des règles, les suive exactement»; de même Dillon, traduisant *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa-ratnakośa* l. 1107 (qui cite NŚ V 105-108): «may the spectator acquire that great merit bespoken for him by Brahmā». Outre que *prekṣākartṛ*, littéralement le «faiseur de spectacle», paraît désigner l'acteur (ou le commanditaire) plutôt que le spectateur, notre interprétation tient compte de la promesse faite par NŚ I 126, à propos du *raṅgadaivata-pūjana*: «Celui [acteur ou riche patron (*nartako 'rthapatir vā*, dit le vers précédent)] qui célébrera le rite selon les règles, telles qu'on les voient [énoncées dans le traité], atteindra des buts auspicieux (*śubhān arthān*), et accédera au ciel», ou par NŚ XXXVII 26-27: «Celui qui met le théâtre en pratique (*kuryāt prayogaṃ yaḥ*) obtient les mêmes fruits que ceux qui connaissent les Veda et les sacrifices ou ceux qui font des offrandes».

[60] On note que la version du texte présentée par Rāghavabhaṭṭa diffère en quelques endroits de celle des éditions GOS et Parimal. Cependant, on y relève de même 12 *pada*. Le premier hémistiche de 104 comporte 2 *pada*: *namo 'stu sarvadevebhyo / dvijātibhyaḥ tato namaḥ /*; dédoublement compensé par 108a, qui, avec un seul verbe, ne constitue plus qu'un seul *pada*: *kāvyakartur yaśaś cāpi dharmaś cāpi pravardhatām /* ainsi traduit par Lévi: «Que le poète voie grandir sa gloire et sa condition».

Aussitôt après l'exemple offert par l'«auteur du texte fondateur lui-même» (*mūlakāreṇa svayam eva*), Rāghavabhaṭṭa en donne un autre – qu'il attribue cette fois au commentateur (*ṭīkākāra*), Abhinavagupta[61] – de *nāndī* à 8 *pada* emprunté au *Vilakṣakurupati*:

ānandaṃ vidadhātu padmavasatiḥ / śaṃbhuḥ śivaṃ yacchatu / śrīnāthaḥ śriyam ātanotu / tanutāṃ sītāpatir vāñchitam / herambaḥ kurutām avighnam / anaghaṃ vāg brahma vidyotatāṃ / vyāsoktaṃ tad udetu vastu / bharato nāṭye 'stu naḥ kautukī /

«1. Que le dieu résidant en un lotus vous accorde la félicité! 2. Que Śaṃbhu vous donne la prospérité! 3. Que l'époux de la Fortune vous offre la fortune! 4. Que l'époux de Sītā exauce vos souhaits! 5. Puisse Heramba écarter les obstacles! 6. Que la parole éclaire le *brahman* sans défaut! 7. Que ce sujet, raconté par Vyāsa, rencontre le succès! 8. Que Bharata nous marque de l'intérêt, quand nous jouerons!»

Honnête, Rāghavabhaṭṭa ajoute – mais sans trop y croire, semble-t-il – que, dans l'interprétation de ceux pour qui *pada* signifie quart de stance, c'est une *nāndī* à quatre *pada*.

Ainsi voit-on se dessiner une sorte d'histoire de l'exégèse indienne. Car ce témoignage de Rāghavabhaṭṭa est la preuve qu'à une époque tardive, en dépit des errements, malentendus, contresens et bourgeonnements divers qui se font jour dès le *Daśarūpaka* (Xᵉ siècle) – le premier traité dramaturgique à faire suite au *Nāṭyaśāstra* –, se maintenait une tradition d'interprétation pour laquelle le traité de Bharata n'était pas lettre morte. Il est apparent en effet que Rāghavabhaṭṭa, convoquant et citant *Nāṭyaśāstra* et *Abhinavabhāratī*, avait les deux textes sous les yeux et qu'il savait les entendre. Sans doute aussi peut-on avancer que la perte de ces deux textes, regrettée par les indianistes du XIXᵉ siècle[62], n'aurait été avérée que plus tard, bien après Rāghavabhaṭṭa, et qu'elle n'aurait donc duré, si l'on situe l'exégète au XVIIᵉ siècle, que quelque un siècle, un siècle et demi.

Autre contribution, et non des moindres, de Rāghavabhaṭṭa: avec force détails, il confirme dans son statut de *nāndī* la strophe liminaire de cette

[61] Mais dans quel texte? car on ne le trouve pas dans l'*Abhinavabhāratī*, du moins pas dans les passages concernant la *nāndī*.

[62] Quand, en 1890, Sylvain Lévi publie *Le Théâtre indien*, on vient à peine de retrouver un manuscrit, au reste incomplet, du *Nāṭyaśāstra*, et il faudra encore attendre plusieurs décennies pour retrouver l'*Abhinavabhāratī*. En 1865, en effet, Fitz-Edward Hall a publié les chapitres XVIII, XIX, XX et XXXIV du *Nāṭyaśāstra* en appendice de son édition du *Daśarūpa*. Et ce n'est qu'en 1926 que paraît le premier volume de l'édition critique de Ramakrishna Kavi, laquelle fit événement, en dépit des sévères critiques qu'on ne manqua pas d'élever, du seul fait qu'elle présentait conjointement le texte du *Nāṭyaśāstra* et celui de son commentaire.

Śakuntalā qu'il commente: «En ce début du *nāṭaka*, le Sūtradhāra récite une *nāndī* de 8 *pada*, faite de bénédictions, d'une forme semblable à [celle qui est] un élément du *pūrvaraṅga*, et suivant le rythme à quatre temps[63]». Une *nāndī* qui se laisse découper ainsi:

yā sṛṣṭiḥ sraṣṭur ādyā / vahati vidhihutaṃ yā havir / yā ca hotrī /
ye dve kālaṃ viddhatas / śrutiviṣayaguṇā yā sthitā vyāpya viśvam /
yām āhuḥ sarvabījaprakṛtir iti / yayā prāṇinaḥ prāṇavantaḥ /
pratyakṣābhiḥ prasannas tanubhir avatu vas tābhir aṣṭābhir īśaḥ //

«1. Par l'eau, du créateur première création,
2. Par le feu qui transmet la rituelle oblation,
3. Par l'oblateur lui-même,
4. Par les astres jumeaux qui partagent le temps,
5. Par le sonore éther occupant l'univers
Après l'avoir empli,
6. Par la terre appelée source de toute vie,
7. Et par l'air animant les êtres animés,
8. Que par ces huit états où, propice, il s'incarne,
Le Seigneur vous protège[64]!»

Rāghavabhaṭṭa observe, d'autre part, et par deux fois[65], qu'afin de respecter cet octuple découpage syntaxique et prosodique, Kālidāsa a réuni en une seule expression (*ekatrokti*) ces deux objets que sont la lune et le soleil, en s'autorisant une sorte de licence grammaticale: le maintien de l'impératif singulier *avatu*, en facteur commun aux relatives et à la principale, au lieu du duel *avatām* que réclamait le duel *ye dve*...

Enfin, dernier élément d'un témoignage qui restitue une partie de la pratique théâtrale, il nous apprend que cette *nāndī* à 8 *pada*, récitée dans le rythme à quatre temps, est composée en style *vaidarbhī*, «qui décrit les objets par leurs qualités seulement, sans toucher aux imperfections», et rappelle, citant Vāmana, qu'il requiert l'accompagnement du luth, la *vipañcī*[66].

Bien que fidèle à l'enseignement d'Abhinavagupta, Rāghavabhaṭṭa, en exégète averti du foisonnement des interprétations et des codifications postérieures au *Nāṭyaśāstra*, comme de l'évolution de la pratique, ne résiste pas à la tentation de l'exhaustivité. Il reconnaît donc, dans la *nāndī*

[63] p. 1: *atha nāṭakādau pūrvaraṅgāṅgabhūtām āśīrūpāṃ caturasratālānusāriṇīm aṣṭapadāṃ sūtradhāro nāndīṃ paṭhati.*

[64] Dans cette traduction (Bansat-Boudon 1996: 97), nous avons suppléé le nom des huit éléments, hypostases de Śiva, que la strophe ne désigne que par périphrase. Et nous avons préféré la leçon *prasannas* à celle que propose Rāghavabhaṭṭa: *prapannas*.

[65] p. 3 et 5 de l'édition de Godbole et Parab.

[66] Vāmana, in: Rāghavabhaṭṭa, p. 3: *vipañcīsvarasaubhāgyā vaidarbhī rītir iṣyate* «On sait que le style *vaidarbhī* a la beauté des notes du luth».

qu'il commente, quelques-uns des traits des classifications ultérieures. Ainsi, la mention de la lune et la présence cryptique, dans le texte même de la *nāndī*, des personnages ou des grandes articulations de l'intrigue font-elles appartenir la strophe liminaire de *Śakuntalā* à cette variété particulière de *nāndī* qu'est la *patrāvalī*[67].

D'autres définitions, telle celle du *Daśarūpaka* cité par l'*Anargharāghava*[68], ajoutent que la *patrāvalī* est riche de *rasa*, au premier rang desquels le *śṛṅgāra*, l'Amoureux. Trait qu'elle doit, probablement, à l'évocation de la lune, au reste déjà présente dans l'exemple canonique offert par le *Nāṭyaśāstra* au chapitre V (v. 105b, cf. *supra*, p. 21). En effet, en vertu de l'équivalence ancienne entre Soma, la lune, et *soma*, l'ambroisie que, par convention, elle renferme, les poéticiens ont fait de la lune le réceptacle du *rasa*, autre liqueur savoureuse, métaphore de l'émotion esthétique.

Le *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* (l. 1107-1121) en tire toutes les conséquences. Ajoutant aux vers 104-110 du *Nāṭyaśāstra*, qu'il cite textuellement, cet hémistiche (l. 1120): *nāndīprayoge ca kṛte prīto bhavati candramāḥ //*: «Quand la *nāndī* a été exécutée, la lune s'en réjouit», il offre aussitôt sa justification théorique, dans le commentaire en prose: *kiṃ phalaṃ syād rasādhāratvāc candramasas tatprītisulabhā rasasaṃpattaya iti /*: «Quel en doit être le fruit? Grâce à elle [la *nāndī*], dont est réjouie la lune, ce réceptacle du *rasa*, le *rasa* coule en abondance»[69]. C'est faire de la *nāndī* la source même du *rasa*.

[67] Sur ce double sens de la *nāndī*, voir Lévi ([1890] 1963: 134-135). Sur les quatre catégories de *nāndī* introduites ultérieurement, voir Lévi ([1890] 1963: 132). De la *patrāvalī*, Rāghavabhaṭṭa (p. 6) donne cette définition empruntée au *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*: *yasyāṃ bījasya vinyāso hy abhidheyasya vastunaḥ / śleṣeṇa vā samāsoktyā nāndī patrāvalīti sā* «La *nāndī*, où, par *śleṣa* ou *samāsokti*, est déposé le germe du sujet que l'on s'apprête à développer, c'est la *patrāvalī*». C'est dire que, par équivoque, la *nāndī* fait allusion à l'intrigue du drame. Même citation (avec variantes infimes) dans Raṅganātha ad *Vikramorvaśī*, p. 7. Plus haut, Raṅganātha avait cité Mātṛgupta: *āśīrnamaskriyārūpaḥ ślokaḥ kāvyārthasūcakaḥ / nāndīti kathyate iti /* «On appelle *nāndī* le vers, fait de bénédiction et d'hommage, qui indique [par avance] le sens du poème».

[68] Ce serait plutôt le commentaire de Devapāṇi, texte perdu, qui ne subsiste que par bribes dans les gloses ultérieures (Cf. Lévi ([1890] 1963: App. p. 25): *vācyārthabījaracitā śṛṅgārādisamanvitā / samyuktā candrapadmābhyāṃ patrāvaly abhidhīyate //* «Composée de façon à donner le germe du sens à exprimer, renfermant le *śṛṅgārarasa*, etc., dotée de [mots tels que] "lune" et "lotus", [la *nāndī*] est appelée *patrāvalī*».

[69] Suit la définition étymologisante de NŚ V 24 qu'il cite sans le nommer. On voit ici à l'œuvre la logique de renchérissement et de bourgeonnement qui caractérise la théorie indienne, et la stratégie qui consiste à cautionner tout développement nouveau par le recours

Ici, nous aimerions avancer l'hypothèse d'un lien possible entre rythme et *rasa*, ce qui donnerait tout son sens à la prescription, par le *Nāṭyaśāstra*, d'une récitation de la *nāndī* selon un rythme à trois ou quatre temps. Le triangle ou le carré que dessine le rythme ne réglerait pas seulement l'organisation syntaxique, sémantique et prosodique de la *nāndī* inaugurale, mais sa tonalité émotionnelle, elle-même la préfiguration du *rasa* dominant de la pièce et de sa représentation[70].

On partira d'une constatation: Abhinavagupta et Rāghavabhaṭṭa empruntent leurs exemples de *nāndī* à quatre et huit *pada*, donc récitées sur un rythme à quatre temps, à *Ratnāvalī* et *Śakuntalā*, toutes deux placées sous le signe du *śṛṅgārarasa*.

On sait, d'autre part, que le *pūrvaraṅga* s'appréhende doublement (cf. *supra*, pp. 46-47), c'est-à-dire selon deux critères: considéré du point de vue de sa tonalité émotionnelle (qui prélude à celle du drame), il est véhément (*uddhata*) ou tendre (*sukumāra*); considéré du point de vue du rythme qui l'organise, il est à trois (*tryaśra*) ou quatre temps (*caturaśra*).

Qu'on ne s'y trompe pas: c'est toujours le même objet, défini d'un côté par la gestuelle où s'exprime le sentiment, de l'autre par la musique instrumentale dont est scandée toute la représentation, *pūrvaraṅga* inclus.

Enfin, Abhinavagupta a clairement établi le lien, tout naturel, du véhément (l'*uddhatapūrvaraṅga*) et de l'Héroïque (*vīra*), du tendre (le *sukumārapūrvaraṅga*) et de l'Amoureux (*śṛṅgāra*)[71].

Puisqu'il y a symétrie parfaite entre rythme et tonalité émotionnelle, et que celle-ci est explicitement liée à un *rasa* donné, la même correspondance doit s'établir entre rythme et *rasa*. Reste à savoir: quel *rasa*? Dès lors qu'on a constaté, pour deux exemples de *nāndī*, la coïncidence du rythme à quatre temps et de l'Amoureux, il est permis de généraliser cette correspondance à tous les emplois du rythme à quatre temps, et, corrélativement, de conclure à une correspondance du rythme à trois temps et de l'Héroïque.

au *Nāṭyaśāstra*, l'autorité ultime en la matière. Ainsi le *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* est-il un bon exemple du foisonnement des interprétations et des codifications ultérieures dont nous parlions plus haut.

[70] Notons qu'on retrouve ces deux figures du triangle et du carré dans l'espace statique de l'édifice théâtral (puisque le *Nāṭyaśāstra* connaît trois sortes de théâtre: le rectangulaire, le carré et le triangulaire), comme dans l'espace dynamique du jeu (*abhinaya*), lors des déplacements de l'acteur sur la scène. Ainsi le «déplacement quadrangulaire des pas» est-il la clé du *lāsyāṅga dvimūḍhaka* (cf. Bansat-Boudon 1992: 325-327).

[71] Cf. ABh. ad NŚ XXXI 330 *sq.*, cité et traduit *supra*, pp. 46-47.

On note, d'autre part, ceci: l'exposé consacré par le *Nāṭyaśāstra* au *pūrvaraṅga* décrit, dans le détail (V 8-138a), la procédure du *caturaśrapūrvaraṅga*, avant d'inviter brièvement (NŚ V 137-147) à en déduire les règles du *tryaśrapūrvaraṅga*, dont la seule caractéristique est d'obéir à un rythme abrégé[72]. Si l'on admet l'association du rythme à quatre temps et de l'Amoureux, la méthode serait ici conforme à la logique d'exposition du traité qui adopte systématiquement le point de vue du *śṛṅgāra*, au motif qu'il est le plus complexe et le plus largement partagé des sentiments[73].

Le rythme imprimé au *pūrvaraṅga* et à la représentation, *nāndī* comprise, ne serait donc qu'un élément de la mise en place des *rasa*. En vertu de l'équivalence inlassablement répétée du théâtre et du *rasa* (ABh. ad NŚ VI 33, vol. I, p. 288: *nāṭyam eva rasāḥ*), tout est fait pour que le *rasa* soit à son comble, et, avec lui, la théâtralité.

QUESTIONS DE DIDASCALIES

nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ

A présent, pourquoi cette didascalie canonique: «A la fin de la *nāndī*, le Sūtradhāra»? Quelles en sont les implications? Abhinavagupta y répond en deux endroits, dans son commentaire à NŚ I 57b et V 24.

Comment comprendre, en effet, I 57b: *tadante 'nukṛtir baddhā yathā daityāḥ surair jitāḥ*, et en particulier, quel sens donner à *anukṛti* et *baddhā*?

Abhinavagupta rend compte (vol. I, pp. 23-24), une fois encore, des différentes interprétations, voire des différentes leçons du passage, avant d'exposer sa position qui s'autorise à nouveau de la logique narrative du premier chapitre:

> *baddhā*, «nouée», signifie qu'on a mis en œuvre la répétition (*guṇanikā*[74]) [de la pièce] et non sa représentation (*prayoga*). Mais cela est faux, car il y aurait contradiction avec

[72] Cf. NŚ V 138b: *tālapramāṇaṃ saṃkṣiptaṃ kevalaṃ tu viśeṣakṛt //* «Le seul facteur de différenciation est la mesure abrégée du rythme», et NŚ V 142: *vādyaṃ gatipracāraś ca dhruvā tālas tathaiva ca / saṃkṣiptāny eva kāryāṇi tryaśre nṛttapravedibhiḥ //* «Musique, déplacements, *dhruvā*, et rythme, tout cela, ceux qui sont experts en danse [*i. e.* en art dramatique] doivent l'exécuter de façon abrégée». Rappelons qu'il existe une dernière classification, propre cette fois au seul *pūrvaraṅga*, et non plus à l'ensemble spectaculaire constitué par le *pūrvaraṅga* et la représentation: on distingue le «pur» (*śuddha*) du «bigarré» (*citra*), lequel doit son nom à ce que, sur les conseils de Śiva en personne, il fait sa place à la danse (NŚ IV 15).

[73] C'est dit clairement à propos du *sāmanyābhinaya*. Cf. Bansat-Boudon 1992: 360.

[74] Le mot pose problème à Kuiper. Enclin à comprendre: «I organized an imitation» (p. 193), ou «I staged, I arranged [it]» (p. 129 et p. 193, n. 324), il observe p. 143: «The

ce qui est dit avant et après [ce *śloka*]. Précédemment, en effet, il a été dit: *evaṃ nāṭyam idam* (v. 51b)... *nāndī kṛtā* (56b), et il [Bharata] dira [plus loin, au vers 58b]: *brahmādayaḥ prayogaparitoṣitāḥ* («les dieux, Brahmā à leur tête, satisfaits de la représentation»).

Ce qu'évoque ici Bharata, ce n'est donc pas les répétitions de la pièce, mais bien sa représentation. Comme y insiste Abhinavagupta, dans tout ce passage du récit mythique, il n'est question que de représenter le théâtre nouvellement créé. Dans les passages qui précèdent, notamment en I 52b, on trouve en effet ceci: «Je me tins debout devant le maître du monde, pour l'inviter à la représentation (*prayogārtham*)», et 54: «Voici que se présente une grande occasion pour cette représentation (*prayogasya samayaḥ*)», de même, un peu plus loin (58b), est-ce de la représentation que les dieux sont satisfaits.

Voici l'exégète en mesure d'avancer une seconde interprétation: *baddhā* est à prendre au sens premier de «nouée», c'est-à-dire «commencée». Par conséquent, on fait ici mention du prologue:

> C'est pourquoi *baddhā* signifie «introduite» (*prastāvitā*) mais non achevée (*na niṣpāditā*). C'est le prologue (*prastāvanā*) qui a été mis en œuvre (*prayuktā*). Tel est le sens.

Bien que la glose ne déploie pas le sens de *anukṛti*, littéralement «imitation», il faut comprendre (c'est nous qui restituons): «une imitation, c'est-à-dire un drame, imitation de ce monde (comme Brahmā le proclamera plus loin, aux vers 112 et 117), fut nouée». C'est-à-dire encore: il y eut un prologue. Telle est, semble-t-il, la position même d'Abhinavagupta. Au reste, il reviendra sur ce point, un peu plus loin, au moment de commenter l'assaut des Vighna. A cet endroit du récit, on en est au prologue, puisqu'il est dit que les Asura paralysent le Sūtradhāra et sa troupe:

> Ayant vu le tort fait au Sūtradhāra, le roi des dieux dit: «Pourquoi ce trouble de la représentation?» et entra en méditation. Alors il vit que la place était entourée de toutes parts par les Vighna et que le Sūtradhāra, avec les autres, avait été rendu inconscient et inerte (NŚ I 66 b-67b).

technical question as to whether the mythical first drama in Bharata's presentation was a full-fledged drama or an introductory part is not relevant to our purpose». Notons qu'en note (p. 143, n. 144) il traduit *guṇanikā* par «introduction to a drama». Or ce n'est pas ici la première occurrence du mot. Abhinavagupta l'a déjà employé au moment de commenter I 22: *grahaṇe dhāraṇe jñāne prayoge cāsya sattama* «Ô le meilleur des êtres, pour ce qui est de saisir, retenir, comprendre, et aussi appliquer [ce Savoir]...». Le commentaire observe: «Avec *ca* [il suggère] les répétitions (*guṇanikā*) utiles à la représentation, qui consistent en exercice (*vyāyāma*) et en pratique (*abhyāsa*), etc.». Le contexte permet ici d'établir le sens de «répétition» dans son acception technique.

Passage ainsi glosé (p. 27): «[Par ces mots:] "le tort fait au Sūtradhāra", c'est-à-dire fait [au Sūtradhāra] avec sa troupe (*saparivāra*), on signifie que cet obstacle surgit au milieu de la représentation du prologue (*prastāvanā*)».

Abhinavagupta n'en poursuit pas moins (p. 24), faisant état d'une autre version du texte et de l'interprétation afférente:

> Mais d'autres disent: «L'imitation (*anukṛti*), c'est le prologue (*prastāvanā*), lequel imite le drame lui-même». Et ils disent: *kṛtā tadante 'nukṛtiḥ*, c'est-à-dire «après elle [la *nāndī*], l'imitation [du drame, c'est-à-dire le prologue] fut faite». C'est en s'appuyant sur cette leçon [du texte] que les anciens poètes écrivirent dans leurs ouvrages: *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*, «à la fin de la *nāndī*, le Sūtradhāra».

Cas de figure où se maintient l'idée du prologue, signifié non plus par *baddhā* (remplacé par *kṛtā*), mais par *anukṛti* – le prologue se définissant alors comme une imitation anticipée du drame –, tandis que la présence de *kṛtā* explique la tradition manuscrite des pièces, en l'occurrence la didascalie elliptique: *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*, de règle dans la plupart des drames.

On voit que l'enjeu dépasse ici celui de l'exégèse d'un texte donné. Rendant compte de la tradition, Abhinavagupta, en effet, signale aussi une possible évolution diachronique: la *nāndī* et le prologue des œuvres seraient historiquement issus d'une certaine leçon de ce passage du *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Secondairement, on voit aussi comment l'histoire de l'exégèse d'un traité du théâtre – en l'espèce, la façon dont les poètes ont compris le *Nāṭyaśāstra* – détermine l'histoire même du genre dramatique.

Quelles sont les significations implicites de cette leçon (*kṛtā tadante 'nukṛtiḥ*) dont s'autorisent les anciens poètes? Outre le sens particulier que prend ici *anukṛti*, le mot clé est *kṛtā*, adjectif verbal de la racine *kṛ*. Car *kṛ* signifie «faire», «créer» et, dans la terminologie poétique, «composer». De même, dans les prologues dramatiques, *kṛti* est-il le terme consacré pour signifier que la pièce est l'œuvre de tel ou tel poète[75]. Telle serait donc la traduction de cette autre leçon de I 57b: «Après elle [la *nāndī*], cette imitation du drame [qu'est le prologue] fut composée».

C'est dire que les poètes, choisissant cette lecture, s'arrogent la prérogative auctoriale[76] que la leçon commentée par Abhinavagupta – *tadante 'nukṛtir baddhā* – semblait attribuer au seul Bharata, c'est-à-dire au Sūtradhāra.

[75] Ainsi, dans *Mālavikāgnimitra*, l'attribution du *Chalita* à la mythique Śarmiṣṭhā: *śarmiṣṭhāyāḥ kṛtiḥ*, Kāṭayavema glosant *kṛti* par *kāvya*: «poème», «œuvre». Cf. Bansat-Boudon 1992: 404, n. 84.

[76] Appropriation encore facilitée par l'ambiguïté du texte original – quelle que soit la leçon retenue – puisque ni *baddhā* ni *kṛtā* n'ont de complément d'agent exprimé.

Pour l'instant, en effet, dans ce récit des difficiles Enfances du théâtre, en l'absence de toute mention d'auteur, Bharata ne peut qu'assumer les deux fonctions, celle de Sūtradhāra et de poète[77]. C'est seulement au chapitre IV (v. 2-3), au moment de la deuxième représentation, que le traité donnera un auteur déclaré et un titre au *samavakāra* qui sera joué, quelque temps après, devant Śiva. Cet auteur, c'est Brahmā, et sa pièce s'intitule *Amṛtamanthana*, «Le barattement de l'océan d'ambroisie».

Les poètes, donc, telle est la conclusion à tirer du commentaire, lisant *kṛtā tadante 'nukṛtiḥ*, composent *nāndī* et prologue. Cependant, connaissant leur *Nāṭyaśāstra* – notamment l'enseignement du chapitre V, où le Sūtradhāra et ses deux assistants sont présentés comme les *nāndīpāṭhaka*, «les récitants de la *nāndī*»[78] –, ils ont conservé au Sūtradhāra la récitation de la *nāndī* et du prologue; d'où leur didascalie elliptique: *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*.

Que veulent-ils signifier par là? A cette étape du raisonnement, il faut se reporter à *Nāṭyaśāstra* V 24 et à son commentaire:

> Tenant compte du protocole précédent que signale cela [le terme *nāndīpāṭhaka*], les anciens poètes prirent l'habitude d'écrire: *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*. Jour après jour, elle [la *nāndī*] eut à être mise en œuvre dans la représentation [comme prononcée par le Sūtradhāra][79].

Ce passage du commentaire est difficile. Sans doute faut-il comprendre ainsi: par *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*, les poètes signifient que le Sūtradhāra est le récitant de la *nāndī* de la pièce, celle qu'eux, les poètes, ont composée – cela, on l'a appris du commentaire au chapitre I –, comme il est ici le récitant de la *nāndī* du *pūrvaraṅga*.

Que le Sūtradhāra récitât la *nāndī* de la pièce – et en fût l'auteur – on le savait, au reste, depuis *Nāṭyaśāstra* I 56 b, qui donne la parole à Bharata, Sūtradhāra des origines: *pūrvaṃ kṛtā mayā nāndī*, «d'abord, la *nāndī* fut faite par moi». Et l'on a vu aussi comment les poètes s'étaient approprié l'écriture du prologue – et, du même mouvement, celle de la *nāndī* – tandis qu'ils en conservaient la récitation au Sūtradhāra.

[77] Double responsabilité que peut justifier la qualité de *sahṛdaya* que lui reconnaît, commentant un autre passage (NŚ I 43b), Abhinavagupta. Cf. Bansat-Boudon 1992: 104, n. 95.

[78] C'est dit explicitement en V 22, qui définit l'*utthāpana*, et c'est développé par V 104: *sūtradhāraḥ paṭhet tatra... nāndīm*, et V 109, qui montre les deux assistants prononcer: «Qu'il en soit ainsi» au moment des pauses syntaxiques et rythmiques de la *nāndī*.

[79] ABh. ad NŚ V 24, vol. I, p. 219: *tad upalakṣitapūrvakramadvāreṇaiva purāṇakavayo likhanti sma «nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ» iti / ahar ahaś caiṣā prayoge prayujyā.*

Ici, le témoignage d'Abhinavagupta ne fait pas qu'éclairer le sens, et l'histoire, d'une didascalie elliptique, par là énigmatique. Il confirme la réalité de l'autorité du *Nāṭyaśāstra*: le traité de Bharata est bien la référence obligée, fût-ce au prix d'une lecture et d'une interprétation particulières du texte – *kṛtā* substitué à *baddhā* –, lesquelles supposent également que les anciens poètes, pour justifier leur pratique, ont comparé les définitions du chapitre I et du chapitre V du traité.

Voilà partiellement résolue l'énigme que pose l'ellipse de l'indication scénique *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*. Quel verbe suppléer? *paṭhati*, «il récite», si l'on s'en remet au *Nāṭyaśāstra* et à son commentaire. C'est le Sūtradhāra qui prononce la *nāndī*, fût-elle celle du *pūrvaraṅga* ou celle du drame. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, commentateur de *Śakuntalā*, confirme, nous l'avons vu: «Le Sūtradhāra récite la *nāndī*...»[80].

Comme souvent, les pièces elles-mêmes, en particulier quand, par le biais de la mise en abyme, elles mettent en scène le théâtre, nous renseignent sur la pratique réelle mieux que les théoriciens ou les commentateurs. Ainsi, dans le *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, c'est Kohala, le Sūtradhāra du drame second auquel Rāvaṇa assiste en spectateur, qui en récite la *nāndī*. La *Mṛcchakaṭikā* offre un exemple d'une autre sorte, en l'espèce la première réplique prononcée par le Sūtradhāra en tant que protagoniste du prologue, après la didascalie *nāndyante*: «Assez de cet effort qui distrait la curiosité de l'auditoire» (*alam anena pariṣatkutūhalavimarda-kāriṇā pariśrameṇa*). Déployant le conventionnel «trêve de longueur» (*alam ativistareṇa*, ou *alam atiprasaṅgena*), elle appelle cette remarque du commentaire: «En effet, [assez de] l'effort, c'est-à-dire de la peine prise à réciter une *nāndī* par trop excessive». (*pariśrameṇa adhikataranāndī-paṭhanāyāsena*).

C'est dire que le Sūtradhāra a prononcé la *nāndī* qui précède, une *nāndī* de deux strophes, que l'on peut juger de ce fait excessive (*adhikatara*), d'autant qu'elle se signale par le surcroît de sens que lui confèrent les *śleṣa* et par de très longs composés.

Cependant, l'ellipse de la didascalie, pour laquelle on pensait – déjà à date ancienne – à suppléer *paṭhati*, «il récite», ou *praviśati*, «il entre», ou

[80] Cf. *supra*, p. 60. Pour d'autres exemples de la récitation de la *nāndī* attribuée au Sūtradhāra, cf. Lévi ([1890] 1963: 136). Notons toutefois que, si plusieurs commentateurs attribuent de même la récitation de la *nāndī* au Sūtradhāra, c'est qu'ils comprennent, à tort, que la *nāndī* de la didascalie est celle du *pūrvaraṅga*, et de rappeler à ce moment NŚ V 104: *sūtradhāraḥ paṭhet* [...] *nāndīm*.

l'un et l'autre[81], pose secondairement la question de savoir si la *nāndī* était prononcée sur scène ou dans la coulisse avant l'entrée du Sūtradhāra.

En effet, si l'on supplée *paṭhati*, on peut penser que le verbe est commun aux deux objets liminaires du drame, la *nāndī* et le prologue, à la jointure desquels se tient le Sūtradhāra. C'est-à-dire que le Sūtradhāra, après la *nāndī* qu'il a récitée, récite également le prologue.

Mais la supplétion *praviśati* implique que la *nāndī* a été récitée dans la coulisse, et, en ce cas – retour à la question initiale –, par qui? Le Sūtradhāra en personne ou un autre? Pour certains (citation d'un anonyme dans *Anargharāghava*, p. 7), c'est un autre, sans plus de détermination: «Ou bien, à la fin de cette [*nāndī*] récitée par un autre, "le Sūtradhāra entre et dit[82]"».

Plus souvent encore, confondant une fois de plus *pūrvaraṅga* et représentation (car le Sthāpaka n'apparaît que dans le *pūrvaraṅga*), on croit pouvoir attribuer la récitation de la *nāndī* au Sthāpaka que décrit le chapitre V du *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Ainsi, Raṅganātha (XVII^e siècle), commentateur de *Vikramorvaśī*, cite-t-il (p. 6) le *Saṅgītakalpataru*, qui, parmi d'autres interprétations, offre celle-ci:

> Après qu'on a fait, différent de la *nāndī*, le *pūrvaraṅga* qui s'achève avec l'hommage aux gardiens des directions et le culte du *jarjara*, le Sūtradhāra étant sorti, c'est le Sthāpaka, [apparaissant comme] le Sūtradhāra parce que doté des mêmes traits que lui, qui, ayant récité la *nāndī* derrière le rideau et étant entré sur scène, doit commencer le texte dramatique (*kāvya*)[83].

[81] Telle est la position de Raṅganātha, commentateur de *Vikramorvaśī*, expliquant (p. 5) *nāndyante: nāndyanta iti / samanantaram eva vakṣyamāṇalakṣaṇāyā nāndyā ante sūtradhāraḥ praviśatīty arthaḥ / kvacit pustake «sūtradhāraḥ» ity a*[*syā*]*nte dvitīyo 'ṅko dṛśyate / sa ca sūtradhāraḥ praviśati vadati ceti kriyādvayasūcanārthaḥ* «"Après", c'est-à-dire immédiatement après la *nāndī* que nous allons définir, le Sūtradhāra entre. Tel est le sens. Il arrive que, dans un manuscrit, on lise le chiffre 2 après la mention *sūtradhāraḥ*. Il a pour objet d'indiquer deux actions, à savoir: "Le Sūtradhāra entre et dit"». De même, Vīrarāghava *ad Uttararāmacarita* (p. 3): *nāndyāḥ pūrvoktāyā ante samāptau sūtradhāraḥ praviśyāheti śeṣaḥ* / «"A la fin de la *nāndī* qui vient d'être prononcée, cela accompli, le Sūtradhāra entre et dit". Voilà ce qu'il faut suppléer».

[82] *yad vā anyena paṭhitā tadante sūtradhāraḥ praviśati vadati ca.*

[83] *apare tu "dikpālastutijarjarapūjāntam eva pūrvaraṅgaṃ nāndīvyatiriktaṃ kṛtvā sūtradhāre vinirgate tatsamaguṇatvāt sthāpaka eva sūtradhāro nāndīṃ javanikāntaḥ paṭhitvā raṅgabhūmāv āgatya kāvyam āsthapayet" ity ahuḥ.* Notons que l'hommage aux gardiens des directions est un développement ultérieur (le NŚ ne le donne pas pour une séquence du *pūrvaraṅga*) que l'on retrouve dans la définition du *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, l. 1121 (c'est la *digvandanā*). Signe, parmi d'autres, de la distorsion que font subir au texte fondateur l'épaisseur du temps, le travail de l'exégèse et la prolifération de la pratique. Observons, toutefois, que l'interprétation citée par le *Saṅgītakalpataru* corrobore la nôtre sur un point, puisqu'elle prend soin de distinguer *pūrvaraṅga* et *nāndī*, comme font NŚ et ABh.

Sans être aussi précis, le *Daśarūpaka* (III 4) offre la même interprétation, ainsi que Vīrarāghava commentant l'*Uttararāmacarita*: «Une fois le Sūtradhāra sorti, après qu'il a d'abord mis en œuvre le *pūrvaraṅga*, un autre acteur, semblable à lui, entre et noue le fil du *kāvya* (avec jeu sur *sūtradhāra / āsūtrayet*)[84]».

Cependant, la lecture attentive du chapitre V et de son commentaire invalide l'interprétation. Rappelons le protocole: après avoir prononcé la *prarocanā*, invitation à regarder le spectacle qui se prépare, le Sūtradhāra se retire. «C'est ainsi, conclut le traité, qu'il faut, conformément aux règles, représenter le *pūrvaraṅga*». Il y a pourtant un appendice à l'ensemble du dispositif: après la sortie du Sūtradhāra et de ses deux assistants, paraît le Sthāpaka qui récite le prologue (*prastāvanā*). Une *prastāvanā* qui n'est pas celle de la pièce, car, Abhinavagupta y insiste, il y a deux *prastāvanā*: celle du *pūrvaraṅga* ne fait encore qu'une lointaine allusion au sens du texte. Elle est, pour reprendre la métaphore du commentaire: «une façon de jeter en silence, secrètement, la graine du sens de la pièce dans cette terre qu'est le cœur du spectateur». Celle de la pièce est sa véritable «ouverture», d'où le nom d'*āmukha* qu'elle reçoit parfois. Abhinavagupta nous éclaire: la *prastāvanā* du *pūrvaraṅga* est l'œuvre du seul Sthāpaka, autant dire du praticien, quand la *prastāvanā* de la pièce est celle du poète. L'une dirige l'esprit du spectateur vers la pièce et l'action qui l'organise, l'autre le conduit à se tourner vers ce qui en constitue effectivement le début. En d'autres termes, l'une annonce, l'autre inaugure[85]. Au reste, après cette *prastāvanā*, le Sthāpaka se retire, marquant la fin véritable de ces préliminaires: «C'est ainsi, reprend à l'identique le *Nāṭyaśāstra*, qu'il faut, conformément aux règles, représenter le *pūrvaraṅga*».

Comme tout rituel, en effet, ce *pūrvaraṅga* doit avoir une fin[86]. C'est même la condition nécessaire pour que la pièce commence, et il ne

[84] *pūrvaraṅgaṃ vidhāyādau sūtradhāre vinirgate / praviśya tadvad aparaḥ kāvyam āsūtrayen naṭaḥ.*

[85] ABh. ad NŚ V 161b-169a, vol. I, p. 254: «Il y a deux sortes de *prastāvanā* selon qu'elle est un élément du *pūrvaraṅga* ou d'autre chose. [...] quand elle est élément du *pūrvaraṅga*, le poète n'y prend aucune part et c'est le Sthāpaka qui agit de sa propre initiative [...] Comme on a dit: "Toutes les fois que [la *prastāvanā*] conduit [l'esprit du spectateur] vers l'action dramatique, il s'agit de la *prastāvanā* dont la prescription figure dans le *pūrvaraṅga*. Car il y a deux catégories de *prastāvanā*, selon qu'elle conduit [l'esprit du spectateur] vers l'action dramatique ou bien vers le début de cette action"». Ce passage de l'*Abhinavabhāratī* est donné *in extenso* dans Bansat-Boudon 1992: 76-77, n. 143.

[86] Rappelons, par exemple, *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* 2, 5, 13-14: «Il faut empêcher le sacrifice de se défaire. Ainsi, dans la vie courante, on fait des nœuds aux deux bouts de la

convient pas d'imaginer, comme font par exemple les exégètes que cite le *Saṅgītakalpataru*, que le protocole du *pūrvaraṅga* déborde sur la représentation du drame en la personne de son dernier protagoniste: le Sūtradhāra (qui assume d'autres fonctions dans le prologue) ou le Sthāpaka ayant pris l'apparence du Sūtradhāra[87]. Encore moins, comme semble le comprendre Ojihara (1986: 145), que la *nāndī* du *pūrvaraṅga* se termine avec les strophes liminaires du prologue, si c'est ainsi, du moins, qu'il faut interpréter cette remarque:

> L'œuvre [le *Madanasaṃjīvana*] commence par quatre strophes: ce sont les *maṅgalaśloka* ou «strophes de bénédiction» que l'auteur a composées lui-même, comme il est de règle dans toute œuvre en sanskrit classique. Dans une œuvre dramatique, ces strophes marquent aussi la fin de l'«invocation inaugurale», appelée *nāndī*, d'où l'indication scénique *nāndyante*. Notons en passant que la *nāndī* est une longue suite de récitations, de chants et de musique instrumentale, un ensemble constitué par le répertoire orchestral propre à chaque équipe professionnelle de théâtre.

S'il faut entendre, en revanche, que cette *nāndī*, dont on aurait ici la partie finale, n'est pas celle du *pūrvaraṅga*, quelle serait-elle? L'assertion aurait mérité d'être développée et étayée. On se contentera d'observer ceci: si ces *maṅgalaśloka* sont la partie finale de la *nāndī* du *pūrvaraṅga*, il faudrait admettre que l'exécution du *pūrvaraṅga* ait été réduite à celle de la seule *nāndī*, puisque, dans le protocole canonique, la *nāndī* n'est pas sa dernière séquence.

L'achèvement du *pūrvaraṅga* marque donc l'entrée dans un nouvel univers, celui de la pure fiction dramatique et de sa représentation. Conformément au récit du mythe d'origine, le Sūtradhāra l'inaugure en récitant une *nāndī*, car toute action doit être précédée d'une bénédiction dont on a vu qu'elle était composée par le poète. C'est dire que *pūrvaraṅga* et *nāndī* de la pièce sont également nécessaires pour écarter les obstacles, et cette réduplication est à comprendre comme un renchérissement conjuratoire[88].

corde pour l'empêcher de se défaire. De même fait-on des nœuds aux deux bouts du sacrifice pour l'empêcher de se défaire». Traduction Lévi ([1898] 1966: 80).

[87] On comprend que Sylvain Lévi observe ([1890] 1963: 135), à propos de l'interprétation qui confie la *nāndī* au Sthāpaka: «Mais ces règles paraissent inconciliables avec la tradition des manuscrits, qui placent toujours entre la bénédiction et le prologue proprement dit cette formule: "A la fin de la bénédiction, le Directeur...", et qui attribuent le rôle principal du prologue au Directeur».

[88] Interprétation que pourrait corroborer cette définition, anonymement citée par Rāghavabhaṭṭa (p. 7): *yan nāṭyavastunaḥ pūrvaṃ raṅgavighnopaśāntaye / kuśīlavāḥ prakurvanti pūrvaraṅgaḥ sa ucyate // utthāpanādikāny aṅgāny asya bhūyāṃsi yady api /*

D'autre part, le témoignage des pièces, une fois encore, semble établir que la *nāndī* est récitée sur scène, et que, par conséquent, il convient de suppléer dans la didascalie le seul *paṭhati* ou *vadati*. On a vu l'exemple du *Bālarāmāyaṇa*. Quant au témoignage du *Caitanyacandrodaya*, qui présente également un drame en abyme, il paraît établir que la récitation de la *nāndī* derrière le rideau est limitée au *bhāṇa* et au *vyāyoga*, faisant symétriquement de la récitation sur la scène la règle générale. Les spectateurs du drame second, entendant une *nāndī* récitée dans la coulisse, observent en effet: «Ah! c'est Haridāsa, dans le rôle du Directeur, qui a récité la bénédiction. On va donc nous jouer une pièce en un acte, car, avant un *bhāṇa* ou *vyāyoga*, la bénédiction se chante dans la coulisse[89]».

Quant à savoir si la strophe inaugurale des pièces est la *nāndī*, on connaît la réponse d'Abhinavagupta et celle de Rāghavabhaṭṭa: elle est la *nāndī*, et cette *nāndī* n'est pas celle du *pūrvaraṅga*, ne serait-ce que parce qu'elle est, sans doute possible, l'œuvre du poète, auteur du drame. Abhinavagupta, en effet, donne comme exemple de *nāndī* à 4 *pada* la dernière des strophes liminaires de *Ratnāvalī*, ainsi – s'il faut en croire Rāghavabhaṭṭa (cf. *supra*, p. 59) – que la strophe liminaire du *Vilakṣakurupati*, tandis que Rāghavabhaṭṭa, commentant la première strophe de *Śakuntalā*, y reconnaît une *nāndī* à 8 *pada*.

Pour quelques-uns, cependant, exégètes anciens ou contemporains, la strophe liminaire des drames, signalée comme *nāndī* par la didascalie qui la suit: *nāndyante*, est la *nāndī* du *pūrvaraṅga*[90], elle-même tout ce qui reste de l'ensemble du dispositif. Telle est la position de Kuiper, en plusieurs endroits de son étude, notamment pp. 170-171[91]:

> «In the oldest practice, accordingly, as it is described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *nāndī* was not the benedictory verse recited at the beginning of a dramatical performance but the most solemn part of the *pūrvaraṅga*. Its function is to appease all obstacles. [...]

tathāpy avaśyaṃ kartavyā nāndī vighnopaśāntaye «Ce que les interprètes exécutent avant le contenu de la pièce afin d'écarter les obstacles de la représentation, cela est appelé *pūrvaraṅga*. Bien qu'il soit constitué d'un grand nombre d'éléments tels que l'*utthāpana*, etc., la *nāndī* doit être nécessairement exécutée afin d'écarter les obstacles.» Notons cependant que le *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* (l. 1091) – qui attribue cette même définition à Bādarāyaṇa – en tire la conclusion inverse: la *nāndī* est un élément du *pūrvaraṅga*. Quant au *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (VI 281), il reprend la définition (substituant *pratyāhāra* à *utthāpana*), sans se prononcer sur le statut de cette *nāndī*.

[89] Cf. Lévi ([1890] 1963: 136).

[90] Cf. *supra*, n. 88, la position du *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*.

[91] Également, Kuiper 1979: 179, n. 295.

> However, the more of the *pūrvaraṅga* was skipped, the stronger became the tendency to consider the remainder as part of the play»,

ou celle de Tieken (1993: 29, n. 48), pour qui la didascalie *nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ*, propre aux pièces de Bhāsa, et sa place, avant la strophe inaugurale, s'accordent avec les règles du *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Ici, le raisonnement de Tieken n'est pas clair: il affirme plus qu'il ne démontre. Est-ce parce que, dans Bhāsa, la didascalie qui précède la strophe inaugurale semble rejeter la *nāndī* hors texte et hors scène qu'il croit pouvoir y reconnaître la *nāndī* du *pūrvaraṅga*? En effet, il affirme en note: «According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the *nāndī* is part of the *pūrvaraṅga*, or the preliminary rituals, not of the play proper, which, it should be noted, in origin are two entirely different things. [...] By way of illustration, reference may be made to the clear statement found in the first chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*», avant de reproduire le texte de NŚ I 56b-57a.

Tieken comprend-il que *pūrvaṃ kṛtā mayā nāndī*, en I 56b, renvoie à la procédure du *pūrvaraṅga*, sous prétexte que le vers renferme l'adjectif *pūrvam*, et que la *nāndī* suffit à signifier tout le *pūrvaraṅga* ou se substitue à lui? Comprend-il, symétriquement, que *tadante 'nukṛtir baddhā* signifierait: «A la fin, je fis une imitation, c'est-à-dire le drame»? Est-ce en cela que l'économie des pièces de Bhāsa serait conforme aux règles du *Nāṭyaśāstra*? Parce que la didascalie liminaire, impliquant une récitation hors scène de la *nāndī*, autoriserait à reconnaître en elle la *nāndī* des *pūrvaraṅga*? En ce cas, on ne peut que rappeler l'enseignement de l'*Abhinavabhāratī*, qui s'appuie sur l'argument irréfutable de la logique narrative. En effet, à ce moment du récit, et du mythe dont ce récit rend compte, le *pūrvaraṅga* n'a pas encore été instauré: ce sont les assauts du Vighna, irrités du contenu de la première représentation, qui causeront la création du *pūrvaraṅga* (cf. *supra*, p. 50).

D'autre part, l'interprétation de Tieken et de Kuiper ignore un trait essentiel du *pūrvaraṅga*, qui tient pour beaucoup à son statut de rite (fût-il un rite théâtralisé, comme nous l'avons montré): ces longs préliminaires sont l'affaire du praticien, en l'espèce le Sūtradhāra, et non du poète. Aussi, comment admettre la proposition de Kuiper (p. 171, cité plus haut): la strophe liminaire des pièces (du moins, c'est nous qui ajoutons, après Bhāsa) serait la *nāndī* du *pūrvaraṅga*, unique résidu de l'érosion progressive des préliminaires, que l'on aurait fini par considérer comme une «partie de la pièce» elle-même?

Quant à Tieken, raisonnant sur l'économie du texte dans les pièces de Bhāsa, il semble comprendre (p. 33, n. 51) que la strophe liminaire, n'étant plus la *nāndī*, pourrait être un *maṅgalaśloka*.

Le statut de cette strophe liminaire, à laquelle on refusait celui de *nāndī*, avait déjà retenu quelques exégètes anciens. Ainsi Viśvanātha, dans le *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (XIVe siècle), prétend-il faire de la première strophe de *Vikramorvaśī*: («*vedānteṣu* [...]») un *raṅgadvāra*.

Résumons[92] le développement, long et complexe. La définition de la *nāndī* est en deux *śloka* (NŚ VI 282). Le premier reprend textuellement NŚ V 24. Le second ajoute, au premier hémistiche, la liste des objets de bon augure (la conque, la lune, le lotus, l'oie etc.) qui doivent y figurer; et, au second hémistiche, une notation qui adapte NŚ V 104: *padair yuktā dvādaśabhir aṣṭabhir vā padair uta*. Le commentaire (en prose) à la définition comprend que la *nāndī* est dotée de 8 *pada*, au sens de quart de stance, ou de 12 mots fléchis. Pour exemple de *nāndī* à 8 *pada*, il donne, sous forme de son *incipit* (*pratīka*), la strophe liminaire de l'*Anargharāghava*; pour exemple de *nāndī* à 12 *pada*, la première strophe de la *Puṣpamālā*, œuvre de son «vénéré père» (effectivement dotée de 12 mots). Plus loin, le commentaire, au prétexte que *vedānteṣu*, etc., ne répond pas à la définition précédente (la strophe, en effet, n'a pas 8 ou 12 *pada* – au sens de «mot» ou «quart de stance», comme l'entend Viśvanātha, et ne mentionne aucun objet de bon augure), propose d'y reconnaître un *raṅgadvāra*, autre élément du *pūrvaraṅga*, «parce qu'il a été dit: "*raṅgadvārārabhya kaviḥ kuryād iti*", "le poète doit composer en commençant par le *raṅgadvāra*"». C'est pourquoi (c'est ici Raṅganātha qui résume, tout en feignant de citer le *Sāhityadarpaṇa*), «il s'agit du *raṅgadvāra*, et non de la *nāndī*».

On réfutera cette interprétation en faisant valoir que le *raṅgadvāra* est un élément du *pūrvaraṅga* et de lui seul. S'il est vrai que, selon la définition, également citée par le *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (p. 128), qu'en donne NŚ V 26, il a pour fonction d'introduire la théâtralité[93], c'est au sein du *pūrvaraṅga*. Nouvel exemple de la confusion entre *pūrvaraṅga* et représentation, confusion ancienne à l'évidence puisque Abhinavagupta met en garde contre elle.

Il est d'autant moins possible d'accepter cette interprétation du *Sāhityadarpaṇa* que, dans l'exposé du *Nāṭyaśāstra*, le *raṅgadvāra*, élément du *pūrvaraṅga*, n'a pas son correspondant dans la représentation, comme c'est le cas pour la *nāndī*, la *prarocanā* et la *prastāvanā* (cf. *supra*, p. 47).

[92] Au reste, c'est ce que fait Raṅganātha dans son commentaire à *Vikramorvaśī* (p. 7).

[93] Cette séquence, dont le nom signifie littéralement «porte de la scène», coïncide en effet avec une démonstration d'*abhinaya*, dont le traité enseigne qu'à cette étape du dispositif il «descend» (*avatāryate*) pour la première fois sur le théâtre, s'incarnant dans la Voix et le Geste de l'acteur. Voir également Bansat-Boudon 1992: 74, n. 123.

On ajoutera que la strophe liminaire de *Vikramorvaśī* répond aux canons de la *nāndī* définie par le *Nāṭyaśāstra*, pour peu qu'on entende *pada* au sens de «proposition», comme l'enseigne Abhinavagupta. Dès lors *vedānteṣu*..., avec ses trois relatives et sa principale, entre dans le schéma d'une *nāndī* à 4 *pada*, donc d'une *nāndī* récitée sur un rythme à quatre temps:

vedānteṣu yam āhur ekapuruṣaṃ vyāpya sthitaṃ rodasī
yasminn īśvara ity ananyaviṣayaḥ śabdo yathārthākṣaraḥ /
antar yaś ca mumukṣubhir niyamitaprāṇādibhir mṛgyate
sa sthāṇuḥ sthirabhaktiyogasulabho niḥśreyasāyāstu vaḥ //[94].

Cependant, à propos de ce *vedānteṣu*... dans lequel il identifie un *raṅgadvāra*, le *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (p. 129) nous apprend – notation d'ordre historique – que, dans les anciens manuscrits, la didascalie *nāndyante* est placée avant la strophe même:

prāktanapustakeṣu «nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ» ityanantaram eva «vedānteṣvityādi» ślokalikhanaṃ dṛśyate.
«Dans les manuscrits anciens, on voit écrite la strophe *vedānteṣu*, etc., immédiatement après *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*».

C'est alors qu'il avance une interprétation de la didascalie placée après la strophe liminaire qui n'est pas sans recouper celle que proposait Abhinavagupta commentant NŚ I 57b (cf. *supra*, pp. 63-64):

yac ca paścāt «nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ» iti likhanaṃ tasyāyam abhiprāyaḥ «nāndyante sūtradhāra idaṃ prayojitavān itaḥ prabhṛti mayā nāṭakam upādīyata iti kaver abhiprāyaḥ sūcita iti».
«Quand [on voit] écrit: "A la fin de la *nāndī*, le Sūtradhāra" après [la strophe], l'intention [du poète] est: "après que j'ai introduit cela: 'A la fin de la *nāndī*, le Sūtradhāra', à partir de là, la pièce [littéralement, le *nāṭaka*] est commencée par moi". Telle est, indiquée de la sorte, l'intention du poète».

C'est dire que le poète, plaçant la didascalie après la strophe, signifie: «Après la *nāndī*, le Sūtradhāra [dit le texte du prologue que j'ai écrit]».

L'observation est d'autant plus intéressante que c'est la seule trace, à notre connaissance, d'un raisonnement de théoricien sur la divergence des didascalies, en particulier l'opposition *nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ*, placée avant la strophe inaugurale dans Bhāsa, et *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*, placée après la strophe inaugurale chez les autres dramaturges.

Le *Sāhityadarpaṇa* poursuit, rappelant (VI 283), en accord avec l'exposé de Bharata, qu'au terme du *pūrvaraṅga* le Sthāpaka succède au

[94] La traduction est donnée plus haut, cf. p. 54. On note que les 4 *pada*, au sens de «proposition», coïncident ici avec les 4 *pada* ou quarts de stance dont est constituée la strophe.

Sūtradhāra pour «installer» le drame. Le commentaire en prose, sans doute conscient de tous les enjeux de la question, observe alors:

> *idānīṃ pūrvaraṅgasya samyak prayogābhāvād eka eva sūtradhāraḥ sarvaṃ prayojayatīti vyavahāraḥ.*
> «Aujourd'hui, en l'absence d'une représentation complète du *pūrvaraṅga*, c'est au seul Sūtradhāra de tout mettre en œuvre[95]».

On peut d'autre part en conclure que, quelle que soit la place de la didascalie – avant ou après la strophe liminaire –, il semble que ce soit le Sūtradhāra qui prononce la *nāndī*. Pour le *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, la différence d'économie du texte tiendrait à une mise en emphase: le déplacement de la didascalie après la strophe inaugurale signifierait que le poète signale avec éclat qu'à partir de cette limite il prend la parole. Volonté du poète d'affirmer son *ego* et de signaler, du même mouvement, le début absolu de la fiction.

En effet, la didascalie, à cette place, consacrerait la distance d'avec la réalité, donc le début de l'action dramatique. La *nāndī* est encore un acte de ce monde (*laukika*), tandis que le prologue, composante de la fiction dramatique, ne l'est plus (on dit qu'il est, symétriquement, *alaukika*), à l'instar du théâtre qu'il introduit. Ainsi comprise, l'indication scénique signifie l'autorité définitive prise par le poète. N'est-ce pas lui, du reste, qui, péremptoire, énonce, par le truchement du Sūtradhāra: «trêve de longueurs» (ces longueurs renvoyant au complexe dispositif du *pūrvaraṅga*, qui, même achevé, semble s'adjoindre une énième séquence avec la *nāndī* du drame)?

Trêve de longueurs, c'est-à-dire trêve de rituel, ou de ces interminables commencements entachés de rituel[96]. Que le théâtre commence! La formulation et la situation de *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ* seraient une façon pour le poète de revendiquer la place qui lui revient dans le processus théâtral.

nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ

[95] En quoi la représentation partielle du *pūrvaraṅga* expliquerait-elle la disparition du Sthāpaka? C'est sans doute que le Sthāpaka signifie le passage du *pūrvaraṅga*, dont le principal protagoniste est le Sūtradhāra, à la représentation. Dans la mesure où il n'y a que peu ou pas de *pūrvaraṅga*, donc pas de transition à marquer, le Sūtradhāra suffit. Notons que Raṅganātha cite également ce passage-là du *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (p. 6).

[96] On l'a dit, cette interprétation du *Sāhityadarpaṇa* n'est pas sans recouper celle qu'avançait Abhinavagupta pour expliquer *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*. Pour l'exégète du *Nāṭyaśāstra*, l'indication scénique signifiait que les poètes s'étaient approprié l'écriture de la *nāndī* et du prologue (cf. *supra*, pp. 65-66). De même, pour le *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, le déplacement de la didascalie après la première strophe signifie qu'à présent ce sont eux qui prennent la main et que la fiction dramatique dont ils sont les auteurs commence.

Il y aurait peut-être une conclusion seconde à tirer du témoignage du *Sāhityadarpaṇa*: l'économie des drames de Bhāsa pourrait représenter une tradition antérieure, observée avant qu'on ne s'avise de déplacer la didascalie après la première strophe. Cependant, le problème se pose-t-il seulement en termes de chronologie relative, une didascalie s'affirmant comme plus ancienne (et plus conforme à la tradition du *Nāṭyaśāstra*) qu'une autre? Ou bien pourrait-il également se poser en termes de différenciation géographique, comme il arrive pour les «recensions» du texte dramatique[97], puisque la coutume, pour les manuscrits du Sud, semble être de placer la didascalie avant la strophe liminaire? Keith observe ([1924] 1970: 126) que la différence entre l'économie du drame chez Bhāsa et chez Kālidāsa, par exemple, tient peut-être davantage à la tradition des manuscrits qu'à celle des pratiques théâtrales, et il remarque, à propos d'un manuscrit du *Mudrārākṣasa*, présentant le même *incipit* que les pièces de Bhāsa: «a habit of South-Indian manuscripts, true to the Bhāsa tradition».

A moins que l'on ne puisse envisager une superposition possible des deux critères, l'ancienneté s'avérant un trait des manuscrits du Sud. A moins encore qu'il ne s'agisse, comme pourrait le suggérer le *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, d'un choix du poète affirmant sa personnalité avec plus ou moins d'autorité.

Rappelons les trois cas de figure les plus fréquents:

Bhāsa	Autres dramaturges (probablement postérieurs à Bhāsa)[98]
nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ (avant la strophe inaugurale)	*a*) *nāndyante*, après la strophe[99], suivi de la mention du personnage de réplique: *sūtradhāraḥ* *b*) plus rarement, *nāndyante*, avant la strophe, dans certains manuscrits anciens (et du Sud)

[97] Voir sur ce point l'opinion de Cappeller in: Bansat-Boudon 1994: 284-285.

[98] Nous ne suivrons pas Tieken, qui entend montrer que Bhāsa est du VIII^e siècle, en proposant de voir dans la didascalie liminaire et l'absence de *māhārāṣṭrī* non pas des traits anciens, mais l'effet d'une archaïsation. Sur ce point, voir la notice à Bhāsa dans le volume *Théâtre de l'Inde ancienne*, à paraître dans la collection de la Pléiade (éditions Gallimard).

[99] Notons que Keith (p. 342) et Tieken (p. 29) fondent leur raisonnement sur une prémisse fausse: l'énoncé *nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ* serait commun à toute la

Rappelons que, pour le *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, la situation liminaire de *nāndyante* signalerait que la *nāndī* est prononcée hors texte et hors scène, et que la première strophe est un *raṅgadvāra*. Interprétation irrecevable, nous l'avons montré.

Reste toutefois la question de savoir pourquoi l'annonce de la fin de la *nāndī* précéderait le texte de cette même *nāndī*. On le voit, la situation de ces quelques manuscrits – anciens et / ou du Sud – est comparable à celle des pièces de Bhāsa.

Pour expliquer l'économie du texte chez Bhāsa, trois hypothèses sont possibles qui ont en commun la récitation de la – ou d'une – *nāndī* dans la coulisse:

– ou bien il y a eu récitation d'une *nāndī* dans la coulisse, et le Sūtradhāra, après son entrée, récite une strophe de facture comparable qui peut être ou non une *nāndī* (et, en ce cas, est-ce la même que celle qui a été prononcée derrière le rideau?);

– ou bien, deuxième hypothèse, la didascalie est proleptique, pareille aux instructions préliminaires d'un régisseur, qui pourraient se formuler ainsi: «Après la *nāndī* – dont le texte suit –, le Sūtradhāra entre [et joue le prologue]». Ajoutons qu'il observe alors un protocole presque invariable (qui est aussi de règle chez les autres dramaturges): immédiatement après la strophe inaugurale, une nouvelle didascalie signale que le Sūtradhāra se déplace autour de la scène et regarde vers la coulisse (*parikramya nepathyam abhimukham avalokya*), avant d'appeler une actrice ou son assistant, pour entamer le bref dialogue qui, chez Bhāsa, constitue généralement le prologue. En ce cas, la didascalie aurait pour principale fonction de signaler une récitation hors scène de la *nāndī*;

– ou bien, troisième hypothèse, la *nāndī* est d'abord prononcée dans la coulisse, probablement par le Sūtradhāra lui-même, lequel la reprend une fois qu'il est entré. En ce cas, la strophe inaugurale du drame serait bien la *nāndī*.

La voix dans la coulisse – et le spectaculaire effet de résonance qu'elle produit – est un procédé qu'affectionne le théâtre indien. D'autant qu'on aime à jouer de la reprise sur scène, avec l'entrée du personnage, de la parole prononcée en dehors d'elle. Les exemples sont nombreux, y compris dans l'œuvre de Bhāsa, et usent de toutes les combinaisons. Ainsi, dans le

littérature dramatique. Or, il est confiné à l'œuvre de Bhāsa. Par conséquent, la divergence de formulation ne tient pas seulement à la place de la didascalie (avant, pour Bhāsa, après, pour les autres dramaturges), mais à son contenu: complet chez Bhāsa, elliptique ailleurs.

Veṇīsaṃhāra, la strophe courroucée (str. 8) que Bhīma prononce dans la coulisse, avant de la reprendre, au terme du prologue, une fois entré en scène. De même encore, dans la *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, à la jointure du prologue et de l'acte I, la voix de Maitreya se fait-elle entendre dans la coulisse, avant que le personnage n'entre et répète sa réplique. Enfin, dans le *Bālacarita* de Bhāsa, Nārada s'annonce en coulisse, dans le prologue, d'un: «Me voici, céleste vagabond...», laissé en suspens, avant de paraître, premier protagoniste de la pièce, reprenant sa phrase pour l'achever:

> Me voici, céleste vagabond,
> Fameux dans les trois mondes,
> Moi, Nārada, qui, friand de querelles,
> Arrive du Brahmaloka.

On se gardera de trancher. A quoi bon chercher à tout prix à résoudre une énigme, quand manquent des preuves décisives?

La troisième hypothèse, toutefois, a notre préférence, malgré la difficulté que pose la place de la didascalie, parce que l'économie du texte et de sa représentation s'accorderait ainsi avec le canon de la tradition. En effet, le mythe d'origine du théâtre, au premier chapitre du *Nāṭyaśāstra*, a posé ce principe: une strophe de bénédiction, qui reçoit le nom de *nāndī*, doit préluder à toute représentation, et c'est le Sūtradhāra qui la prononce.

Si, dans le récit du premier chapitre, il est probable que le Sūtradhāra est également l'auteur de la *nāndī*, celle-ci, avec le passage du temps, et moyennant l'adoption d'une autre leçon du texte, est devenue l'œuvre du poète. Tel est le schéma d'explication proposé par la tradition d'exégèse.

La strophe fameuse où, dans une suite de *śleṣa*, Bāṇa célèbre Bhāsa pourrait corroborer notre interprétation:

> *sūtradhārakṛtārambhair nāṭakair bahubhūmikaiḥ / sapatākair yaśo lebhe bhāso devakulair iva //*
>
> «Commencés par le directeur [/architecte], les drames de Bhāsa, avec leurs nombreux personnages [/étages] et leurs épisodes [/bannières], ont, comme des temples, assuré sa gloire» (*Harṣacarita*, Introd., str. 15).

Littéralement, au premier niveau de sens:

> «Bhāsa a atteint la gloire avec des drames dont le commencement (*ārambha*) est fait par le Sūtradhāra, qui sont dotés de nombreux personnages (*bhūmikā*) et de *patāka* (terme technique de la théorie de l'intrigue qu'on peut traduire par "épisode")».

Au détour d'une démonstration qui tend à placer Bhāsa au VIII^{e} siècle, Tieken avance que, dans la strophe de Bāṇa, le terme *ārambha* ne serait pas à prendre au sens de «commencement»; *ārambha* serait un terme de la dramaturgie, l'une des cinq *avasthā*, ou étapes de l'action, qu'expose le

chapitre XIX, consacré à la théorie de l'intrigue. Par conséquent, il ne s'agirait pas, dans le composé *sūtradhārakṛtārambha*, d'une introduction – c'est-à-dire d'une *nāndī* – faite par le Sūtradhāra.

Cependant, tout entière construite autour du héros, la théorie de l'intrigue que présente le *Nāṭyaśāstra* plaide contre cette interprétation. Rappelons tout d'abord la définition de ces *avasthā* ou plutôt de ces *kāryāvasthā*[100]. Elles sont, observe Abhinavagupta, les étapes «de cette vibration verbale et intellectuelle en quoi consiste l'activité [déployée par le héros] en direction de ce qu'il doit accomplir». Par conséquent, d'une part, la première des cinq *avasthā* ne saurait être confinée dans un prologue d'où le héros est absent; d'autre part, l'intrigue (*itivṛtta*) ne commence véritablement qu'après ledit prologue.

Au reste, emprunté à *Svapnavāsavadattā*, l'exemple donné par Tieken, pour justifier son interprétation d'*ārambha*, est celui qui sert d'illustration, dans le *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* à un autre procédé dramatique: le *prayogātiśaya*. Il y a là une difficulté qui n'échappe pas à l'auteur (p. 32):

> In the interpretation of the quotation, given just now, one minor theoretical problem remains. The *ārambha* should refer to the desire or anxiety of the *kāraka*, or the hero of the play, and though Yaugandharāyaṇa in actual practice is the leading character, it is not at all certain if according to the dramatic theory a «mere» minister might indeed be considered the *kāraka*.

Si l'on suivait le raisonnement de Tieken jusqu'à son terme, il faudrait en arriver à cette conclusion: l'éloge de Bāṇa n'aurait d'autre objet que de signaler, en quelque sorte, une anomalie dans la mise en place de l'intrigue – l'*avasthā ārambha*, installée dans le prologue et à propos d'un personnage secondaire –, une anomalie, de surcroît, confinée à la seule *Svapnavāsavadattā*. Tieken lui-même parle de «the exceptional nature of the prologue in the above quotation» (p. 32), et, plus loin:

> Of the legendary Bhāsa we know, basically, only two things, namely that he wrote a play called *Svapnavāsavadattā* [...] and, which must have been quite exceptional, that in his plays (but not necessarily in all) the *ārambha* is revealed by the *sūtradhāra*, that is in the prologue[101].

[100] Sur cette notion, voir Bansat-Boudon 1992: 129 et 131-132.

[101] Un des arguments de Tieken, pour justifier l'acception technique d'*ārambha*, c'est que *bhūmikā* et *patāka*, les deux autres objets de la strophe, sont aussi des termes techniques. On pourrait aussi bien faire valoir qu'il existe un autre *ārambha*, en l'espèce la troisième des neuf séquences du *pūrvaraṅga* qui ont lieu derrière le rideau (cf. Bansat-Boudon 1992: 206, n. 737).

Nous proposerons donc de lire la strophe de Bāṇa plus simplement. En restituant à *ārambha* son sens de «commencement»[102], on observe que le composé *sūtradhārakṛtārambha* fait singulièrement écho à NŚ I 56b, où Bharata, Sūtradhāra des origines, s'exprime à la première personne pour dire qu'il fit d'abord la *nāndī*: *pūrvaṃ kṛtā mayā nāndī*. Mieux: la superposition des deux énoncés fait apparaître une équivalence possible entre *ārambha* et *pūrvaṃ* [...] *nāndī*, «d'abord, la *nāndī*». Et si telle était la signification du composé, dans la strophe de Bāṇa: que les drames de Bhāsa s'ouvrent sur la *nāndī* récitée par le Sūtradhāra[103]?

Conclusion

On voit que le *Nāṭyaśāstra* et son commentaire ont offert le fil d'Ariane pour cheminer dans le labyrinthe des interprétations. Le constant recours à la tradition d'exégèse vaut bien, nous semble-t-il, les tentatives de reconstruction diachronique vouées à un échec relatif dans le contexte d'une civilisation peu soucieuse de se penser historiquement. D'autant que cette tradition est cohérente, parce qu'elle s'appuie sur une lignée d'exégètes rigoureux – Abhinavagupta, disciple de Bhaṭṭa Tauta, aura Rāghavabhaṭṭa pour émule lointain – et qu'elle met en œuvre, avec la plus grande exigence, les principes de l'herméneutique indienne. Principes

[102] Tieken observe (p. 32, n. 50) que les textes attribués à Bhāsa ne permettent guère de vérifier les deux autres traits dont Bāṇa les gratifie: leurs nombreux personnages et épisodes. En effet. Mais n'est-ce pas que le *śleṣa* de Bāṇa est construit à partir du second sens, celui de la métaphore architecturale? C'est à ce second niveau que l'image est cohérente; au premier niveau, celui de la métaphore théâtrale, les mots *ārambha*, *patāka*, *bhūmikā* participent de façon plus lâche à la signification.

[103] Compte tenu de tous ces éléments, la traduction des pièces de Bhāsa présentées dans l'anthologie du *Théâtre de l'Inde ancienne*, à paraître dans la Pléiade, fait suivre l'ensemble personnage de réplique/didascalie liminaire («le Directeur, entrant à la fin de la bénédiction inaugurale») de la strophe d'introduction, laissant ainsi à entendre qu'elle est prononcée par le Directeur, tout en conservant l'ambiguïté de la formulation originale. Pour la littérature dramatique postérieure à Bhāsa, on a pris nettement parti, en plaçant dans la bouche du Sūtradhāra la strophe liminaire que la première didascalie du texte signale ensuite comme la *nāndī*. (Pour un exemple de cette distribution, cf. Bansat-Boudon 1996). Rappelons d'autre part une suggestion de Pischel (citée par Keith, p. 342), tenté par une interprétation historiciste: cette présence du Sūtradhāra au début des drames de Bhāsa pourrait suggérer que Bhāsa, le premier, aurait évincé le Sthāpaka du protocole spectaculaire. Remarque qui semble impliquer, une fois de plus, une confusion entre *pūrvaraṅga* et représentation, car le Sthāpaka, dans le *Nāṭyaśāstra*, est un protagoniste du *pūrvaraṅga*, non de la pièce.

proprement philologiques, dont le premier, peut-être, consiste à rechercher et mettre au jour la cohérence interne des textes étudiés. A la suite de son maître, Abhinavagupta y excelle, tirant argument de la logique narrative et de l'économie des textes, en même temps, trait plus rare, qu'il fait servir à son analyse son expérience de spectateur (cf. Bansat-Boudon 1992: 44-45).

L'histoire de la *nāndī* – car on ne peut nier qu'il y ait eu évolution de l'objet – s'enracine donc dans le récit de ses origines, fait au chapitre liminaire du *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

La *nāndī* de la pièce est première dans la genèse mythique, par rapport à la *nāndī* du *pūrvaraṅga*, conçue probablement à son image. Toutefois, dans le protocole spectaculaire progressivement établi par la pratique du théâtre, elle vient en second, c'est-à-dire après l'exécution du *pūrvaraṅga*. La *nāndī*, devenue l'œuvre du poète, symétrique de la *nāndī* du *pūrvaraṅga*, œuvre du praticien, est ainsi, au seuil du texte et de la représentation, comme un ultime écho des longs rituels préliminaires. Dans le même temps, elle signifie par avance, fût-ce cryptiquement, l'essence de la pièce qu'elle inaugure. Après elle, le poète peut prendre orgueilleusement la parole et, mettant un terme aux longueurs superflues, proclamer que le théâtre, ce théâtre dont il est l'auteur, commence.

Il aura lieu, en effet, protégé par cette *nāndī* conçue pour plaire également à tous. Dieux et démons, poètes, acteurs et spectateurs, drames mêmes qu'elle inaugure, tous sont réjouis, comblés et propitiés par elle, autant, dit la strophe placée en épigraphe[104], que la noble rivière – métaphore de l'esthète – se plaît à l'oie sauvage; l'oie sauvage, au vol scintillant et sonore, sans laquelle, pour la rivière, il n'y aurait ni beauté ni bonheur[105].

[104] *Nāṭyapradīpa*, cité dans Rāghavabhaṭṭa ad *Śakuntalā* (p. 5): *nandanti kāvyāni kavīndravargāḥ kuśīlavāḥ pāriṣadāḥ ca santaḥ / yasmād alaṃ sajjanasindhuhaṃsī tasmād iyaṃ sā kathiteha nāndī //*

[105] Objet d'expérience dans la réalité, l'association de la rivière et de l'oie sauvage est devenue un lieu commun de la poésie et de la miniature. Ainsi, entre autres exemples, *Vikramorvaśī*, acte IV, dans la version longue, strophe 28 (trad. Bansat-Boudon, 1996: 421):

Ses ondes sont ainsi qu'un sourcil qui se fronce,
Ce rang d'oiseaux bruissants paraît une ceinture.
Entraînant son écume ainsi qu'un vêtement
Défait par la fureur,
Ondulante elle va, ressassant mon offense.
C'est bien mon ombrageuse en rivière changée.

Signalons qu'on trouve mention de cette définition – sous la forme de son *incipit* – dans la correspondance de Sylvain Lévi et de Serge Oldenbourg (lettre datée du 17

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décembre 1887). Par un heureux hasard, Roland Lardinois, qui en prépare l'édition critique, nous a interrogée sur ce texte au moment même où nous le découvrions dans le commentaire de Rāghavabhaṭṭa. Strophe difficile, au demeurant, en raison du *alam* et du composé *sajjanasindhuhaṃsī*, dont la traduction devrait être celle-ci: «oie sauvage pour la rivière des nobles cœurs [ou: d'un noble cœur]», c'est-à-dire, comme nous le développons, «oie sauvage pour cette rivière qu'est un noble cœur (*sajjana*)». Par «noble cœur», il faut entendre le poète, les acteurs, les spectateurs, tous «excellents» dit le texte, c'est-à-dire encore, tous des *sahṛdaya*, hommes sensibles et préparés à faire l'expérience de l'émotion esthétique. Outre la double métaphore: oie sauvage/*nāndī*, rivière/esthète, la définition se signale par cette pointe: les poèmes eux-mêmes se réjouissent de la *nāndī* qui les inaugure.

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LAKṢAṆA, *LAKṢAṆĀ*, AND APOPHATICISM IN ŚAṄKARA'S COMMENTARY ON *TAITTIRĪYOPANIṢAD* II, 1

Since J.A.B. van Buitenen, in 1956, published his observations on this text of Śaṅkara, incidentally pointing out Olivier Lacombe's error in taking *lakṣaṇa* "definition" for *lakṣaṇā* "indication"[1], much has been written on it[2]; and I am not aware of any other text of the great philosopher of India which has attracted so much attention.

Fascinated by van Buitenen's "discovery"[3] of *lakṣaṇa* as it were, scholars have completely eliminated *lakṣaṇā*, not only from Śaṅkara's text but also from those of his disciple Sureśvara[4]; and the conclusion has been

[1] Buitenen 1956: 59 ff. Cf. Lacombe 1937: 79 ff. Note that in his other work (Lacombe 1938: 25; cf. 183, n. 243), Lacombe made the same mistake in rendering *lakṣaṇatas* by "par signes indirects", in the *mahāpūrvapakṣa* of the *Śrībhāṣya* where Rāmānuja correctly reproduces Śaṅkara's thesis while drawing upon later Advaita material. However, G. Thibaut (Thibaut 1904: 27 ff.) had not made this mistake and had clearly perceived the difference between *lakṣaṇa* and *lakṣaṇā* – a distinction that Lacombe failed to perceive in this text as well as in Śaṅkara's commentary on *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad* II, 1. In a note appended to the reprint of his *Absolu selon le Vedānta* (Lacombe 1966: XIII-XIV), Lacombe defended his error:

> Mais aucune "confusion" n'a été ici introduite de mon fait. Je suis simplement resté à l'intérieur de ce qui paraît être une tradition dans l'*advaita-vedānta*…

K. Satchidananda Murty (Murty 1959: 60 ff.) gives a fairly correct account of Śaṅkara's text and makes the distinction between "definition" and "implication"; but, curiously, he writes *lakṣaṇā* for *lakṣaṇa*.

[2] M. Biardeau's article (Biardeau 1957) has played in this matter the leading role. See also Biardeau 1959. The debate does not seem to be closed yet: see Suthren Hirst 1990: 150, n. 93, and 1998: 559.

[3] See, however, n. 1 above.

[4] The Dutch translator of Sureśvara's *Vārttika* (where Śaṅkara's text is clearly explained, II, 43-101), Boetzelaer 1971, follows Biardeau (n. 2 above) and thus misun-

drawn that Śaṅkara revolutionized the Indian theory of definition and at the same time renounced his famous apophaticism, at some point of his philosophic career (at the end, to be precise).

However, van Buitenen did not make any such confusion. In his brief exposition he clearly distinguished between *lakṣaṇa* and *lakṣaṇā*.

There are, indeed, texts where *lakṣaṇa* is found used in the sense of *lakṣaṇā*[5]. But this is no justification for taking the word in that meaning everywhere – as the fact that *lakṣaṇā* is used somewhere in the sense of "definition" is no justification for taking it in that meaning elsewhere.

Lacombe translates a part of Śaṅkara's text as follows:

"Brahman est Réalité, Connaissance, Infinité" … "Cette proposition…[6] signifie par *expression indirecte* (*lakṣaṇa*) ce qu'est le Brahman (*satyaṃ jñānam anantaṃ brahmeti brahmaṇo lakṣaṇārthaṃ vākyam*)… les caractères distinctifs d'un sujet ont pour fonction de le séparer des sujets appartenant au même genre que lui. Mais le caractère d'expression indirecte de séparer [son sujet] de l'univers entier. Et c'est par comparaison avec des propositions du genre de celle-ci: 'L'espace est ce qui donne [son] lieu [à chaque chose]', que nous avons déclaré la proposition védique signifier par expression indirecte" (*samānajātīyebhya eva nivartakāni viśeṣaṇāni viśeṣyasya lakṣaṇaṃ tu sarvata eva yathāvakāśadātr ākāśam iti. lakṣaṇārthaṃ ca vākyam ity avocāma*).

And he adds the commentary:

"Ainsi le *lakṣaṇa* (expression indirecte) vise à faire connaître ces choses sur lesquelles notre esprit en tant que fini n'a point de mesure directe, parce qu'elles sont, au moins sous un certain rapport, infinies, et comme telles échappent à toute communauté générique. Il nous les désigne donc en les distinguant de tout ce qui n'est pas elles, mais aussi en soulignant les analogies qu'elles présentent avec les choses finies qui sont, elles, connues de nous: nous avons une connaissance directe de la localisation spatiale des objets finis; à partir de ces effets nous pouvons nous faire une certaine conception de leur cause, l'espace infini. Le *viśeṣaṇa* (caractère distinctif)

derstands the text he translates. R. Balasubramanian in his translation (Balasubramanian 1974), however, makes the distinction between *lakṣaṇa* and *lakṣaṇā*.

[5] Lacombe, defending his error (see n. 1 above), cited Sadānanda's *Vedāntasāra*; he could have also cited Sureśvara's *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, which is actually cited by Sadānanda.

[6] According to the Advaita tradition, this is a "minor statement" (*avāntaravākya*), distinguished from the "great statements" (*mahāvākya*) such as *tat tvam asi*, *ahaṃ brahmāsmi*. The Viśiṣṭādvaitins call it a "purifying statement" (*śodhakavākya*), as the Advaitins call it a "defining statement" (*lakṣaṇavākya*).

au contraire, dans sa valeur propre, nous fait connaître directement des objets particuliers dont le genre nous est connu, en les distinguant des autres individus ou espèces du même genre: par exemple le lotus rouge ou le lotus bleu, et ce lotus rouge ou ce lotus bleu, en fonction du genre lotus déjà connu"[7].

In an elegant language, where one hears the inevitable echo of Thomism, Lacombe says here an untruth, absolutely innocent of the technical questions involved – questions which concern not specifically Vedānta, but Indian thought in general.

On the other hand, Biardeau also says an untruth when she translates, e.g., Sureśvara's *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* III, 26 (prose), *yata etad evam ato 'nupāditsitayor api tattvamarthayor viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāvo bhedasaṃsargarahitavākyārthalakṣaṇāyaiva*, as: "puisqu'il en est ainsi, le[s] sens de *tat* et de *tvam*, que l'on ne recherche pas pour eux-mêmes, sont mis en relation de sujet à attribut uniquement pour définir un sens de phrase dépourvu de relations entre des termes différents"[8]. Here one may detect a lack of familiarity with Vedānta!

For Śaṅkara, the purpose of the sentence *satyaṃ jñānam anantaṃ brahma* "the *brahman* is the Real, Knowledge, infinite" is to define the *brahman* (*brahmaṇo lakṣaṇārthaṃ vākyam*); and he is followed by the later Advaita tradition[9]. It is the text he is commenting upon which invites him to say this. The *Brahmavallī* of the *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad* starts with the statement *brahmavid āpnoti param* "the knower of the *brahman* attains the Highest" – a statement that, says Śaṅkara, enunciates aphoristically the meaning of the entire Vallī (*sūtrabhūtaṃ sarvasya vallyarthasya*)[10]. Now, in traditional terms, an enunciation (*uddeśa*) must be followed by a definition (*lakṣaṇa*) of the enunciated[11], i.e., in the present case, the *brahman* as the object to be known. On the other hand, the theory of definition available to Śaṅkara enables him to reconcile this positive statement of the Upaniṣad with what is stated later in the *Brahmavallī* itself: *yato vāco nivartante aprāpya manasā saha* "whence words return along with the mind, not attaining it", etc.

[7] Lacombe 1937: 79-80.

[8] Biardeau 1957: 382.

[9] No importance should be attached to Biardeau's remark on this question (Biardeau 1957: 377).

[10] *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, p. 39.

[11] Cf. Vātsyāyana, *Nyāyabhāṣya* I, 1, 3 (Introduction).

The three words *satya*, *jñāna* and *ananta*, explains Śaṅkara, have for their purpose to determine the *brahman*, the object to be determined (*viśeṣaṇārthāni padāni viśeṣyasya brahmaṇaḥ*). Hence the four words in *satyaṃ jñānam anantaṃ brahma* are co-referential (*samānādhikaraṇa*) and terminate in the same case-ending (*ekavibhaktyanta*). However, the grammatical relation of determinant and determined (*viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyatva* = *viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva*) cannot hold here. Grammar has taught us that the function of a determinant is to isolate the determined from objects belonging to the same class[12]. But the *brahman* is unique; there is no other *brahman* from which it could be separated – as when we say, e.g., *nīlam utpalam* "blue lotus" to separate the blue lotus from the red lotus (*raktam utpalam*). Śaṅkara appeals, therefore, to the logical theory of definition (*lakṣaṇa*), which consists in isolating the defined from everything else, whether belonging to the same class or to other classes[13] – as when it is said: "*ākāśa* (which is also unique) is that which provides space" (*avakāśadātr ākāśam*)[14]. The *brahman* thus can be "defined" by isolating it from all that it is not; and the three words *satya*, etc., although they are "determinants" (grammatically), have for their principal purpose to "define"[15].

Śaṅkara splits the sentence *satyaṃ jñānam anantaṃ brahma* into three (*satyaṃ brahma*, *jñānaṃ brahma*, *anantaṃ brahma*): "The words *satya*, etc., are not related among themselves, for they subserve another. They subserve, indeed, the object to be determined[16]. Thus each of these words expressing a determinant is severally related to the word *brahman*,

[12] Cf. Jinendrabuddhi, *Nyāsa* on *Kāśikāvṛtti* on Pāṇini II, 1, 57, explaining the term *bhedaka* (= *viśeṣaṇa*) used in the *Kāśikāvṛtti* – a term that is also used by Sureśvara (*Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣyavārttika* II, 59) but misunderstood by van Boetzelaer (n. 4 above).

[13] Cf. Uddyotakara, *Nyāyavārttika* I, 1, 3, p. 86 in *Nyāyadarśanam*: *lakṣaṇaṃ khalu lakṣyaṃ samānāsamānajātīyebhyo vyavacchinatti.*

[14] *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, pp. 39-40. ... *kaḥ punar lakṣaṇalakṣyayor viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyayor vā viśeṣa iti. ucyate. samānajātīyebhya eva nivartakāni viśeṣaṇāni viśeṣyasya lakṣaṇaṃ tu sarvata eva yathāvakāśadātr ākāśam iti*...

[15] *lakṣaṇārthatvād viśeṣaṇānām... lakṣaṇārthapradhānāni viśeṣaṇāni na viśeṣaṇapradhānāny eva... viśeṣaṇatve 'pi satyādīnāṃ lakṣaṇārthaprādhānyam. Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, pp. 40, 42.

[16] *satyādiśabdā na parasparaṃ saṃbadhyante parārthatvād viśeṣyārthā hi te.* Note Lacombe's translation (Lacombe 1937: 81, n. 4): "Les mots Réalité etc. ne sont pas en relation mutuelle, car en raison de leur signification transcendante ils sont synonymes du sujet lui-même"!

independently of the others: 'the *brahman* is the Real', 'the *brahman* is Knowledge', 'the *brahman* is infinite'"[17].

Now, "something is called the Real when that thing, ascertained under a certain nature, does not deviate from that nature; and something is called the Unreal when that thing, ascertained under a certain nature, deviates from that nature. Thus modification is the Unreal. For it has been emphasized that it is Being which is the Real: 'modification is a name that reposes on speech[18]; the clay alone is the Real' (*Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* VI, 1, 4). Therefore the statement *satyaṃ brahma* isolates the *brahman* from what is modification. It thus ensues that the *brahman* is a cause, that a cause is a means of action (*kāraka*), and that, being a thing, it is insentient like clay. Therefore it is said: 'the *brahman* is Knowledge'"[19].

The word *jñāna* can be derived in several ways. And, for the reason we shall see later, it may be assumed that it is derived in the sense of agent[20]. But Śaṅkara rejects this idea: "*Jñāna* means 'knowledge, understanding'. The word *jñāna* is derived in the sense of action (*bhāvasādhana*)[21], since it is a determinant to the *brahman* along with *satya* and *ananta*. Indeed, if [the *brahman*] were the agent of knowledge (*jñānakartṛ*), it could not be *satya* and *ananta*. For, by virtue of being the agent of knowledge, it would be subject to modification; how then would it be the Real as well as infinite? That, indeed, is infinite which is not separated from anything. But if [the *brahman*] were the agent of knowledge, it would be separated from the knowable and the knowledge, and hence it would not be infinite…"[22].

[17] *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, p. 41.

[18] For this interpretation see Bhattacharya 1973: 34, n. 1.

[19] *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, p. 41.

[20] Cf. Pāṇini III, 3, 113.

[21] This has often been misunderstood by the modern interpreters. More on this further below. It is in view of what Śaṅkara will say later that Ānandajñāna comments here: *kriyāsāmānyaṃ yady apy anyatra bhāva ucyate tathāpy atra nirviśeṣaṃ cinmātraṃ bhāvavyutpattyā lakṣyate*. See also Śaṅkara, *Upadeśasāhasrī*, *padya*, XVIII, 55.

[22] *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, p. 41. Śaṅkara cites here *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* VII, 24, 1, which establishes the distinction between the Infinite and the finite, and he goes on (pp. 41-42) to show that, although the statement "where one does not know another" (*yatra nānyad vijānāti*) may be viewed as a "particular negation" (*viśeṣapratiṣedha*) implying a corresponding affirmation (cf. Bhattacharya 1973: 65 and n. 1; for *yathā vāmenākṣṇā na paśyāmīty ukte gamyata eva dakṣiṇena paśyāmīti* see *Nyāyavārttika* I, 1, 4, p. 127), it does not, in fact, imply that the Infinite knows itself (cf. Bhattacharya 1973: 52 and n. 7), for the sentence *yatra nānyat paśyati…* aims at defining the Infinite: assuming the well-known fact (read: *yathāprasiddham*) that one sees… knows another, it intimates the intrinsic nature of the Infinite by saying that the Infinite is that where that does not exist; it is a "negation of

Śaṅkara concludes:

"Therefore, if [the *brahman*] were the agent of knowledge, it could not be infinite. Besides, it could not be mere Being (*sanmātra*), if it were endowed with such particularities as that of being the agent of knowledge. And the fact of being mere Being is the fact of being the Real, in virtue of another Vedic text: 'That is the Real' (*Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* VI, 8, 7 ff.). Therefore, since the word *jñāna* has been used as a determinant along with the words *satya* and *ananta*, the word *jñāna* is derived in the sense of action. The sentence *jñānaṃ brahma* is employed in order to exclude means of action such as agenthood[23], as well as to exclude the fact of being insentient like clay"[24].

And he adds:

"From the statement 'the *brahman* is knowledge' it follows that [the *brahman*] is finite; for we see that worldly knowledge is finite. Therefore, to prevent this, the text says 'infinite'"[25].

Thus, for Śaṅkara, the three words *satya*, *jñāna* and *ananta*, which define the *brahman* by bringing out its specific intrinsic nature isolated from everything else[26], do not express anything positive about the *brahman*; they only exclude the properties opposed to those which they themselves express: unreality, insentiency, finitude[27].

But, one might object, since the determinants have only a negative function and since the object to be determined, the *brahman*, is not a well-known entity like, e.g., a lotus, the sentence *satyaṃ jñānaṃ anantaṃ brahma* turns out to be one which has a nonentity for its object (*śūnyārthataiva prāptā*) – as is the case with the sentence: "Having bathed in the water of a mirage and having put a crown of sky-flowers on

the contingent" (*prāptapratiṣedha*, a technical term found in Mīmāṃsā and Grammar; cf. also Śaṅkara, *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya* II, 3, 6). Thus there does not ensue the logical contradiction of the subject being the object of its own action (*svātmani kriyāstitva*: cf. Bhattacharya 1973: 52, n. 7).

[23] Śaṅkara's use of the term *kartṛtva* (rather than *kartṛ*) may be due to his understanding of the *kāraka*-s as "powers" (*śakti*) rather than as "substances" (*dravya*).

[24] *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, p. 42.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *sarvato vyāvṛttasvarūpaviśeṣasamarpaṇasamarthasya lakṣaṇasya*, *ibid.*, p. 39. So far as I am aware, nowhere in Śaṅkara's genuine works is to be found an explicit mention of the distinction between *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa* "essential definition" and *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa* "accidental definition" (= *viśeṣalakṣaṇa* and *upalakṣana*, Padmapāda, *Pañcapādikā*, p. 296).

[27] *satyādīnām anṛtādidharmanivṛttiparatvāt*, *ibid*, p. 42. Cf. Sureśvara, *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣyavārttika* II, 63: *anṛtādiniṣedhena satyādīnām upakṣayāt.*

his head, here goes the son of a barren woman, holding a bow made of hare's horn"[28].

Śaṅkara's answer is that it cannot be so; for the purpose of the sentence is to define, and if the object to be defined is a nonentity, it is futile to state a definition (*śūnye hi lakṣye 'narthakaṃ lakṣaṇavacanam*).

As if not content with this explanation, he resorts to the idea that the words *satya*, etc., are pure determinants: "And even if they have for their purpose to determine (*viśeṣaṇārthatve 'pi ca*)[29], *satya*, etc., do not, indeed, forsake their own meaning. For, if they have for their object a nonentity, the words *satya*, etc., cannot determine the object to be determined. But, if they are significant with the meanings of 'the Real', etc. (*satyādyarthair arthavattve tu*), they can determine the *brahman*, the object to be determined, by isolating it from particular entities possessing properties opposed to them (*tadviparītadharmavadbhyo viśeṣebhyaḥ*). The word *brahman*, too, is meaningful indeed with its own meaning (being derived, in the sense of 'the Great', from the root *bṛh-* 'to grow, increase')".

True, the word *ananta* "infinite" is a determinant by denying finiteness (*antavattva*); "but it is by imparting their own meaning (*svārthasamarpaṇenaiva*) that the words *satya* and *jñāna* are determinants"[30].

It might again be urged that in virtue of the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the identity of the *brahman* and the *ātman*, – an identity that is indicated by various passages of the *Brahmavallī* itself, – the *brahman* must be the agent of knowledge; for it is well known that the *ātman* is the agent of knowledge[31]. Furthermore, desire is attributed to the *brahman*; and it is well known that one who desires is an agent of knowledge. Thus, since the *brahman* is the agent of knowledge, it is not proper to say that it is knowledge. Besides, even if the *brahman* were knowledge, – the word *jñāna* being derived in the sense of action, – it would still be impermanent, and dependent too; for the actions denoted by the verbal roots are dependent on the means of action (*dhātvarthānāṃ kārakāpekṣatvāt*) –. "No", says Śaṅkara; "for, without implying that knowledge is different from the intrinsic nature [of the *ātman*], it is metaphorically said to be an

[28] *mṛgatṛṣṇāmbhasi snātaḥ khapuṣpakṛtaśekharaḥ | eṣa vandhyāsuto yāti śaśaśṛṅgadhanurdharaḥ* || *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, p. 42.

[29] *viśeṣaṇārthatvam abhyupagamyāha*, Ānandajñāna. Biardeau (Biardeau 1957: 383) distorts the sentence by translating: "Quoi qu'ils aient pour objet un attribut distinctif…".

[30] *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, pp. 42-43.

[31] Sureśvara (*Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣyavārttika* II, 87) refers here to the "Science of logic" (*tarkaśāstra*), i.e. to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, according to which the *ātman* is an agent (*kartṛ*).

effect (*svarūpāvyatirekeṇa kāryatvopacārāt*). Knowledge is the intrinsic nature of the *ātman*; it does not differ from it. Hence it is eternal indeed. Nonetheless, the intellect (*buddhi*), which is a limiting adjunct (*upādhi*) [of the *ātman*], transforms itself in the form of the objects [with which it comes into contact] through the doors of the eye, etc. (*cakṣurādidvāraiḥ*); and these appearances of the intellect in the form of sound, etc., which are objects of the knowledge of the *ātman*, arise being pervaded by the knowledge of the *ātman* in the very process of their arising (*utpadyamānā evātmavijñānena vyāptā utpadyante*). Hence those things, which are appearances of the knowledge of the *ātman* and are designated by the word 'knowledge', – which are meanings of the verbal root (*jñā-*), – are imagined by the non-discriminating to be mutuable properties of the *ātman* itself"[32].

"As for the knowledge of the *brahman*", pursues Śaṅkara, "it is not different from the nature of the *brahman*, it is its very nature, like the light of the sun and the heat of fire; it does not depend on another cause, because it is by nature eternal. And, since all things are unseparated from it in space and time, since it is surpassingly subtle, there is nothing else, subtle, separated, remote, past, present or future, which is unknowable to it. Thus the *brahman* is omniscient". Śaṅkara cites *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad* III, 19, and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* IV, 3, 30: "For there is no destruction of the knowledge of the knower, because it is indestructible; only there is no second, distinct and separate from him, which he could know".

Thus, "since it is not different from the nature of the knower, and since it does not depend on causes such as the sense organs, the *brahman*, though of the nature of knowledge, is well known to be eternal. For this reason, it is not at all the meaning of the verbal root; for it is not of the nature of action".

"For this very reason, the *brahman* is not the agent of knowledge; and, for this reason, too, it is not even expressible by the word *jñāna* (*na jñānaśabdavācyam api*). Nevertheless, it is indicated (*lakṣyate*) by the word *jñāna*, which expresses its appearance and which has for its field a property of the intellect (*tadābhāsavācakena buddhidharmaviṣayeṇa*); but it is not expressed (*na tūcyate*), since it is devoid of properties such as generality, which are the grounds for the application of words[33]. Likewise

[32] Cf. *Upadeśasāhasrī*, *padya*, V, 4; XVIII, 50 ff.

[33] *śabdapravṛttihetu* (= °*nimitta*). As is well known, Patañjali (*Mahābhāṣya* on *Vārttika* 1 on *Śivasūtra* 2) mentions four such "grounds". Śaṅkara himself enumerates the following: generality (*jāti*), action (*kriyā*), quality (*guṇa*), and relation (*saṃbandha*) [*Bhagavadgītābhāṣya* XIII, 12], or name (*nāman*), form (*rūpa*), action (*karman*), difference

with the word *satya*: since the *brahman* is by nature devoid of all particularities, it is indicated, in the sentence 'the *brahman* is the Real', by the word *satya*, which has for its domain the external being in general; but it is not directly expressed by the word *satya* (*na tu satyaśabda-vācyam eva*)"[34].

It is preposterous to translate in this passage or in the corresponding stanzas of Sureśvara's *Vārttika* (II, 95 ff.) *lakṣyate*, *lakṣayanti* by "est défini", "define", as Biardeau and her followers do.

Thus, it will be seen that Śaṅkara does have recourse to *lakṣaṇā* in his argumentation.

Śaṅkara is at pains to salvage, at once, the ineffability of the *brahman* and its positive character. To be sure, the *brahman* is the Real and it is Knowledge; but these words of the phenomenal world do not directly express the *brahman*, they only *indicate* it.

To be fair to Lacombe, despite all his errors of detail, "Une certaine théologie prophatique est valide", according to Śaṅkara. However, his final emphasis is on the negative aspect of the *lakṣaṇa*. So he concludes – abruptly it is true –:

"Thus the words *satya*, etc., determining and being determined by one another in mutual contiguity, isolate the *brahman* from what is expressed by the words *satya*, etc.[35], and have for their purpose to define it. Thus it is established that the *brahman* is inexpressible, in accordance with the statements 'whence words return along with the mind, not attaining it' (*Taittirīya-Upaniṣad* II, 4. 9), 'unexpressed, unsupporting' (*ibid.* II, 7), and that, unlike a blue lotus, it is not the import of a sentence"[36].

(*bheda*), generality (*jāti*), and quality (*guṇa*) [*Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya* II, 3, 6]. See also *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣadbhāṣya* 7; Sureśvara, *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* III, 103.

[34] *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, pp. 43-45.

[35] Following the reading (misprint?) *satyādiśabdāvācyāt*, found in some editions, Biardeau (Biardeau 1957: 382) translates: "ainsi donc, les termes *satya*, etc., de par leur contiguïté mutuelle, contrôlés et se contrôlant réciproquement, séparent (le Brahman de ce qui n'est pas lui) puisque celui-ci est inexprimable par les termes *satya*, etc. …" – which is impossible. The reading *satyādiśabdavācyāt* is sure, not only in view of what Śaṅkara has said before, but also in the light of Ānandajñāna's comment: … *tataś ca satyādiśabdena yal laukikaṃ vācyaṃ tadvilakṣaṇena bhavitavyam*…

[36] *evaṃ satyādiśabdā itaretarasaṃnidhāv anyonyaniyamyaniyāmakāḥ santaḥ satyādiśabdavācyāt tannivartakā brahmaṇo lakṣaṇārthāś ca bhavantīty ataḥ siddhaṃ yato vāco nivartante aprāpya manasā saha anirukte 'nilayana iti cāvācyatvaṃ nīlotpalavad avākyārthatvaṃ ca brahmaṇaḥ. Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, p. 45.

There is certainly no revolution in all this. The nature of the argumentation was determined by the nature of the text itself; but the basic standpoint is the same as that of such an "apophatic" passage as *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya* II, 3, 6.

POSTSCRIPT

Among other works, old and recent, relevant to our topic, the article by R. De Smet, S.J. 1955 – see Buitenen 1956 – has not been available to me. Nor have I had access to De Smet 1953. The only work by him I have been able to read is De Smet 1954, where, pp. 63 ff., he gives a detailed analysis of our text. Despite errors of translation and interpretation – one of which was mentioned by van Buitenen (Buitenen 1956: 59. See also n. 21 above) – this author at least perceived the difference between *lakṣaṇa* and *lakṣaṇā*.

TEXTS

Gautama, *Nyāyasūtra*. In: *Nyāyadarśanam*, with Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya*, Uddyotakara's *Vārttika*, Vācaspati Miśra's *Tātparyaṭīkā* & Viśvanātha's *Vṛtti*, edited by Tārānātha Nyāya-Tarkatīrtha and Amarendramohan Tarkatīrtha, Calcutta Sanskrit Series 18 and 19, 1936 and 1944. Reprint: Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1985.

Jinendrabuddhi, *Nyāsa* (= *Kāśikāvivaraṇapañcikā*) [see Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*]

Padmapāda, *Pañcapādikā*, with Ātmasvarūpa's *Prabodhapariśodhinī* and Vijñānātman's *Tātparyārthadyotanī*, and Prakāśātman's *Vivaraṇa* with Citsukha's *Tātparyadīpikā* and Nṛsiṃhāśrama's *Bhāvaprakāśikā*, edited by S. Śrīrāma Śāstrī and S.R. Krishnamurthi Śāstrī, Madras Government Oriental Series 155, 1958.

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L'IMMAGINE DEI MONTI FRA *ITIHĀSA* E *KĀVYA*

Fin dai primi teorici della letteratura la cui opera sia rimasta, cioè fin da Bhāmaha e Daṇḍin, il tema della grande catena montuosa, o comunque del monte, rientra fra quelli previsti e per così dire prescritti per i *mahākāvya*. La sua presenza è dunque abituale nei poemi lunghi, e ha ricevuto una sorta di consacrazione a priori nel celebre esordio del *Kumārasambhava* (I, 1-17) che appunto con una descrizione del Himālaya si apre. Ci si può anzi chiedere se l'esistenza stessa e la collocazione del passo kālidāsiano costituiscano la prima applicazione a noi nota di una norma oggettivamente preesistente, poi ratificata anche dai teorici, o se di questa norma non siano invece la fonte. E si può notare, d'altra parte, in proposito come il *tópos* del monte abbia all'epoca di Kālidāsa almeno due antecedenti proprii in un passo del *Saundaranandamahākāvya* (X, 5-14) di Aśvaghoṣa, già con la descrizione del Himālaya, e in uno molto famoso, in realtà non databile[1], del *Rāmāyaṇa* (II, 88), dove Rāma esalta a Sītā la straordinaria bellezza del Citrakūṭa sul quale dimorano durante l'esilio.

All'epoca di questi testi, però, la descrizione del monte ha già una lunga storia alle spalle, la cui ricostruzione può essere interessante sia in se stessa sia come esempio concreto di formazione dell'immaginario e dello stile del *kāvya* in uno degli aspetti esemplari in quanto destinati a divenire ben presto canonici.

[1] Come per altri passi analoghi (II, 89, immediatamente seguente: elogio della Mandākinī; III, 15: descrizione dell'inverno; IV, 26: descrizione del monte Prasravaṇa, v. però avanti; IV, 27: descrizione della stagione delle piogge) sovente menzionati insieme dagli studiosi, si tratta infatti secondo un'opinione generalmente condivisa di parti recenti del poema: si confronti in proposito Lienhard 1984: 61 che si fonda per le citazioni sull'edizione di Bombay. Anche se gli editori di Baroda hanno purgato il testo da numerose strofe o emistrofe senza dubbio posteriori, una datazione precisa è evidentemente impossibile, e ciò impedisce di stabilire qualsiasi cronologia relativa, soprattutto in rapporto ad Aśvaghoṣa.

Nelle *Theragāthā*, cioè in uno fra i principali precursori del *kāvya* vero e proprio, le montagne (*sela-*, *giri-* o *naga-*) sono così descritte[2]: *nīlabbhavaṇṇā rucirā sītavārī sucindharā / indagopakasañchannā*... (13; 1063 con la variante *vārisītā*) e ancora *acchodikā puthusilā goṇaṅgulamigāyutā / ambusevālasañchannā*... (113, 601, 1070), (*karerimālāvitatā bhūmibhāgā manoramā*) / *kuñjarābhirudā rammā*... (1062), *nīlabbhakūṭasadisā kūṭāgāravarūpamā / vāraṇābhirudā rammā*... (1064), ... *isibhi sevitā / abbhunnaditā sikhīhi*... (1065), *ummāpupphavasamānā gaganā v' abbhachāditā / nānādijagaṇākiṇṇā*... (1068 e 1069 per *nānā°*), *anākiṇṇā gahaṭṭhehi migasaṃghanisevitā* / (1069).

Tutte le strofe sin qui menzionate si concludono nello stesso modo: ... *te selā ramayanti man ti* //, evidentemente alludendo allo stato di quiete, adatto al distacco e alla meditazione, favorito nei monaci dall'ambiente e dalla visione dei monti. Com'è noto, il significato primo di *sela-* è «roccia»: non necessariamente e non sempre, dunque, questo termine significa «monte». Nelle strofe citate, tuttavia, mi sembra consigliabile intenderlo in questa accezione sia per le immagini utilizzate (si vedano, ad esempio, le strofe 113 e 1064), che manifestamente non si riferiscono a rocce isolate, sia anche per la compresenza in una stessa strofe (si confronti, per esempio, 1065) di *naga-* come sinonimo. Altri passi, in strofe non costruite sullo schema comune a quelle fin qui esaminate, non aggiungono immagini sostanzialmente diverse: così il Nesādaka è *bahukuṭajasallakika-* (115), *kusumasañchanna-* è il bosco sul Giribbaja dove il monaco medita *pabbhāre... sītale* (545); sullo stesso monte... *citrachadā vihaṃgamā / mahindaghosatthanitābhigajjino te taṃ ramissanti vanamhi jhāyinaṃ* // (1108); altrove la cresta montana è *varāhaeṇeyyavigāḷhasevita-* (1135), il monte *abbhamālin-* è *anākula-* (1144). Assai frequente l'immagine delle fenditure e caverne (*vivara-*, *pabbhāra-*, *kandara-*, *guhā-*, *gabbhara-*) non in se stesse ma in quanto riparo dei meditanti: 41, 522, 524, 540, 887, 1103, 1135, oltre alla già ricordata 545.

Anche il motivo sottostante, se non lo schema delle strofe, è lo stesso: dimorare sui monti e contemplarne i paesaggi agevola per il monaco la concentrazione e la vittoria sugli attaccamenti. Così ad esempio conclude Tāḷapuṭa, autore della 1144: *anākule tattha nage ramissasi, asaṃsayaṃ citta parābhavissasi* //. L'impressione è che questo motivo rappresenti un *tópos* acquisito: difficile decidere se elaborato dai monaci-poeti buddhisti, o se invece adattato per opera loro da un analogo motivo (erotico) profano come il motivo della poesia della pioggia bufera al di fuori / amanti felici al ri-

[2] Cito da *The Thera- and Therî-gâthâ*, v. Bibliografia.

paro[3]. In favore della seconda ipotesi si potrebbero invocare le strofe 637 e 638 della *Sattasaī*[4], con l'elogio della vita «nel villaggio sui monti», dove «si fa l'amore tranquilli» (*ṇīsaṃkamohane... giriggāme*, 637) e dove il paesaggio è molto simile a quelli delle *Theragāthā*. In particolare, la descrizione di 638 offre immagini già presentate dalle *Theragāthā*: rocce levigate (*ṇiddhoasilāalā*, cfr. *Therā*° 113 ecc.: *puthusilā* ?), pavoni in festa (*muiamorā*), ruscelli che scorrono chiacchierini (*pasaraṃtojjharamuhalā*). I due componimenti, seguendo l'edizione critica di H. Tieken[5], non risalgono però all'archetipo e questo interdice ogni considerazione cronologica.

Date la natura e l'ispirazione dei testi, nelle *Theragāthā* la descrizione del monte non può rappresentare un tema definito e a sé stante. La documentazione raccolta consente però l'ipotesi che questo tema preesistesse autonomamente, eventualmente connesso con situazioni erotiche; le immagini offerte sono comunque già numerose e sembrano attingere a un repertorio in qualche modo già costituito o in via di elaborazione. Il confronto con i motivi attestati successivamente mette in evidenza la mancanza completa di quello delle tribù selvagge e soprattutto di quello degli amanti divini o semi-divini (per esempio le schiere degli attendenti di Śiva) che popolano le montagne. Questo è però ovvio in testi buddhisti così antichi, dove qualunque accenno all'amore era rigorosamente proibito. Sottolineate sono al contrario la quiete e la felicità del monaco. Frequenti risultano pure gli accenni alla stagione delle piogge: il monte «incoronato di nuvole» (1144), i gridi dei pavoni (1065, 1108), gli *indagopaka* (13, 1063), le rocce «bagnate di pioggia» (1065), la folgore (41), il tuono (1108), «Quando il cielo ha piovuto» (1137). È la conseguenza letteraria delle regole della comunità primitiva, che consentiva ai monaci una residenza stabile (grotta o capanna) solo durante il monsone: ciò favoriva un'attitudine di contemplazione del paesaggio, e quindi l'impiego frequente dei motivi poetici corrispondenti[6].

Nel *Mahābhārata* le menzioni dei monti sono frequentissime[7]; soprattutto però, forse inaspettatamente, non solo vi sono attestate moltissime immagini

[3] Si confrontino in proposito Lienhard 1975: 375-396, in particolare alle pp. 381 sgg.; Boccali 1997, in particolare alle pp. 185-188; Boccali 1999, in particolare alle pp. 13-17.

[4] Cito da Weber 1881

[5] *Hāla's Sattasaī*, v. Bibliografia. Per le strofe 637 e 638 si confronti in particolare p. 115.

[6] Si confronti Lienhard 1984: 77.

[7] Nelle citazioni parziali di strofe, seguo d'ora in avanti il criterio di lasciare la fine di parola immutata, come si presenta nell'intero contesto (quindi, p.es., *agamyam manasāpy anyair*, anziché *anyaiḥ*, dato che il testo completo prosegue con *nadī*°).

Per l'aiuto prezioso nella ricognizione dei passi del *Mahābhārata* desidero ringraziare Tiziana Pontillo.

ricorrenti, ma esistono passi di una certa estensione configurati come vere e proprie descrizioni autonome. Nel primo fra questi (I, 15, 5-9), appartenente al *samudramanthana*, il narratore Sūta così descrive il Meru. Quanto alla forma (dimensioni, altezza ecc.) in generale: *aprameyam anādhṛṣyam adharmabahulair janaiḥ* // (6), *nākam āvṛtya tiṣṭhantam ucchrayeṇa mahāgirim* // (7), *agamyam manasāpy anyair...* / (8), *anantakalpam udviddham...* // (9, propriamente il *pṛṣṭa*- del monte; cfr. *Rāmāyaṇa* II, 88, 4).

Quanto ai minerali, o alle pietre che lo costituiscono, e ai suoi colori: *ākṣipantam prabhām bhānoḥ svaśṛṅgaiḥ kāñcanojjvalaiḥ* // (5), espressione molto originale, unica in tutto l'immenso poema e raffinata dalla successione dei corradicali *prabhām bhānoḥ*; *kāñcanābharaṇam citraṃ...* / (6), *bahuratnācitam* (9b, ancora il *pṛṣṭa*-), forse... *divyauṣadhividīpitam* / (7), se si intende con *divyauṣadhi*- «arsenico rosso», come parrebbe probabile, anziché «erba medicinale, magica»: i due motivi, d'altronde, sono parimenti diffusi.

Le acque e la vegetazione non ricevono in questo passo grande rilievo: solo... *nadīvṛkṣasamanvitam* / (8) vi si riferisce se si esclude eventualmente l'aggettivo or ora discusso.

Agli animali sono dedicate le due formule *vyālair ācaritaṃ ghorair...* / (7) e *nānāpatagasaṃghaiś ca nāditaṃ sumanoharaiḥ* // (8), per la quale si impone il confronto con *Thera*° 1068 sg. e come si vedrà *Rāmā*°, p. es. II, 88, 4: *nānādvijagaṇāyuta*- (ma questo secondo confronto è più ovvio).

Dèi e geni sono infine presenti nel solo ... *devagandharvasevitam* / (6).

Nel passo, gli aggettivi usati singolarmente o generici sono: ... *tejorāśim anuttamam* / (5), *jvalantam* (5a), *śubham* (9b, il *pṛṣṭam*).

La rassegna delle *Thera*° e di questo primo passo del *Mahābhārata* consente già una classificazione dei motivi (o attributi seguendo la terminologia di S. Lienhard[8]) che declinano il tema del «monte». In un ordine arbitrario, escludendo gli attributi generici (aggettivi in senso stretto), questi motivi riguardano: forma, dimensioni, aspetto generale; minerali e colori; acque; vegetazione; fauna; veggenti, asceti e loro dimore; esseri divini e semi-divini. La ricognizione di tutte le espressioni concernenti le montagne contenute nell'intero *Mahābhārata*, già conclusa e destinata alla pubblicazione in altra sede[9], richiede l'aggiunta di categorie qui non attestate, come: tribù selvagge, popolazioni mitiche, palazzi (divini) e, naturalmente,

[8] Si confrontino Lienhard 1984: 22-23 e Boccali 1995: 57-59.

[9] Gli atti del II International Seminar on Indian Classical Literature "Key Motifs in Indian Kāvya Literature", Milan, 10-13 June 1999, che appariranno in "Indica et Tibetica".

di categorie generali ma riferite ai monti in espressioni particolari (p. es. quella dei profumi).

Le attestazioni raccolte qui e nel lavoro collegato invitano a qualche considerazione preliminare. La constatazione più significativa mi sembra essere questa: il *Mahābhārata* offre una documentazione già abbondante di molti (forse di tutti) i motivi che saranno in futuro impiegati per sviluppare il tema «montagne». Prediletto sembra essere in particolare quello dei minerali e dei colori delle rocce, insieme con quello degli dèi, semidei, geni, spiriti e così via che popolano i monti, in particolare Śiva e i vari personaggi del suo seguito.

Notevole è l'inclinazione al cambiamento, alla *variatio* e perciò sorprendente la scarsità, o l'assenza quasi di ripetizioni, tanto più se si considera la semplicità della scrittura. Com'è naturale, la ricorrenza di schemi identici è frequente; ogni volta, tuttavia, essi sono colmati con materiali differenti. Per esempio, il motivo dei vari minerali che decorano e colorano la montagna è espresso in cinque differenti modi, metricamente equivalenti, nessuno dei quali è ripetuto mai nell'intero poema:

nānādhātuśatair naddhān... / III, 61, 6;
nānādhātusamākīrṇaṃ vividhopalabhūṣitam / III, 61, 36 (con addoppiamento del motivo entro la stessa emistrofe);
sarvadhātuvinaddhaś ca... // VI, 7, 3 e
naikadhātuvicitraiś ca... / VI, 12, 7.

In alcune fra queste espressioni è pure evidente l'effetto dell'allitterazione[10], che pare essere intenzionale. Nel *samudramanthana* si segnalano: ... *devagandharvasevitam* / (3 *v* nello stesso *pāda*); ... *divyauṣadhividīpitam* / (2 *d* rafforzati da *dh* e 2 *v* nello stesso *pāda*, oltre al chiasmo fonico *divy-/vidī-* al principio delle due metà della sequela); *nākam āvṛtya tiṣṭhantam...* // (3 *t* nello stesso *pāda*); *nānāpatagasaṃghaiś ca nāditaṃ sumanoharaiḥ* // (4 *n* nella stessa emistrofe); (... *surāḥ sarve mahaujasaḥ* //, con tre *s* nello stesso *pāda*). Considerando invece i passi catalogati nell'intero *Mahābhārata*, l'esempio più vistoso di allitterazione è *nānādhātuśatair naddhān* [*vividhān api cācalān*] / (III, 61, 6) dove considerando anche le posizioni finali, *n* ri-

[10] Qui e di seguito, per la valutazione delle allitterazioni ho seguito gli stessi standard adottati da Brockington, 1977: 454, che mi sembrano offrire le migliori garanzie sul piano scientifico. Riferimento insostituibile per lo studio del "poetry" nel *Mahābhārata* e indirettamente nel *Rāmāyaṇa* è Sharma 1988²; per le allitterazioni (*anuprāsa*) in particolare si confrontino le pp. 159-162.

corre quattro volte nello stesso *pāda* e sei nell'emistrofe; non solo: sempre nel primo *pāda*, di undici consonanti (o dieci se si considera *ddh* un suono unico), nove (o otto) sono dentali.

Pure da segnalare è, qua e là, la ricerca d'una maggiore raffinatezza stilistica, come nella strofe che segue, dove si rileva la presenza dei motivi del profumo e della musica:

divyapuṣpasamākīrṇaṃ divyamālāvibhūṣitam /
divyacandanasaṃyuktaṃ divyadhūpena dhūpitam /
tad sado vṛṣabhāṅkasya divyavaditranāditam // XIII, 127, 7.

Certo, la mera ripetizione di *divya-* all'inizio di ogni *pāda*[11], le eventuali allitterazioni da questo favorite (*tad sado... divyavaditranāditam //* oltre alla sequela *-vyava-*) o la figura *-dhūpena dhūpitam* appaiono espedienti elementari o addirittura ingenui se confrontati con gli *(śabda)alaṃkāra* del *kāvya* posteriore. Questa valutazione non diminuisce però il carattere intenzionale dei procedimenti, intesi al conseguimento di effetti artistici.

Particolarmente complesso è l'intreccio di motivi in XIII, 14, 34-35 (descrizione del Himavat):

nānāpuṣparajomiśro gajodānādhivāsitaḥ /
divyastrīgītabahulo māruto 'tra sukho vavau //
dhārāninādair vihagapraṇādaiḥ śubhais tathā bṛṃhitaiḥ kuñjarāṇām /
gītais tathā kiṃnarāṇām udāraiḥ śubhaiḥ svanaiḥ sāmagānāṃ ca vīra //

Specialmente il motivo sviluppato nella prima fra queste due strofe – quello della brezza che si carica di deliziosi profumi e suoni – sembra anticipare un passo del *Meghadūta* (31, Hultzsch):

dīrghīkurvan paṭu madakalaṃ kūjitaṃ sārasānāṃ
pratyuṣeṣu sphuṭitakamalāmodamaitrīkaṣāyaḥ /
......
siprāvātaḥ...

Meritevole di menzione è infine l'emistrofe:

udayaḥ parvato vatso merur dogdhā mahāgiriḥ / VII App. I, 8, 798, giostrata com'è sul motivo mitologico non così comune della Terra desiderosa di avere un vitello, qualcuno che la mungesse e i recipienti dove conservare il latte: Pṛthu avrebbe soddisfatto a tutte le sue richieste. Lo stesso motivo ricomparirà al principio del *Kumārasambhava* (I, 2, Paṇśīkar):

[11] Per questo procedimento retorico, si confronti Sharma 1988²: 165 sgg.

yaṃ sarvaśailāḥ parikalpya vatsam
merau sthite dogdhari dohadakṣe /
bhāsvanti ratnāni mahauṣadhīś ca
pṛthūpadiṣṭāṃ duduhur dharitrīm //

Esaminiamo ora, ripartita nelle stesse categorie già impiegate, la documentazione offerta dal *Rāmāyaṇa*. In questo caso, sono stati scelti due *sarga* precisi, II, 88 e IV, 26, rispettivamente dedicati alla descrizione dei monti Citrakūṭa e Prasravaṇa: si tratta di passi celebri, sovente menzionati in quanto più vicini al *kāvya* vero e proprio; probabilmente però molto tardi, anche nella restituzione degli editori di Baroda che hanno provveduto a sfrondare in modo deciso il testo della vulgata. In particolare nel secondo dei due *sarga* menzionati la descrizione vera e propria si riduce a due sole strofe o poco più (IV, 26, 2-3) che nulla apportano rispetto alla ricca testimonianza offerta dall'altro.

A quanto risulta da II, 88, quindi, i motivi impiegati per la descrizione del monte sono:

A) forma, dimensioni, aspetto generale
śikharaiḥ kham ivodviddhair... / 4

B) minerali e colori
... *dhātumadbhir vibhūṣitam* // 4
kecid rajatasaṃkāśāḥ kecit kṣatajasaṃnibhāḥ /
pītamāñjiṣṭhavarṇāś ca kecin maṇivaraprabhāḥ // 5
puṣyārkaketakābhāś ca kecij jyotīrasaprabhāḥ /
virājyante 'calendrasya deśā dhātuvibhūṣitāḥ // 6

[*vicitraśikhare* 16c]

śilāḥ śailasya śobhante viśālāḥ śataśo 'bhitaḥ /
bahulā bahulair varṇair nīlapītasitāruṇaiḥ // 20

C) acque
jalaprapātair udbhedair niṣyandaiś ca kvacit kvacit /
sravadbhir bhāty ayaṃ śailaḥ sravanmada iva dvipaḥ // 13

... *bahumūlaphalodakaḥ* // 26

D) vegetazione
lunga lista di alberi, 8-9...
puṣpavadbhir phalopetaiś chāyāvadbhir manoramaiḥ /
evam ādibhir ākīrṇaḥ śriyaṃ puṇyaty ayaṃ giriḥ // 10

bahupuṣpaphale 16a

niśi bhānty acalendrasya hutāśanaśikhā iva /
oṣadhyaḥ svaprabhālakṣmyā bhrājamānāḥ sahasraśaḥ // 21

... *paśya phalāni vicitrāṇi ca //* 25

... *bahumūlaphalodakaḥ //* 26

E) fauna
... *nānādvijagaṇāyutam /* 4 e 16 (*-āyute /*)

nānāmṛgagaṇadvīpitarakṣvṛkṣagaṇair vṛtaḥ /
aduṣṭair bhāty ayaṃ śailo bahupakṣisamākulaḥ // 7

G) veggenti, asceti e loro dimore
[il motivo è attestato solo in forma allusiva: gli animali selvaggi qui sono mansueti (cfr. 7) in virtù della presenza benefica di asceti]

H) esseri divini e semi-divini
śailaprastheṣu ramyeṣu paśyemān kāmaharṣaṇān /
kinnarān dvaṃdvaśo bhadre ramamāṇān manasvinaḥ // 11
śākhāvasaktān khaṅgāṃś ca pravarāṇyambarāṇi ca /
paśya vidyādharastrīṇām krīḍoddeśān manoramān // 12

kuṣṭhapuṃnāgatagarabhūrjapatrottaracchadān /
kāmināṃ svāstarān paśya kuśeśayadalāyutān // 24
mṛditāś cāpaviddhāś ca dṛśyante kamalasrajaḥ /
kāmibhir vanite... // 25 (con sviluppo del tema erotico)

J) attributi generici
citra- 2a (*anuprāsa* con *citrakūṭa*), [*vicitra-*, 16c]
ramaṇīya- 3d
ramya- 11a (riferito anche agli altopiani, *śailaprastha-*, entro un contesto erotico)

K) espressioni notevoli
guhāsamīraṇo gandhān nānāpuṣpabhavān vahan /
ghrāṇatarpaṇam abhyetya... // 14

kecit kṣayanibhā deśāḥ kecid udyānasaṃnibhāḥ /
kecid ekaśilā bhānti parvatasyāsya bhāmini // 22

bhittveva vasudhāṃ bhāti citrakūṭaḥ samutthitaḥ /
citrakūṭasya kūṭo 'sau dṛśyate sarvataḥ śivaḥ // 23

vasvaukasārāṃ nalinīm atyetīvottarakurūn /
parvataś citrakūṭo 'sau... // 26

La documentazione raccolta consente alcuni rilievi. Per quanto concerne l'uso degli attributi e la loro relazione, e quindi la struttura delle strofe, come nel *Mahābhārata* anche nel *Rāmāyaṇa* essi sono quasi sempre giustapposti; si rilegga per esempio la strofe 4 dove ne figurano tre (gli uccelli, i picchi aguzzi, i minerali):

paśyemam acalaṃ bhadre nānādvijagaṇāyutam /
śikharaiḥ kham ivodviddhair dhātumadbhir vibhūṣitam //

In altri casi, il motivo è unico, ma viene sviluppato giustapponendo le sue diverse manifestazioni, che si estendono talora per più di una strofe come nella lunga lista di alberi che occupa tre *śloka* (8-10). Questo modo di coordinare gli attributi – paratattico potremmo dire – è certamente caratteristico dell'epica tradizionale e comunque di testi poetici ancora elementari, mentre il *kāvya* vero e proprio ricercherà la massima densità e interna gerarchia delle strofe[12]. Analogamente il *kāvya* ricorrerà sovente all'espressione indiretta, allusiva di un motivo[13], mentre qui il motivo è stato costruito allusivamente in un caso soltanto, peraltro quasi ingenuo: la strofe 7, dove la presenza degli asceti sulla montagna è evocata indirettamente con l'affermazione della mansuetudine degli animali selvaggi che la popolano.

Gli *alaṃkāra*[14] sono estremamente rari e molto semplici, come le similitudini di 5-6, 21 e 22; solo 13 offre un'elaborazione un poco più complessa, che coinvolge sia il senso sia il suono:

jalaprapātair udbhedair niṣyandaiś ca kvacit kvacit /
sravadbhir bhāty ayaṃ śailaḥ sravanmada iva dvipaḥ //

Altri tropi non figurano, con l'eccezione forse di una *utprekṣā* alla strofe 23:

bhittveva vasudhāṃ bhāti citrakūṭaḥ samutthitaḥ /

[12] In proposito si confronti per esempio Lienhard 1984: 26 sgg.

[13] Già nella *Sattasaī* molte strofe sono costruite in questo modo; per questo aspetto e anche per la relazione fra l'antologia di Hāla e la teoria di Ānandavardhana dei significati implicitati (*vyaṅgya*) si confrontino Warder 1974: 211; Lienhard 1984: 84 sgg.; Boccali 1991, in particolare alla p. 117.

[14] Per gli *alaṃkāra* nel *Rāmāyaṇa* in generale si confronti ancora Brockington 1977 e anche 1970.

Più numerosi sono gli *śabdālaṃkāra*[15], anche se con risultati che non sempre appaiono definitivi o gradevoli. Questi gli esempi di *anuprāsa*: *puṣyārkaketakābhāś ca kecij jyotīrasaprabhāḥ* / (*k*, strofe 6); *śilāḥ śailasya śobhante viśālāḥ śataśo 'bhitaḥ* / (l'esempio più vistoso, con *ś* sei volte, strofe 20); ... *ramamāṇān manasvinaḥ* // (*m* e *n*, strofe 11; si tratta forse dell'unico caso di allitterazione evocativa: in questo caso rimanderebbe ai sussurri degli amanti e l'effetto sarebbe rinforzato dalle numerose sibilanti nella prima emistrofe e, sul piano semantico, da *ramyeṣu* riferito ai *śaila-prastha* nel primo *pāda*); *bhittveva vasudhāṃ bhāti*... / (*bh* e *v*, strofe 23); *puṣpavadbhir phalopetaiś chāyāvadbhir manoramaiḥ* / (labiali, strofe 10); *bahupuṣpaphale* (ancora labiali, strofe 16); *citrakūṭasya kūṭo 'sau dṛśyate sarvataḥ śivaḥ* // (sibilanti, strofe 23). Con criteri meno stretti, gli esempi di allitterazione nel passo studiato aumenterebbero di molto: in ogni caso l'impressione è che ripetizioni come *śikharaiḥ kham*, *-puṃnāgatagara-*, *paśya kuśeśaya-* non siano casuali, anche se non rientrano nelle forme o negli standard riconosciuti.

Casi di *lāṭānuprāsa* sono *citraṃ citrakūṭam* (2ab) e *citrakūṭasya kūṭo* (23a), che giocano anche sul nome proprio del monte. Tra gli altri tipi di ripetizione, si registrano quella di due forme contigue differenti della stessa parola: *bahulā bahulair* (20c); e quella della stessa parola al principio di più *pāda* della stessa strofe: *kecid rajatasaṃkāśāḥ kecit kṣatajasaṃnibhāḥ* / *pītamāñjiṣṭhavarṇāś ca kecin maṇivaraprabhāḥ* // (5), *sravadbhir bhāty ayaṃ śailaḥ sravanmada iva dvipaḥ* // (13), già ricordato, e *kecit kṣayani-bhā deśāḥ kecid udyānasaṃnibhāḥ* / *kecid ekaśilā bhānti parvatasyāsya bhāmini* // (22). Anche se la figura non corrisponde a nessuna delle forme canoniche, non si può non notare che nell'ultima strofe citata tre *pāda* (b, c, d) si concludono con termini corradicali: *-saṃnibhāḥ*, *bhānti*, *bhāmini*, contenuti pure nel rimanente *pāda* (a, *-nibhā*...). Assimilabili a questa sono le ripetizioni presentate da 5: *-saṃnibhāḥ* e *-prabhāḥ* alla fine del secondo e quarto *pāda* rispettivamente e da 6: *-ābhāś* e *-prabhāḥ* alla fine del primo e secondo *pāda* rispettivamente. Intenzionale sembra infine la successione dei due termini corradicali *śilāḥ śailasya*, per di più al principio di un'emistrofe caratterizzata anche dalla prolungata allitterazione. In ogni caso, quasi tutte queste forme appartengono a quelle accuratamente esaminate e catalogate da Sharma (1988) e Brockington (1970) per il *Māhabhārata* e il *Rāmāyaṇa* rispettivamente.

[15] Per gli *śabdālaṃkāra* in particolare si confrontino Brockington 1977: 454-458 e anche Sharma 1988^2: 159-166.

I requisiti che abbiamo qui messo in evidenza consentono di definire con una certa concretezza – almeno per il tema studiato – la transizione dall'*itihāsa* al *kāvya*. Un presupposto innanzi tutto, al quale finora non abbiamo fatto cenno, va tenuto presente e sottolineato: l'interruzione della tradizione (letteraria) vedica[16]. Non esistono, naturalmente, nel *Ṛgveda* descrizioni in sé delle montagne (*ádri-*, *girí-* e *párvata-*): esse quindi sono soggetti di comparazione (*upameya*) molto raramente e mai con intenzioni esornative. Come oggetti di comparazione (*upamāna*) le montagne appaiono molto più di frequente, per essere associate a Indra o ad altri *upameya* di cui mettono in risalto la forza, la solidità, l'imponenza, la generosità e perfino la fertilità. Le montagne sono infatti ritenute cave, e perciò dotate come di «grembo» o «ventre».

Diffusa è d'altra parte l'identificazione montagna-nuvola[17], che trova manifestazione ambivalente anche nei miti di Vala e di Vṛtra, i demoni racchiudenti nei ventri rispettivamente le vacche-aurore e le vacche-acque: essi possono infatti essere concepiti sia come montagne sia come nuvole. Pure molto significativo in questo contesto il mito delle montagne alate, ripetutamente accennato nel *Ṛgveda*[18] e narrato più ampiamente in *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā* I, 10, 13[19]:

«Le montagne, si sa, sono i figli maggiori di Prajāpati. Esse erano alate. Volarono via e si sedettero dovunque loro piacesse. Allora questa (terra) divenne instabile. Indra tagliò le loro ali e rese la terra stabile per mezzo loro. Le ali divennero nuvole. Per questo le nuvole stanno abitualmente intorno alle montagne, perché è il luogo della loro origine.» Ciò che si desidera sottolineare con questa rassegna sintetica è che nessuno dei tratti qualificanti e in un certo modo convenzionali dell'immaginario e della simbologia vedica concernente le montagne rimane nella letteratura successiva, epica e classica, come motivo impiegato a sviluppare il grande tema «montagne». La montagna ricorre infatti a simboleggiare potere, resistenza o altezza anche nel *Mahābhārata*[20] e altrove, ma questo rientra in una prassi per così dire naturale, mentre dell'associazione privilegiata montagna-nuvola non c'è più traccia (salvo forse un riflesso ormai sbiadi-

[16] Per la sintesi della documentazione vedica ringrazio Rosa Ronzitti, che mi ha cortesemente messo a disposizione il suo lavoro "La 'montagna' nel *Ṛgveda*" (titolo provvisorio), in corso di elaborazione.

[17] Si confronti Sani 1994: 94 sgg.

[18] Si confrontino II, 11, 8; 12, 2; 13, 5; IV, 19, 4; 54, 5; VI, 30, 3.

[19] Traduzione Ronzitti.

[20] Si confronti Sharma 1988^2: 55-58 e 44-47.

tissimo nelle *Theragāthā*, si confrontino 13 e soprattutto 1064); come pure senza seguito letterario in riferimento alla descrizione delle montagne sono i miti di Vala e Vṛtra e soprattutto quello delle montagne un tempo dotate di ali, che pure sembra noto in quanto tale al *Rāmāyaṇa*[21] e che – pare lecito supporre – se adottato si sarebbe potuto prestare ad applicazioni curiose o suggestive.

Almeno per quanto concerne il tema qui studiato, con le *Theragāthā* e soprattutto con il *Mahābhārata* e il *Rāmāyaṇa* assistiamo dunque alle prime manifestazioni di una tradizione letteraria (quasi) interamente nuova. All'interno di essa, il tema «montagne» sembra già definito, come proverebbe una certa espansione descrittiva anche nel *Mahābhārata*, e soprattutto già associato a un «repertorio» piuttosto ampio di motivi (o attributi) il cui processo di formazione ci sfugge quasi completamente[22]. Resta però acquisita la constatazione che questo «repertorio» contiene già tutti (o quasi) gli elementi che nel *kāvya* verranno utilizzati in relazione con le montagne. Una breve lettura di *Saundarananda*° X, 5-14 e di *Kumārasambhava* I, 1-17 può corroborare la constatazione: non vi si trova infatti un solo motivo che non figuri già nel *Mahābhārata* e nel *Rāmāyaṇa*!

Se il complesso dei motivi risulta già formato, nei due grandi *itihāsa* è ancora primitiva e diretta la scrittura. Come già si è accennato, infatti, le strofe sono costruite in maniera elementare disponendo l'uno dopo l'altro i motivi che le costituiscono senza particolare attenzione all'unità, omogeneità complessiva e interna struttura dell'insieme. Anche le figure sono per la massima parte ancora elementari, utilizzate, per così dire, indipendentemente dal significato complessivo del testo: si consideri infatti quanto già accennato a proposito degli *anuprāsa* in *Rāmāyaṇa* II, 88, dove in un solo caso (strofe 11) *l'alaṃkāra* è forse impiegato con intenzionale finalità evocativa e non solamente enfatica. Analogamente in un solo caso, quello di II, 88, 13 una *upamā* approda a un paragone di due immagini dotato di potenza sintetica e fantastica: il monte solcato dai corsi d'acqua e l'elefante solcato dai rivoli di *mada*. Manca, in altre parole, il processo di vitalizzazione o addirittura di tramutazione degli stereotipi che distinguerà il *kāvya* compiuto, dovuto all'osservazione attentissima della realtà naturale o, in

[21] Si confronti *Rāmāyaṇa* V, 1, 108-110, dove la vicenda è narrata molto in breve dal monte Maināka a Hanumān, in volo verso Laṅkā.

[22] È molto interessante notare come anche il repertorio delle "brevi scenette" che, a mio modo di vedere, sviluppano i temi nelle opere *kāvya* della tendenza da me definita "drammatica" (cfr. Boccali 1995: 63 in particolare) appaia già quasi completo fin dalla prima manifestazione a noi nota della tendenza stessa, cioè fin dalla *Sattasaī*.

altri casi, dovuto all'abbinamento inedito di motivi tradizionali usati di solito autonomamente. Inutile ribadire, concludendo, che proprio questi requisiti: densità delle strofe, organicità degli *alaṃkāra* al messaggio affidato al testo, consonanza fra messaggio complessivo e messaggio veicolato dalla pura materia fonica dei versi, potenza di costruzione di immagini che rifondono gli stereotipi caratterizzeranno invece il *kāvya* maturo. Ma è giusto ricordare anche, infine, che il *Mahābhārata*, dove la constatazione è agevolata dall'alto numero di occorrenze diverse di uno stesso motivo, sembra condividere con il *kāvya* non solo il repertorio dei motivi stessi, ma anche la ricerca della variazione che, se pure attuata ancora ingenuamente, non è però meno tenacemente perseguita.

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BRAHMAN CĀṆAKYA IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN TRADITION

All those familiar with Graeco-Roman literature and the history of Ancient India will be struck by the title of this short paper as exceedingly strange, more precisely, lacking in authentic substantiation. Indeed, Graeco-Roman texts do not contain a single reference to Cāṇakya although his "patron" – the Mauryan king Candragupta – had been referred to by many Graeco-Roman authors beginning with Megasthenes[1].

The fragmentary character of Megasthenes's data[2] on the India of the first Mauryan king falls far short of giving grounds for assuming that the Seleucid ambassador knew about Cāṇakya and made a reference to him in his "Indian Records" in connection with Candragupta. The point is that no local Indian sources dating from the Candragupta period have been discovered so far, and, although the later tradition associates his life and rule with Cāṇakya (or Kauṭilya)[3], there can be no assurance that even this popular personage of Indian tales and legends was a real individual. No early authentic evidence of Cāṇakya's existence is available yet (a fact which opens the door wide for all possible assumptions concerning his "historicity"). This can be explained in two equally conceivable ways: either 1) Cāṇakya was a legendary person unconnected with Candragupta's activity and "introduced" into the tales about the Mauryan king by the later tradition in order to impart greater fascination to the story or 2) Candragupta's accession to power was really aided by a dignitary who came to be known as Cāṇakya (Kauṭilya or any other name) but a reference to whom has been preserved only in later source materials. In any case, the fact of the popularity of Cāṇakya's figure in the Indian tradition of wide-ranging orientations (Jaina, Buddhist and Hindu) is abundantly clear.

[1] See Schwanbeck 1846; McCrindle 1926.

[2] Majumdar 1961; Brown 1955; Majumdar 1958; Sethna 1960; Brown 1960.

[3] According to T. Burrow (1968) Cāṇakya and Kauṭilya were different persons.

The most detailed "Graeco-Roman data" pertaining to Candragupta's activity are to be found in the work by the Roman historian Justin[4], who in writing his work relied on *Historiae Philippicae* by Pompeius Trogus, a Roman author of the Augustan age. Scholars have long been turning to these brief extracts from the lost text of Pompeius Trogus[5].

The codes of legends about Candragupta considerably postdated the rule of the founder of the Mauryan dynasty and, judging by Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanic-Hindu works, gained wide currency in and out of India[6]. Regrettably, the variants of these legends which have come down to us – those which entered the chronicles of Ceylon[7], the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* by Viśakhadatta (Ruben 1956) and its subsequent adaptation[8], the Purāṇas, a work by 12th century Jaina author Hemacandra[9], etc. – are of a fairly late date. It can, however, be assumed that the original "Candragupta cycle" is of a fairly early date whereas individual stories, judging by the Justin text, had been in circulation back in the Graeco-Roman times. Relevant evidence is furnished by Justin's story about the first Mauryan king.

Close connections between the Graeco-Roman world and India led their two cultures to develop affinity, exchange achievements and exhibit familiarity with each other's values. Information about India reached Rome both in the period of Pompeius Trogus and in that of Justin but most of the stories about India go back to the Megasthenian era (Diehl 1964). There is no saying with assurance what specific "stratum" of evidence was turned to by Trogus[10]. It is more important to emphasize another point: in a number of cases the data about Candragupta contained in this Graeco-Roman text show amazingly close conformity (or even coincidence) with the Indian evidence contained in the "Candragupta-Cāṇakya cycle".

What makes Justin's statements astounding is the accuracy of the evidence as a whole as testified by the observation of the story-line common to the "Indian cycle", the recurrence of episodes and even the coincidence of specific but fairly essential details. Justin makes no reference to Cāṇakya and all his episodes are connected exclusively with

[4] *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi.*

[5] See, for example, Eggermont 1968; Mukherjee 1969.

[6] Bussagli 1956; Schwarz 1972; Trautmann 1971.

[7] *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*; *Extended Mahāvaṃsa.*

[8] See, for example, *The Mudrārākṣasanāṭakakathā of Mahādeva.*

[9] *Sthavirāvalīcarita.*

[10] According to the text of Justin, his information on India is different from that by Megasthenes and reflects the local tradition. See Schwarz 1978.

Candragupta. This is explicable, especially in the light of Trogus's ideological stand: he took a sharply negative attitude to Alexander the Great and his military seizures. On the other hand, he portrayed Candragupta as a fighter against the Macedonians and a champion of the freedom of his country. Naturally, Trogus was interested only in the figure of Candragupta — the Indian rival of the satraps of Alexander and Seleucus (Filliozat 1978). However, in conveying the Indian legend about Candragupta, Trogus (and, following him, Justin), even though he failed to refer to Cāṇakya, transmitted the episodes which the Indian tradition associates precisely with this "most scholarly of the Brahmans".

The existence of the Buddhist and Jaina legends about Candragupta and Cāṇakya, independent of, but fairly similar to, each other, is an indubitable pointer to the existence of an older original version of the cohesive cycle of stories about the Mauryan king and his dignitary (known as Cāṇakya-Candragupta-*kathā*).

Let us turn to Justin's text (XV, 4, 15-20):

> 15. Sandrokottus was born in humble life, but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. 16. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended Nandrus, and was ordered by that king to be put to death he sought safety by a speedy flight. 17. When he had lain down, overcome with fatigue, and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size, approaching the slumberer, licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke, quietly took its departure. 18. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. 19. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. 20. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness.

In comparing the cited version with the Indian tradition it is logical to identify the basic "episodes" of the plot: (1) reference to Candragupta's humble origin, (2) the divine vision which stirred him to seizing power, (3) his clash with king Nandrus, the king's order to kill Candragupta and the latter's flight, (4) the future king's sleep and encounter with the lion, (5) plans for the seizure of power after the vision, (6) the organization of an army, (7) war against Alexander's satraps, (8) encounter with the elephant, (9) take-over of the royal power.

It is needless to make a detailed analysis of all the statements contained in Justin's text: questions of Mauryan chronology, the stages of

Candragupta's struggle for power and the Mauryas' origin have all been meticulously analyzed in Indological literature[11].

I am particularly attracted by Justin's story about the clash between Candragupta and king Nandrus. But first, a brief survey of a long debate over the reference to king Nandrus (Nanda) contained in Justin's text.

In the first edition of Justin's text (1581) the translators adopted the name Alexander although most of the manuscripts contained Nandrum or corrupted variants of it. A. von Gutschmid, referring to many manuscript copies of the text, was the first to point to the necessity of reading in Nandrum (Gutschmid 1892). The general content of Justin's text and the available evidence of Indian sources (including the Candragupta cycle) show the obvious correctness of this interpretation. The correction of Nandrum to Alexandrum as proposed by some researchers (particularly Ch. Raychaudhuri) is unjustified[12]. In his review of the present author's book *Mauryan India* (Moscow, 1973), in which the reading Nandrum is adopted, G. Fussman proposes the reading Alexandrum. However, since the reviewer fails to cite new arguments in support of his proposal, this variant does not appear to carry conviction.

Justin's text is the only detailed exposition of Candragupta's history or, more exactly, of legends about Candragupta, whose basis was undoubtedly formed by Indian source materials in the Graeco-Roman tradition. In the Indian tradition the cycle of legends about Candragupta and Cāṇakya is reproduced in works of the Gupta and especially subsequent eras. In earlier texts, references to the Mauryan king and his wise counsellor bear an episodic character not being directly related to this cycle and reflecting only general "dynastic evidence". In the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon detailed information about Candragupta and Cāṇakya appeared only in the later tradition connected with *Mahāvaṃsa* (in the chronicle itself only two *gāthā*s, V. 16-17, describe the accession to the throne of the first Maurya aided by Cāṇakya; in the *Dīpavaṃsa* not only this subject, but even references to Candragupta are missing).

The most detailed evidence is preserved in the Cambodian *Mahāvaṃsa* and commentary on it, *Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā* (or *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*) — works which go back to the *Mahāvaṃsa* tradition but do not copy it containing evidence by a number of other ancient texts. Like the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Ṭīkā* was based on ancient Singhalese texts which represented local commentaries to Pāli Tipiṭaka (Malalasekera 1958). The local tradition connected the emergence of the early Singhalese commentaries with Ma-

[11] Bhattasali 1932; Eggermont 1956; Bussagli 1952.
[12] Raychaudhuri 1960; Nilakanta Sastri 1952.

hinda — the founder of Ceylonese Buddhism. They were compiled predominantly in the metropolitan monastery Mahāvihāra, with which the *Mahāvaṃsa* is correlated. However, the *Ṭīkā* was not limited to the tradition of this monastery, but was also based on other ancient texts, in particular, the *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā* and *Uttaravihāra-Mahāvaṃsa* which go back to another, and even rival tradition, that of the Abhayagirivihāra monastery. The exponents of the Abhayagiri centre tried to enlist the support of the North-Indian monasteries, schools and sects which followed Mahāyāna and therefore strove to maintain close relations with Northern India. Since Abhayagirivihāra gravitated towards the Buddhist tradition of India, it was precisely this monastery's chronicle that contained details about kings and events of Indian history. This evidence, unlike the Mahāvihāra (*Mahāvaṃsa*) tradition, goes back directly to that of India although originally the two local traditions were inseparately linked with each other.

After the foundation of the Abhayagiri monastery at the end of the 1st century B.C. for several centuries India was the "nutrient medium" which filled with relevant subjects the chronicles that were being compiled by educated monks in this Buddhist centre. Compared to the *Mahāvaṃsa* source materials, the *Ṭīkā* contains particulars pertaining to the Nandas, Candragupta and Cāṇakya, which highlight that "in *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā* narratives about Cāṇakya, a herdsman who gave refuge to Candragupta, and about *another* data [emphasis by the author] are different" from the content of the orthodox tradition (*ettha pi Cāṇakassa adhikāro ca Candraguttassa dhanagopena gahita ti adi adhikāro ca vaseso*) (*Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā*, 187, 9-11). This evidence of the *Ṭīkā* is of exceedingly great importance, clearly indicating the source of its information about Candragupta and Cāṇakya — the chronicle of the Abhayagiri monastery, whose Indian motifs, as said earlier, were predominantly based not on the local, but on the Indian tradition. Thus, there is grounds for considering the tales about Candragupta and Cāṇakya contained in the *Ṭīkā* as one of the early Indian sources of the cycle relating about the first Mauryan king and his closest dignitary. The *Ṭīkā* – the commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa* – is at least three or four centuries older than the Jaina *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, written in the 12th century. This conclusion by no means signifies that precisely the version registered in the *Ṭīkā* is the most authentic version of the legends' original core. Although he lived later than the *Ṭīkā* authors, Hemacandra relied on very early Jaina writings which contained legends about Candragupta and Cāṇakya.

Presumably, the compilers of the early Abhayagiri monastery chronicle knew different versions of the Candragupta-Cāṇakya cycle (Trautmann

1971: 20). Hence, it is logical to assume that in the period of composition of the *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā* several variants of the cycle of Candragupta and Cāṇakya legends circulated in India and were known by the authors of the monasterial chronicle in Ceylon. As is known, these versions are not limited to the Buddhist tradition (relevant evidence is furnished, in particular, by Jaina texts, which give a pro-Jaina interpretation of the basic episodes, and the *Mudrārākṣasa*, which has no connection with the Buddhist doctrine). Furthermore, the "Candragupta-Cāṇakya cycle" hardly originated in a Buddhist environment: none of the Buddhist texts considers the first Mauryan as a follower of Buddha's teaching (this corresponds to available material showing Candragupta's religious affiliation) or even exhibits a tendency to connect the pre-Aśoka Mauryas with Buddhism. In the light of the absence of a pro-Buddhist colouring of the early tales about Candragupta and Cāṇakya and of an obvious bias of the authors of the monasterial chronicle *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā* – who strove to introduce into their narrative episodes about Indian kings without imparting them "Buddhist attributes", but only in an effort to construct a general historical-chronological scheme and enhance the fascination of the subject – it is possible to consider the tales about Candragupta and Cāṇakya preserved in the *Ṭīkā* as authentic or fairly close to the original core (as much as this is possible in the transmission of material from a source of another ethnocultural and territorially distant literary tradition).

The narrative about Candragupta in the *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā* contains plot units which are largely in line with Justin's story, although they exhibit a different sequence.

1. A story about the Mauryas' origin from a *kṣatriya* clan.

2. A biography of Cāṇakya; the vision which betokened his future royalty, his arrival for a debate in Pāṭaliputra, his clash with king Nanda, the king's order to seize Cāṇakya, the latter's flight. Cāṇakya was born into the family of a Taxila Brahman. After the death of his father, concern for his mother developed in the son. Then the rumour spread that his "particular sign" – a protruding canine tooth – portended his royal destiny.

3. A history of Candragupta. It tells that, in distinction from the previous communication about the origin of the Mauryas, Candragupta's mother was the chief queen (*agga-mahesī*) of the Mauryan king (Moriya-rañño) and that the future Mauryan ruler survived only due to the magic power of gods (*devatānubhavena*)[13]. The *Ṭīkā* relates the rearing of

[13] *Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā*, 183, 21-26.

Candragupta by a herdsman and a hunter. Then follows the episode of Cāṇakya's encounter with young Candragupta, who noticed the boy's particular signs (visions) which signified his royal future.

4. Cāṇakya's clash with king Nanda, the king's order to seize Cāṇakya and the latter's flight.

5. The dreams of Candragupta and Pabbata, a son of king Nanda, which Cāṇakya understood as auguring Candragupta's seizure of power in India (Jambudvīpa)[14].

6. Candragupta's desire to seize power (*rajjam icchanto*) and the organization of a formidable army (*mahābalakāyaṃ saṅghahetā*) by Cāṇakya and young Candragupta[15]. The first failure of a military campaign owing to the absence of a stable rear.

7. A change of tactics — the gradual subordination of the border areas.

8. Advance on the capital and seizure of power. A comparison of the Justin versions and the *Ṭīkā* shows a considerable affinity of the general narrative thread. However in Justin's story the only personage is Candragupta, who also performs the actions which the Indian tradition attributes to Cāṇakya. It is indicative that the two versions have coincidental details, including even those pertaining to Candragupta's dream. Of particular interest, as said earlier, is the episode of a clash between Candragupta (Justin) or Cāṇakya (*Ṭīkā*) and king Nandrus (Nanda). Here follows the *Ṭīkā*'s report[16].

> ...Once, the Brahman Cāṇakya, desiring to take part in a debate and learning about the King's numerous merits from the reports which had reached us – set out for Pupphapura while king Dhanananda, in an effort to dispel rumours about hidden treasures, ordered the construction of a hall for gift distribution in the inner premises of the palace, and the preparation of gifts to be handed out to senior and convert Brahmans. Cāṇakya entered the hall, joined the group of senior Brāhmans and sat down where gifts were being presented. Then king Dhanananda, entering the hall, saw the Brahman Cāṇakya sitting among the senior Brahmans. One of his retainers said to the sovereign. "This one is unworthy of sitting among the senior Brahmans." Displeased, the king said with irritation: "Who are you to occupy this seat of a senior Brahman?" "It is I", replied Cāṇakya. "Turn out this despicable Brahman and do not allow him to enter the place", said the king. However, the gift distributor proceeded to implore the king repeating: "Oh, divine ruler, don't do this, forgive the

[14] *Ibid.*, 184, 30-185.
[15] *Ibid.*, 185, 24.
[16] *Ibid.*, 181, 80-183.

Brahman". However, the royal servants, approaching Cāṇakya, said: "Teacher, we have come to turn you out on the king's order. Go, teacher, we have nothing to discuss with you".
Cāṇakya rose from his seat and wrathfully said : "Kings are hard to deal with." He tore the sacred cord, broke the alms vessel against an Indra stone which lay at the entrance and, exclaiming: "May Nanda never have happiness in any of the four corners of his empire !" walked out of the hall.
When Cāṇakya left, the royal servants reported his behaviour to the king... Enraged, Dhanananda ordered: "Seize the slave, do seize the slave!". However, as he was running away, the Brahman dropped his upper clothes assuming the air of an *ājīvika*. Disappearing in the palace's inner premises, he later fled the town...

This episode of the clash with Nanda features Cāṇakya. Candragupta has not yet come to the "scene". Very close and in a number of cases almost identical to the *Ṭīkā* story is the version of the cycle preserved in the *Extended Mahāvaṃsa* (occasionally referred to as the *Cambodian Mahāvaṃsa*). It was published by G.P. Malalasekera in Ceylon in 1937 but, regrettably, it still eludes sufficient specialist attention. Compared to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Extended Mahāvaṃsa*, like the *Ṭīkā*, contains many legends and tales. In Malalasekera's opinion, the compilers of the text, which he believes dated from the 9th-10th centuries A.D., relied on various sources, including the *Ṭīkā*, parts of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*[17].

Independently of the Buddhist tradition, the Candragupta-Cāṇakya cycle is preserved, as said earlier, in a "Jaina setting" where it receives a detailed exposition in the work of the well-known 12th century Jaina author Hemacandra, the *Sthavirāvalīcarita* (or *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*). Hemacandra based his work on numerous texts, including collections of legends and tales about Jaina "saints". Many Jaina works compiled in Sanskrit go back to more ancient Prakrit texts, one of which was used by Hemacandra. In the latter's work the plot units pertaining to Candragupta and Cāṇakya exhibit the following sequence (VIII.194-326).

1. Cāṇakya's biography. His "miraculous birth", the vision of his future royal authority, the story about his coming to Pāṭaliputra, his clash with king Nanda and the latter's son, Cāṇakya's departure from the capital.

2. The encounter with Candragupta and the history of the future king. According to the text, Candragupta was born in a rural locality into the family of a breeder of royal peacocks. This statement comes closest to

[17] *Extended Mahāvaṃsa*, p. L. 11.

Justin's statement about Candragupta's humble *(humilis)* origin. Hemacandra also relates the signs which indicated Candragupta's royalty.

3. The organization of an army and the siege of Pāṭaliputra. Failure due to the wrong tactics.

4. Change of tactics and alliance with king Parvataka — the ruler of the Himalayan regions (Himavatakūṭa)[18]. The seizure of distant provinces and another advance on the capital. In distinction from the Buddhist tradition and Purāṇic evidence, the Jaina version says that Cāṇakya preserved king Nanda's life.

In Hemacandra's story about Cāṇakya's clash with king Nanda the description of the events is slightly different from the Buddhist tradition. However, the two follow a common line. Nevertheless, the episode of Cāṇakya's flight, so essential to the story – "he sought safety by a speedy flight" – is absent here.

As a whole, the Jaina version repeats the most important episodes of the Candragupta-Cāṇakya cycle but some essential details occurring both in the *Ṭīkā* and in Justin's story are not to be found here (the divine bestowal of power on Candragupta and his dream) although the evidence about the humble origin of the first Maurya comes closest to the Graeco-Roman source.

The question of the character of the original Candragupta-Cāṇakya cycle is fairly complex and requires a special textrial study of the relevant different versions — a task which goes beyond the framework of the present paper.

There are neither local materials of the Mauryan era pertaining to Candragupta nor any authentic data about Cāṇakya which would make it possible to identify with reliability the original stratum of the extant redactions of the cycle. In this connection exceptional importance apparently attaches to the story handed down by Trogus. This early Graeco-Roman evidence clearly indicates the existence in those times of an Indian source which formed the basis of the stories rendered by Trogus. In the absence of synchronic Indian texts about Candragupta and Cāṇakya, the Graeco-Roman variant of the tales of this cycle can, in the author's opinion, form a point of departure in determining the oldest variant of the legends about the Mauryan king and his far-sighted dignitary.

As the table shows, Justin's story is close to the Indian cycle but there is no saying which tradition – Buddhist or Jaina – was used by Pompeius

[18] *Sthavirāvalīcarita*, VIII, p. 297.

Justin	*Ṭīkā*	Hemacandra
1. The humble origin of Candragupta (Sandracottos).	1. The *kṣatriya* origin of the Mauryas. Candragupta was brought up by a herdsman and a hunter.	1. The humble origin of Candragupta.
2. Divine prodigy which inspired Sandracottos to seize power.	2. Special signs of Candragupta which betokened his seizure of power. Special "signs" of Cāṇakya – a portent of his future authority.	2. Special signs of Cāṇakya, a portent of his future authority.
3. Clash with king Nandrus, the king's order to kill Candragupta and the latter's flight.	3. Cāṇakya's clash with king Nanda, the king's order to seize Cāṇakya and the latter's flight.	3. Cāṇakya's clash with the king.
4. Candragupta's dream and encounter with a lion which was tantamount to a portent (seizure of royal authority).	4. Candragupta's dream interpreted by Cāṇakya as portending a seizure of power.	4. – – –
5. Plans for a seizure of power after the vision.	5. Plans for a seizure of power.	5. Plans for a seizure of power.
6. The organization of an army.	6. The organization of an army and first failure to seize the throne.	6. The organization of an army and first failure to seize the throne.
7. War against Alexander's satraps.	7. Seizure of border areas.	7. Seizure of border areas.
8. Encounter with an elephant.	8. – – –	8. – – –
9. Seizure of royal authority.	9. Seizure of royal authority.	9. Seizure of royal authority.

Trogus. Some details of Justin's text coincide only with the Buddhist tradition whereas his determination of Candragupta's origin coincides with the Jaina.

Most probably, Trogus knew a version which goes back to the cycle's original core and therefore combined in that early period information that later "spread" through different traditions. In the course of the independent development of different religious traditions and relevant literature with the preservation of the general stratum, the variants of the legends increasingly took in new subjects, episodes and details.

The table clearly shows that Trogus (and, following him, Justin) attributed to Candragupta many of the "deeds" which the Indian tradition associated with Cāṇakya — a fact which justifies the title of the present paper whether this Taxila Brahman and dignitary of the first Maurya was a real historical personage or a figment of the imagination of the authors of popular tales about Candragupta and Cāṇakya.

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L'*AMṚTANĀDOPANIṢAD* SELON ŚAṄKARĀNANDA, DĀRĀ ŠUKŌH ET ANQUETIL DUPERRON[1]

Entre la période védique et une époque toute récente, un très grand nombre d'Upaniṣad ont vu le jour. Au fur et à mesure que l'hindouisme religieux et philosophique évoluait, des textes ont été rédigés pour donner un fondement védique – par conséquent, indiscutable – aux différents changements qui intervenaient en son sein: nouveaux cultes (Nṛsiṃha, Rāma, Tripurā, etc.), nouvelles pratiques ou croyances religieuses, nouvelles doctrines philosophiques... Ces textes ont été donnés pour des Upaniṣad. Les plus anciens d'entre eux ont été rattachés à l'Atharvaveda, probablement entre le IX^e^ et le XI^e^ siècle de notre ère[2].

L'existence de l'*Amṛtanādopaniṣad*[3] (ANāU) est attestée par un des Suppléments (*pariśiṣṭa*) de l'Atharvaveda (le XLIX^e^), intitulé *Caraṇavyūha*. Le *Caraṇavyūha* transmet deux listes d'Upaniṣad: une liste de «vingt-huit Upaniṣad du *Brahmaveda* (= Atharvaveda)» et une liste de quinze Upaniṣad. L'ANāU figure dans la première liste, à la 15^e^ place, sous le nom d'*Amṛta-bindu*[4]. Cette liste du *Caraṇavyūha* a été probablement établie au XII^e^-XIII^e^

[1] Nous tenons à remercier tous ceux qui nous ont aimablement et efficacement aidés dans la préparation de cet article, notamment Monsieur Daniel Gimaret, Monsieur Francis Richard et Monsieur Masoumi, sans qui nous n'aurions pu faire les incursions, que cette étude imposait, dans les manuscrits et éditions du texte persan de Dārā Šukoh.

[2] Voir Bouy 1994: 66.

[3] Le texte de cette Upaniṣad est aussi transmis sous d'autres titres, en particulier *Amṛtabindu*: voir, par exemple, *Adyar Up*. I, p. 135; *NCC* I (revised ed., 1968), p. 348 s.v. *Amṛtanādopaniṣad*. Dans le recueil glosé par Nārāyaṇa, cette Upaniṣad est intitulée *Amṛtabindu* (éd. ĀSS 29, p. 43 et 57, *śloka* initial et final et colophon de la glose).

[4] Un des textes du corpus des cent huit Upaniṣad est aussi intitulé *Amṛtabindu*. Le texte de cette Upaniṣad est identique au texte de la *Brahmabindu* qui a été glosé par Nārāyaṇa. La "*Brahmabindu*" occupe la 14^e^ place dans la première liste upaniṣadique du *Caraṇavyūha*.

siècle de notre ère[5]. C'est à cette époque que le statut upaniṣadique du texte de l'ANāU a été reconnu. L'ANāU est antérieure au XIII[e] siècle. Son *terminus a quo* nous échappe. Il est peu probable, toutefois, que l'ANāU existât à l'époque de Śaṅkara (1[re] moitié du VIII[e] siècle).

L'ANāU traite de questions yogiques. Elle se fait l'écho, comme la *Maitryupaniṣad* (VI. 18)[6], d'un yoga à six membres (*śloka* 6), qui est attesté dans plusieurs *Dharmaśāstra*[7] et dans différents *Āgama*[8]. Les six membres du yoga sont, dans l'ordre où ils sont énumérés: le *pratyāhāra*, le *dhyāna*, le *prāṇāyāma*, la *dhāraṇā*, le *tarka* et le *samādhi*. L'ANāU donne une définition de chacun de ces membres, à l'exception du *dhyāna* («méditation»); elle s'étend plus particulièrement sur le *prāṇāyāma* («contrôle du souffle»), auquel elle consacre sept *śloka* (*śl.* 7-13). On y trouve nombre d'instructions pour la pratique du yoga. La syllabe *oṃ* y est comparée à un char (*ratha*), qu'il faut utiliser pour parcourir le chemin, mais dont il faut se séparer une fois que le terme en est atteint. Le yogin accède à l'état «subtil» (*sūkṣma*) à l'aide du *bindu* de la syllabe *oṃ*, que l'Upaniṣad appelle le «*m* sans son (*asvara*)» (*śl.* 4). Dans le yoga de l'ANāU, la syllabe *oṃ* occupe une place centrale. L'auteur de l'Upaniṣad insiste tout particulièrement sur la notion de «souffle» (*prāṇa*).

Le texte de l'ANāU est composite et assez touffu. L'auteur de cette Upaniṣad a sans doute emprunté une grande partie des strophes à des ouvrages plus anciens. On a vu que le *śl.* 6, qui énumère les six membres du yoga, se retrouve dans d'autres ouvrages, notamment dans l'*Atri-* et la *Dakṣa-smṛti*[9]. Le *śl.* 7 est probablement emprunté à un *Dharmaśāstra* ou à un *Purāṇa*, qui reprend, en le modifiant légèrement, un *śloka* du *Mānavadharma-śāstra*[10]. L'hémistiche 8a-b est exactement identique à *Mānavadharmaśāstra*,

[5] Voir Bouy 1994: 66-67.

[6] Éd. ĀSS 29, p. 421. Sur cette Upaniṣad, voir van Buitenen 1962.

[7] L'*Atrismṛti*, IX. 6 (*śl.* exactement identique), et la *Dakṣasmṛti*, VII. 3 (*pratyāhāraḥ* et *prāṇāyāmaḥ* intervertis). Le même *śloka*, avec *pratyāhāraḥ* et *prāṇāyāmaḥ* intervertis, est cité par Aparārka (XII[e] siècle) dans son comm. à *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, III. 110 (*ata eva* 'c[itation]' *iti smaryate*).

[8] Voir, par exemple, *Rauravāgama* (éd. PIFI 18, vol. I, p. 182 [autres réf. en note]), *vidyāpāda*, VII. 5 (*śl.* exactement identique); *Mataṅgapārameśvara* (éd. PIFI 65, p. 248), *yogapāda*, I. 6 (*pāda* b: °*maś ca* pour °*mo 'tha*).

[9] Un *śloka* identique (*pāda* c: *tarkaḥ samādhir ity eṣa*) est cité par Siṃhasūri (*circa* 650 ?) dans son comm. sur le *Dvādaśāranayacakra* (ch. III) de Mallavādisūri (éd. GOS 116, p. 277). La citation est suivie d'une explication détaillée.

[10] *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, VI. 71 (*dahyante dhmāyamānānāṃ dhātūnāṃ hi yathā malāḥ* | *tathendriyāṇāṃ dahyante doṣāḥ prāṇasya nigrahāt*).

VI. 72a-b[11]. Le *śl.* 10, célèbre, se retrouve, sans variante ou avec quelques légères variantes, dans de nombreux *Dharmaśāstra* et dans quelques *Purāṇa*[12]. Le *pāda* 20a est exactement identique à BYYājñSm II. 105a et le *śl.* 24 est très proche de BYYājñSm II. 111[13] et d'*Uttaragītā*, I. 52[14].

L'ANāU, on l'a vu, est mentionnée sous le nom d'«*Amṛtabindu*» dans la liste longue d'Upaniṣad que transmet le *Caraṇavyūha*. Elle est aussi mentionnée sous ce nom dans la liste d'Upaniṣad (*śl.* 64-69b) que donne Nīlakaṇṭha Śivācārya (fin du XIVe siècle ou XVe s.) dans l'introduction de son *Kriyāsāra*[15]. Elle fait partie, sous ce même nom, des Upaniṣad colligées dans deux recueils ātharvaṇiques différents, quoique proches l'un de l'autre: le corpus des «cinquante-deux Upaniṣad ātharvaṇiques» découvert et analysé au siècle dernier par H.T. Colebrooke et le recueil glosé par Nārāyaṇa (entre 1500 et 1700). L'ANāU occupe probablement, dans ces deux recueils, la même place (19e).

L'ANāU a aussi sa place (21e) dans le corpus des cent huit Upaniṣad, qui a été commenté, au milieu du XVIIIe siècle, par Upaniṣadbrahmayogin et, dans la 2e moitié du XIXe siècle, par Appaya Dīkṣita. La *Muktikā*, la dernière Upaniṣad de ce corpus, rattache l'«*Amṛtanāda*» au Yajurveda Noir.

L'ANāU a été commentée par Śaṅkarānanda[16] (fin du XIIIe-première moitié du XIVe siècle), par Nārāyaṇa, par Upaniṣadbrahmayogin et par Appaya Dīkṣita[17], et aussi, sans doute, par Mahācārya[18] (2e moitié du XVIe s.).

[11] Cet hémistiche se retrouve dans d'autres *Smṛti* et dans différents *Purāṇa*.

[12] Voir, par exemple, *Bṛhadyogiyājñavalkyasmṛti* (BYYājñSm), VIII. 2; *Atrismṛti*, I. 12 (*pāda* b: *gāyatrīṃ ca śiras tathā* [v.l. °*trīṃ śirasā tathā*]). Halāyudha (2e moitié du XIIe siècle), dans son *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* (éd. SSPS 29), cite à trois reprises un *śloka* exactement identique ainsi: *bṛhadviṣṇu-baudhāyana-vasiṣṭhātry-agnipurāṇa-śaṅkha-yogiyājñavalkya-vṛddhāpastambāḥ* 'c' (pp. 36 et 47); *bṛhaspati-viṣṇudharmottare* 'c' (p. 49). Sur cet auteur et sa date, voir Kane, HDhŚ I.2 (2e éd.), p. 622-639.

[13] *aghoṣam avyañjanam asvaraṃ ca yat kavya(ṇṭha)tālavyam anāsikaṃ ca* | *arepha-jātasvaram oṣṭhavarjitaṃ tad akṣaraṃ svarati svayaṃ bhavam.*

[14] *aghoṣam avyañjanam asvaraṃ cāpy atālukaṇṭhoṣṭham anāsikaṃ ca* | *arekhajātaṃ param ūṣmavarjitaṃ tad akṣaraṃ na kṣarate kathaṃcit.*

[15] *Kriyāsāra* (vol. I), Upodghātaprakaraṇa, p. 7: *kātyāyano brahmabindur āruṇy-amṛtabindukau* (*śl.* 66a-b).

[16] Édition du texte et de la glose (*dīpikā*): ĀSS 29, pp. 57-69. Śaṅkarānanda a donné par ailleurs un commentaire de l'ANāU dans son *Ātmapurāṇa* (*śl.* XI. 438-490b). L'*Ātmapurāṇa* a été édité avec la glose (*ṭīkā*) de Rāmakṛṣṇa.

[17] Le commentaire d'Appaya Dīkṣita est inédit. Pour un manuscrit, voir, par exemple, *Adyar Up.* I, pp. 117 et p. 135-136 (extraits): ms. n° IX K 7/11, sur papier, pp. 369-391 (écriture *nāgarī*); complet.

[18] Mahācārya, ou Rāmānujadāsa, était un Viśiṣṭādvaitavādin. Il est l'auteur, entre autres, d'un ouvrage en seize parties (*kalā*) intitulé *Upaniṣanmaṅgalābharaṇa*. Pour un

Śaṅkarānanda était un Vedāntin non-dualiste, disciple d'un certain Ānandātman. Il était sensiblement contemporain d'Ānandagiri (*circa* 1300). Il a à son actif une œuvre abondante et importante. Il est l'auteur de l'*Ātma-purāṇa*[19], son *magnum opus*, et de différents commentaires, notamment sur les *Brahmasūtra* et la *Bhagavadgītā*. On lui doit aussi des gloses (*dīpikā*) sur les Upaniṣad védiques et sur nombre d'Upaniṣad moins anciennes[20].

L'ANāU est un opuscule de trente-huit strophes. Toutes les strophes sont des vers *anuṣṭubh*, à l'exception de la strophe 24. Les documents que nous avons pu consulter reflètent essentiellement deux versions d'une même tradition: l'une, représentée par le texte glosé par Śaṅkarānanda; l'autre, par le texte glosé par Nārāyaṇa.

On rencontre une *Anbratnad* dans le *Sirr-i-Akbar* de Dārā Śukoh, une traduction de cinquante *Oupnek'hat* (Upaniṣad) faite du sanskrit en persan en 1657. Ce recueil a été traduit du persan en français et en latin par Anquetil Duperron. Celui-ci a publié sa version latine à Strasbourg sous le titre *Oupnek'hat* (2 vol., 1801-02)[21]. L'*Oupnek'hat Anbratnad* (43^e^) est une traduction de l'*Amṛtanādopaniṣad*. Dans le recueil upaniṣadique en langue persane, l'ANāU se rattache à l'Atharvaveda. Il ne semble pas que les textes sanskrits des Upaniṣad que Dārā Śukoh a traduits aient été colligés par celui-ci ou par les pandits qui l'assistaient dans sa tâche. Dārā Śukoh a sans doute traduit du sanskrit en persan un recueil upaniṣadique qui existait déjà à son époque[22].

Dārā Šukōh (Ajmer, 1615 – Delhi, 1659) était l'aîné des quatre fils de Šāh Jahān. Il faillit devenir empereur. Son père l'avait désigné comme prince héritier dès 1655 avec le titre Šāh Buland Iqbal. Il y eut deux années de guerre entre les quatre frères pour le pouvoir, où il fut vaincu, longtemps fugitif et finalement trahi. Aurangzeb fut le vainqueur, le fit honteusement humilier et cruellement exécuter le 30 août 1659. L'Inde avait perdu la chance d'être gouvernée par un prince d'une grande culture qui aurait peut-être réalisé l'accord entre l'islam et l'hindouisme. Car avant de se perdre dans la tourmente politique il avait employé son intelligence, confinant à la mystique, à trouver l'harmonie des deux religions. Il avait

manuscrit de cet ouvrage (inédit), voir *MT*. (V. 1, Skt. C), pp. 6479-6481: ms. n° R. 4418, sur papier, en bon état (écriture *nāgarī*). Sur Mahācārya, voir *Adyar D*. X, p. 191.

[19] Sur cet ouvrage, voir Subbamma 1968: 178-181.

[20] Pour plus de détail, voir Thangaswami 1980: 257-259.

[21] La version française d'Anquetil Duperron est inédite.

[22] C'est du moins ce que permet de supposer le manuscrit n° IX B 184 conservé à l'Adyar Library (voir *infra*). Voir aussi Deussen 1905: 535-537.

cherché des maîtres et des docteurs de chacune. Il avait rencontré Mian Mir en 1634 et pris pour maître Mullā Šāh en 1640 au Kaśmīr. Il suivait la règle de l'ordre Qadiriya. On lui prête des expériences mystiques et l'on a de lui des ouvrages témoignant de sa familiarité avec les croyances et pratiques, à savoir des vies de saints des divers ordres, particulièrement de celui de Qadiri (*Safinatal Auliya*, 1640-1642), un itinéraire mystique (*Risala-i-Haqnuma* de 1646), etc. En 1649 il rencontra un saint hindou, Bābā Lāl, qui suivait le modèle de Kabīr. Il recueillit ses paroles en hindī et les traduisit en persan (*Makalmat*, 1653). En 1656 il composa l'ouvrage qui contient son idée de l'identité des pensées soufie et hindoue sur l'unicité de Dieu, en persan sous le nom de *Majma 'al-Bahrayn*, en sanskrit sous celui de *Samudra-saṃgama* «Le confluent des océans». Il faisait alors réviser une traduction persane du *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. L'année suivante il traduisit la *Bhagavadgītā* en persan. Il avait encore rencontré des lettrés indiens de Bénarès, probablement des maîtres *advaitin*, avait écouté leur interprétation des Upaniṣad. Il en traduisit cinquante en persan sous le titre général *Sirr-i-Akbar*, dans le courant de l'année 1657. Et c'est alors que commença la guerre fratricide qui devait le conduire à la mort.

Dārā Šukōh a expliqué en détail sa démarche dans l'introduction de ce dernier ouvrage. De la traduction latine d'Anquetil Duperron nous extrayons quelques idées. Auprès de son maître, Mullā Šāh, il a acquis la soif de l'unicité (*tohīd*) qui est une mer sans fin. Le Koran est difficile et il y a peu de savants. Il désire donc voir tous les livres célestes et les comprendre en les comparant. Il examine la Loi de Moïse, l'Évangile, les Psaumes de David. Il y trouve encore une présentation énigmatique du *tohīd*. Il voit qu'il y a beaucoup de discours sur l'unicité en Inde, contemplatrice de l'unité, que les théologiens et les mystiques n'y rejettent pas l'unicité, ni ne s'en prennent aux monothéistes. Il voit quatre livres célestes de l'Inde (les Veda) et, au sommet de ces quatre livres, les institutions de la religion et de l'application de l'esprit. Cela est appelé *Oupnek'hat* (Upaniṣad). Comme il vise le principe de l'unité de l'Être, il veut que cet *Oupnek'hat* soit traduit en persan. Bénarès est alors sous sa dépendance. Il réunit les meilleurs pandits sanskrits du temps et entreprend la traduction lui-même. Il déclare trouver dans ce texte tout ce qui est difficile, la parole élevée qu'il voulait et cherchait. Il y voit un livre antique, le premier livre céleste, sans doute ni ambiguïté, la fontaine de la reconnaissance de la vérité, la mer de l'unicité, conforme au glorieux Koran et son explication. Le Koran même parlait d'un livre caché. Il identifie ce dernier comme étant l'*Oupnek'hat*. La conclusion de sa traduction est aussi une relation personnelle des mêmes faits avec quelques détails additionnels.

Il se déclare «fakir sans tristesse», dit avoir accompli sa tâche en le temps de six mois et l'avoir achevée le 26 du mois de Ramzan de l'année 1067 de l'hégire (28 juin 1657) à Delhi dans son palais appelé Manzil-i-Nigambodh «Demeure de la compréhension des textes sacrés».

Anquetil Duperron (7 déc. 1731-19 janv. 1805) a attaché son nom à la révélation en Europe de deux grandes œuvres sacrées de l'Asie, le *Zend-Avesta* et les Upaniṣad. Il accomplit lui-même l'exploit d'aller quérir en Inde les manuscrits zends et d'en apprendre la langue sur place. Il sut préparer sa traduction des Upaniṣad en France. C'est le colonel Gentil, avec qui il s'était lié d'amitié à Aurangabad en avril 1758, qui lui procura le matériel nécessaire. Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Gentil (1726-1799), qui eut une brillante carrière d'officier en Inde de 1752 à 1777, sut entrer en contact étroit avec notamment Shujā' al-Daula, nabab d'Oudh, vécut dans des centres de brillante culture de son époque, Faizabad, Lucknow, etc., conçut un vif intérêt pour l'histoire et la civilisation du pays, constitua une belle collection d'objets, de monnaies, de peintures et de manuscrits et laissa quelques ouvrages témoignant de sa connaissance de la culture de l'Inde[23]. Il avait acquis un manuscrit du *Sirr-i-Akbar* daté de 1767-68[24]. Il l'envoya à Anquetil Duperron, comme l'atteste la dédicace de sa main au fol. 2v° «A Monsieur Anquetil Duperron de la part de M. Gentil, recommandé à Monsieur Le Dez. pour être remis à Mr Bernier rue Notre-Dame des Victoires à Paris». Au-dessous Anquetil Duperron écrivit de sa main: «(Reçu le .... décembre 1775. Anquetil Duperron)».

C'est un volume[25] relié de 271 fol. numérotés, avec 8 fol. au début et 8 fol. à la fin non numérotés, de 25 sur 17 cm. La reliure en maroquin est indienne. On trouve le début du texte persan de la traduction des Upaniṣad au fol. 4 r°. Il s'achève au fol. 247 v°. Il est suivi d'un traité d'horoscopie anonyme. La version persane de l'*Amṛtanāda-upaniṣad* y occupe les fol. 215 v° l. 6 du bas à 218 r° l. 11 (voir pl. I). Le titre en rouge est «*Upnek'at Anbratnād*». Ce manuscrit, qu'Anquetil garda toute sa vie, fut versé à la Bibliothèque impériale après sa mort.

Jean-Baptiste Gentil acquit une autre copie du même *Sirr-i-Akbar* faite par Sayyid Dargāhī d'Awadh avec l'aide de Mano Ram Pendit du divan du

[23] *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan ou Empire mogol*, Paris, Petit, 1822; *Histoire des pièces de monnaie...* datée de Faïzabad, 1773 (manuscrit B.N.F. Fr. 25287). Sur ses manuscrits, voir Richard 1996.

[24] Voir Richard 1996: 91. La date donnée par Blochet 1905 est erronée.

[25] Cote actuelle à la Bibliothèque nationale de France: Supplément persan 15 (216 dans le catalogue de Blochet 1905).

Sircar en 1771. Il le déposa avec le reste de sa collection à la Bibliothèque du Roi en 1778. Anquetil Duperron n'a pas manqué de le consulter. Il en fit la collation complète et, malgré des réserves importantes, dit en avoir tiré profit, comme en témoigne la note écrite de sa main sur le plat de la reliure et les fol. 1-2: «Cette copie est défectueuse en bien des endroits. Il manque des mots, des phrases, des morceaux considérables, sans lesquels il est impossible de saisir le sens de l'ouvrage. En général elle est moins complette que la mienne. Cependant elle m'a servi à éclaircir beaucoup de passages obscurs dans mon manuscrit. En fait de dogmes religieux, d'opinions théologiques, philosophiques, souvent un seul mot change le sens… le 16 aout 1787. Anquetil Duperron». C'est un volume[26] de 390 fol. numérotés plus 2 fol. non numérotés à la fin. Le début de l'ouvrage est au fol. 4 v°. L'*Oupnek'hat Anbratnad* commence au fol. 346 r°, l. 5 (voir pl. II), et s'achève au fol. 349 v°, l. 4 du bas.

C'est avec ce seul matériel qu'Anquetil Duperron accomplit l'œuvre qui donna le premier accès à la philosophie indienne en Europe, la traduction et le commentaire latins du *Sirr-i-Akbar*. Fidèle à sa vocation de jeunesse, qui fut non seulement d'acquérir des manuscrits des livres sacrés de la Perse et de l'Inde, mais aussi d'en pénétrer le sens, d'«approfondir l'ancien persan et l'ancien samskretan»[27], après la publication de la traduction du *Zend-Avesta* en 1771, il travailla à acquérir des connaissances sur le corpus sacré de l'Inde, les Veda. Il n'avait pu en Inde apprendre le sanskrit. Mais, de retour en France, il s'y efforça sans relâche tout le reste de sa vie. S'il y avait bien quelques manuscrits des *saṃhitā* védiques à la Bibliothèque du Roi à son époque, les Upaniṣad n'étaient pas représentées. Son intérêt pour la théologie l'orientait vers la recherche de la partie la plus philosophique du Veda. Il ne put vraiment approcher celle-ci que par l'intermédiaire de l'ouvrage persan de Dārā Šukōh. Il en prépara d'abord une traduction française d'octobre 1786 à juillet 1787. Le manuscrit autographe de cette traduction est conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de France[28]. C'est un ensemble de 431 fol. numérotés à chaque page, plus deux fol. contenant une table des matières et un fol. blanc, de 17 × 23 cm, reliés ensemble au XIX^e^ siècle. A la première page Anquetil a porté lui-même l'indication «commencé en 8bre [octobre] 1786», à la page 862 «achevé le 18 mars 1787 Anquetil Duperron, 2^e^ revision sur les 2 exemplaires à une lettre pres, achevee le 3 juillet 1787» et page 863 «3^e^ revision sur les 2 manuscr.

[26] Cote actuelle: Supplément persan 14 (217 dans le catalogue de Blochet 1905).
[27] *Voyage en Inde*, p. 75.
[28] Sous la cote Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 8857.

achevée le 16 aout 1787». Il semble qu'il ait pris pour base de travail son manuscrit personnel (Suppl. persan 15) dont il a écrit la traduction en demi-page. Il a porté en marge les variantes de l'autre manuscrit (Supp. persan 14) qu'il appelle «ms. du R.» (manuscrit du Roi). Les variantes sont notées en transcription (voir p. 779, pl. IV), quelquefois en écriture persane (voir p. 774, pl. III). Des passages du texte principal ont été mis entre grandes parenthèses pour marquer qu'ils manquaient dans l'autre manuscrit. Il y a de très nombreuses ratures et adjonctions. L'encre est légèrement décolorée, à l'exception de quelques surcharges, en encre plus noire, apportées sans doute lors d'une session de travail ultérieure qui peut avoir été l'époque de la traduction latine. La plupart des variantes sont de la même encre décolorée. Anquetil a donc dû faire la collation des deux manuscrits dans le temps même du premier jet de sa traduction. Il a révisé l'ensemble deux fois de suite. On doit souligner la rapidité de son travail, et considérant la difficulté du sujet l'on ne peut qu'admirer qu'il ait pu l'achever avec ce haut degré d'intelligence en si peu de temps.

Il publia tout de suite la traduction française de seulement quatre Upaniṣad dans ses *Recherches historiques et géographiques sur l'Inde*: *Oupnekhat Naraïn*, *Oupnekhat tadiv*, *Oupnek'hat Athrb Sar*, *Oupnek'hat Schat Roudri*[29] (*Nārāyaṇa*, *Tadeva*, *Atharvaśiras*, *Śatarudriya*). Il apparaît qu'il était cependant insatisfait de sa traduction française, à cause d'un souci aigu de littéralité. Il allait jusqu'à s'imposer de garder dans sa traduction l'ordre des mots de l'original persan. Souvent le français ne le lui permettait pas. Il conçut alors l'idée de recourir au latin, qui n'a pas de contraintes d'ordre des mots. Il mit ce projet à exécution dans des circonstances dramatiques. En avril 1793, après vingt-quatre heures passées dans les prisons de la Terreur, il se retira du commerce des hommes pendant trois années, pensant: «...je prêterais une main secourable à ma patrie chancelante si, alors que la faiblesse vertueuse se heurte à la perversité impudente, je luttais, pour ma part, contre l'ignorance, véritable artisan des maux de la France, par l'étude de la littérature orientale et grecque»[30]. Le fruit de ces années dramatiques et laborieuses fut la publication en deux volumes, respectivement en 1801 et 1802[31], de la traduction latine de l'ensemble de l'ouvrage de Dārā Šukōh, avec des notes et des commentaires

[29] Seconde partie, 1787, pp. 297-344.

[30] *Oupnek'hat*, t. I, p. 431.

[31] Anquetil Duperron a daté l'Avis au lecteur placé au début du premier volume de septembre 1794 et donne la date du 9 octobre 1795, 18 brumaire, an IV pour l'achèvement de sa traduction latine.

abondants en latin, placés à la fin de chaque volume (330 et 450 pages), où l'auteur apporte non seulement des éclaircissements sur sa traduction, mais aussi de précieux excursus philosophiques, religieux, historiques, relatifs à l'actualité tragique de son époque, etc. L'*Oupnek'hat Anbratnad* y occupe les pages 358 à 365 (notes p. 716-721) du second tome.

La confrontation des diverses versions, persane, française et latine, avec le texte sanskrit est instructive. Il n'y a pas de différence de sens entre les textes français et latin d'Anquetil, si ce n'est que la traduction française reste un brouillon et que la traduction latine menée jusqu'à la publication représente la mise au point finale de l'auteur. Ce groupe des deux traductions est lui-même d'une très grande fidélité au texte persan. La connaissance profonde qu'Anquetil Duperron avait du persan et son souci extrême de littéralité font qu'il a su réaliser un calque remarquable de l'œuvre de Dārā Šukōh[32].

En revanche il y a une distance considérable entre la version de Dārā Šukōh et le texte sanskrit. Il ne s'agit pas d'une traduction mot à mot. Les déviations sont dues à des adjonctions considérables de matière et à des lacunes, parfois, elles aussi, très considérables. Il n'y a pas lieu, pensons-nous, de douter de la connaissance du sanskrit de Dārā Šukōh[33]. Les ajouts ne faussent pas le sens de l'original. Au contraire ils en supposent une bonne compréhension et une capacité d'interprétation dans une ligne de pensée authentiquement indienne. Il faut donc rechercher comment le prince mogol procéda dans sa tâche. Il a lui-même donné une indication importante sur sa démarche. C'est la déclaration qu'il a faite dans sa préface, particulièrement le fait qu'il a eu recours à des pandits et *saṃnyāsin* de Bénarès. Considérant la préférence qu'ont les pandits sanskrits pour la communication orale plutôt que pour la consultation par lecture d'écrits, on doit penser à des échanges oraux importants entre le prince et les savants, et on peut supposer que même pour ce travail de traduction la mémoire des pandits et leur savoir philosophique ont pu servir de base au même titre que des manuscrits écrits. On doit chercher la

[32] Nous sommes ici redevables à M. F. Richard qui a bien voulu faire pour nous quelques sondages dans les deux manuscrits persans utilisés par Anquetil et nous a montré sur plusieurs passages de l'*Anbratnad* que la littéralité n'était pas revendiquée à tort par le traducteur.

[33] Voir Schimmel 1994, qui signale qu'Erhard Göbel-Gross a essayé de montrer que la connaissance du sanskrit de Dārā Šukōh était limitée à un certain vocabulaire, mais qu'il ne pouvait pas lire de texte complet; le travail réel aurait été fait par les pandits et leurs explications auraient été consignées en persan.

raison des libertés de la traduction dans la méthode de travail de Dārā Šukōh et des pandits.

La confrontation de la traduction avec les différentes versions du texte sanskrit permet d'identifier avec précision la source. Tara Chand, à l'issue d'une telle comparaison, a déjà mis en évidence le fait que des éléments du commentaire de Śaṅkara avaient trouvé place dans la traduction de la *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* par Dārā Šukōh[34]. Pour le cas de l'*Oupnek'hat Anbratnad*, non commentée et non citée par Śaṅkara, nous avons cherché une autre source pour les adjonctions. Le plus grand nombre de ces dernières se retrouve dans le commentaire, intitulé *Dīpikā*, composé par Śaṅkarānanda. Cela nous a permis, du même coup, d'identifier la version utilisée: la version qui est suivie par Dārā Šukōh est celle qui ressort de ce même commentaire. Il y a, en effet, de nombreux points de concordance avec des leçons propres à cette version et des interprétations ou commentaires qui ne sont faits que par Śaṅkarānanda. Nous les indiquons tous en notes à la traduction française d'Anquetil Duperron.

Par exemple, les deux versions donnent un nombre légèrement différent au *śloka* 33: «113,180» dans le texte glosé par Śaṅkarānanda (*aśītiś ca śataṃ caiva...*), «113 680» dans le texte glosé par Nārāyaṇa (*aśītiḥ ṣaṭśataṃ caiva...*)[35]. La traduction persane de Dārā Šukōh suit la version représentée par le texte glosé par Śaṅkarānanda (voir aussi *infra* les traductions française et latine d'Anquetil Duperron). Cela étant, on peut supposer que la teneur du texte sanskrit de l'ANāU qu'a traduit Dārā Šukōh était, en règle générale, exactement identique à celle du texte glosé par Śaṅkarānanda. Cette hypothèse est confortée par le manuscrit sanskrit n° IX B 184/10 conservé à l'Adyar Library.

Le manuscrit n° IX B 184 est très ancien (*infra*) et peut être antérieur à la rédaction du *Sirr-i-Akbar*. Malheureusement très incomplet, ce manuscrit transmet les textes, le plus souvent fragmentaires, de dix-sept Upaniṣad, dont plusieurs (la *Chāgaleya*, la *Bāṣkalamantra*, etc.) ne font partie d'aucun recueil upaniṣadique, hormis celui de l'*Oupnek'hat*. F. Otto Schrader (*Adyar Up.* I, p. 92-94) en donne la description suivante: «Fragments of a paper MS. of considerable age (ca. 1600?). Size, 6 × 9 3/4. Extent, 111 × 14 (breadthwise) × 19. Character, Devanāgarī. Big, legible writing (some antiquarian letters)». Ne sont plus conservés que les

[34] Voir l'introduction à son édition du *Sirr-i-Akbar*, p. 50.

[35] Parmi d'autres variantes notables, *śl.* 1c-d: *paramaṃ brahma vijñāya ulkāvat tāny athotsṛjet*, dans le texte glosé par Śaṅkarānanda; *paramaṃ brahmavidyāyā ulkāvan nānyathotsṛjet*, dans le texte glosé par Nārāyaṇa.

feuillets (pagination originale): 133-160, 174-176, 186, 200, 235-236, 248, 324-328, 330, 341-353. Les feuillets 133-160 transmettent la fin du texte de la *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* («*Bṛhadāraṇyupaniṣad*») et la quasi-totalité du texte de la «*Maitreyopaniṣad*». Les feuillets 343-353 transmettent successivement les textes complets de l'*Ārṣeyopaniṣad*, de la *Praṇavopaniṣad* et de la *Śaunakopaniṣad* et le début du texte de la *Nṛsiṃhottaratāpanīyopaniṣad*. Les trois premières *Oupnek'hat* du *Sirr-i-Akbar* sont, dans l'ordre: *Tschehandouk* (la *Chāndogya*), *Brehdarang* (la *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*) et *Mitri* (la *Maitri*); les quatre dernières: *Ark'hi* (l'*Ārṣeya*), 47e; *Pranou* (la *Praṇava*), 48e; *Schavank* (la *Śaunaka*), 49e; et *Nersing'heh Atma* (la *Nṛsiṃhottaratāpanīya*), 50e. Mêmes séquences, notamment des dernières Upaniṣad; Upaniṣad identiques (l'*Ārṣeya*, la *Praṇava* et la *Śaunaka*) qui ne font pas partie des autres recueils upaniṣadiques connus et dont les manuscrits sont rares; absence – inexplicable, à première vue – de la *Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya* avant la *Nṛsiṃhottaratāpanīya*: ces similitudes, tout à fait remarquables, entre le manuscrit sanskrit de l'Adyar Library et le *Sirr-i-Akbar* incitent à penser que le recueil des textes upaniṣadiques qui a été traduit en langue persane n'est pas l'œuvre de Dārā Šukōh lui-même, ni des pandits qui l'entouraient.

Le manuscrit de l'Adyar Library est trop incomplet pour que l'on puisse avancer d'autres conjectures avec quelque vraisemblance. Autre observation: dans le manuscrit sanskrit, vers la fin (fol. 324-328 et 330), l'*Amṛtanāda* est immédiatement suivie de deux Upaniṣad peu connues, la *Chāgaleya* et la *Bāṣkalamantra*[36]. Dans le *Sirr-i-Akbar*, l'*Anbratnad* (43e) est, elle aussi, suivie de ces deux Upaniṣad, mais dans l'ordre inverse: *Baschkl* (44e), puis *Tschhakli* (45e). A tout prendre, la collection upaniṣadique que transmet le manuscrit de l'Adyar Library peut représenter une variante, voire un archétype du recueil que Dārā Šukōh a traduit.

Ce manuscrit transmet, aux feuillets 324r-326r6, le texte de l'«*Amṛtanādopaniṣad*»[37]. Les strophes n'y sont pas numérotées. L'écriture y est soignée; le texte y est très lisible et généralement correct[38]. On y remarque

[36] La *Bāṣkala-mantra Upaniṣad* et la *Chāgaleya Upaniṣad* ont été publiées et traduites par Louis Renou en deux vol. (Paris, 1956 [Les Upanishad, 16]; Paris, 1959 [Les Upanishad, 17]).

[37] M. Gérard Colas a pu obtenir une photocopie de ces feuillets, qui est de bonne qualité.

[38] Le texte que transmet le manuscrit n° IX B 184/10 présente les singularités d'orthographe suivantes:

1° Les nasales à l'intérieur d'un mot, suivies d'une occlusive, sont rendues, de façon systématique, par l'*anusvāra*; exemple: *gaṃtavyaṃ* (*śl.* 3a).

quelques fautes d'étourderie. Ainsi: *ananunāmikaṃ*, au lieu de °*nāsikaṃ* (strophe 24b); omission du *śl.* 29 (les *śl.* 28 et 29 se terminent tous deux par *na saṃśayaḥ*); *ciṃdayed*, au lieu de *cintayed* (*śl.* 31d); *trayodaśaḥ*, au lieu de °*śa* (*śl.* 33b); *atharvaṇās*, au lieu de *atha varṇās* (*śl.* 35c).

Si l'on compare le manuscrit de l'Adyar Library avec le texte édité avec la glose de Śaṅkarānanda (éd. ĀSS 29, pp. 57-69), on constate que les leçons divergentes que présente le ms. sont extrêmement rares et, le plus souvent, insignifiantes. On n'en a relevé que sept. Les voici: *oṃkāraṃ*, au lieu de *oṃkāra-* (*śl.* 2a); *kṣaye*, au lieu de *kṣayaṃ* (*śl.* 8c); *abhyasataḥ*, au lieu de °*syataḥ* (*śl.* 28b); [']*tha*, au lieu de *hi* (*śl.* 30c); *tad*, au lieu de *tu* (*śl.* 30d); °*parvāṃgulaḥ*, au lieu de °*pārthāṅgulaḥ* (*śl.* 32a); *bāhya-*, au lieu de *bāhyaḥ* (*śl.* 32d).

Albrecht Weber, au milieu du XIX^e^ siècle, a consacré une longue étude à la traduction latine des cinquante Upaniṣad qu'avait faite Anquetil Duperron, étude qui a paru dans les volumes I, II et IX des *Indische Studien*[39]. Dans le vol. IX (pp. 23-38), Weber a édité un manuscrit sanskrit de l'ANāU et a donné une traduction de cette Upaniṣad. Le manuscrit que Weber a utilisé («E.I.H. 1726») est conservé à la bibliothèque de l'India Office, à Londres. Ce manuscrit a été décrit par J. Eggeling[40]. Il transmet, fol. 135 sq., le texte de l'Upaniṣad sous le titre *Amṛtabindu*. Ce texte se rattache clairement à la version représentée par le texte glosé par Nārāyaṇa (ce qui n'a pas manqué de poser des problèmes à Weber), malgré un certain nombre de leçons divergentes, dont quelques-unes se retrouvent dans le texte glosé par Śaṅkarānanda.

Depuis Weber, l'ANāU a été l'objet de quelques autres traductions en langues occidentales. Les plus importantes sont celles de P. Deussen, de K. Narayanasvami Aiyar, de T.R. Srinivasa Ayyangar et de J. Varenne[41]. Aucune

2° Le *t* et, parfois, le *dh* sont géminés après la semi-consonne *r*; exemples: *parikīrttitā* (*śl.* 15d); *mūrddhadvāraṃ* (*śl.* 26b).

3° Le *b* n'est pas toujours distingué du *v*; exemples: *kilviṣaṃ* (*śl.* 8 b et c); *vadhiravac* (*śl.* 14b).

On rencontre aussi *sannibhaḥ* (pour *saṃnibhaḥ*, *śl.* 36d). On notera enfin que le copiste, sans se soucier de la métrique, a presque toujours appliqué les règles du *saṃdhi* des voyelles entre les mots non composés situés à la jonction des deux premiers ou des deux derniers *pāda* (seule exception: *śl.* 1a-b).

[39] Weber 1850: 247-302, 380-456; Weber 1853: 1-111, 170-236; Weber 1865: 1-173.

[40] Eggeling 1887: 109-111 (n° 488).

[41] Deussen 1905: 650-657 (*Amṛitabindu-Upanishad*); *Sixty Up.*, II, pp. 691-698; K. Narayanasvami Aiyar, *Thirty Minor Upanishads, including the Yoga Upanishads*, Madras, 1914; réimpr.: El Reno, 1980, pp. 216-219 (*Amṛtanāḍa-Upanishaḍ* of Kṛshṇa-Yajurveḍa); *The Yoga Upaniṣads*, transl. into English (on the basis of the commentary of Śrī

des traductions de cette Upaniṣad, à notre connaissance, ne repose sur le texte qu'a expliqué Śaṅkarānanda, ni ne s'appuie directement sur la glose de celui-ci. Il y avait là une lacune à combler, qui a motivé le présent travail.

En résumé, il apparaît que la collection d'Upaniṣad traduite par Dārā Šukōh est attestée dans au moins un manuscrit. Il est vraisemblable qu'il a possédé un manuscrit de ce type. Il a aussi connaissance du commentaire de Śaṅkarānanda. Mais on ne trouve pas, tant s'en faut, la totalité du contenu de ce commentaire dans sa traduction. Il y a même quelques divergences notables. Dārā Šukōh n'a pas fait une traduction du commentaire et comme, somme toute, c'est un commentaire exhaustif et riche, il n'en tire que relativement peu de matière. On peut donc se demander s'il en a vraiment possédé un manuscrit. Étant donné qu'il travaillait avec des pandits, de préférence oralement, on peut penser que ces derniers l'ont informé des interprétations de Śaṅkarānanda sur des points choisis, au cours de ses échanges oraux avec eux. La source de Dārā Šukōh apparaît ainsi double: un manuscrit contenant une collection de cinquante Upaniṣad, et un groupe de pandits de Bénarès qui avaient dû mémoriser les textes et connaissaient les interprétations de commentateurs advaitin comme Śaṅkarānanda. La qualité de ces échanges entre le mystique soufi et les savants brâhmanes, sans doute, eux aussi, engagés dans la pratique de leur foi, l'intérêt du premier pour l'idée d'unicité de Dieu et d'unification avec Dieu, sa communion de pensée et d'expérience avec les seconds sur le but de leur démarche, l'ont incité à recueillir tout ce qu'ils lui exposaient, la lettre du texte de l'Upaniṣad et les interprétations du philosophe advaitin. La personnalité de Dārā Šukōh reste apparente dans de légères interventions que l'on doit noter. Il semble qu'il ait fait une modification à l'ordonnance des idées de l'Upaniṣad. On verra que la strophe 5 est abrégée et intégrée dans la traduction de la strophe 6, que la strophe 24 est considérablement réduite, sans doute parce que son contenu relatif à la phonétique sanskrite n'avait plus de sens en persan, enfin que la strophe 10 contient une remarquable substitution d'une formule sacrée islamique à un ensemble de formules sacrées védiques[42]. Il y a aussi de menues et rares différences entre l'original et la traduction, sans conséquence du point de vue de la fidélité.

Upaniṣadbrahmayogin) by T.R. Srinivasa Ayyangar and ed. by G. Srinivasa Murti, 2nd ed. (revised), Madras, 1952 (Adyar Library Series, 20), p. 9-16; Jean Varenne, *Upanishads du Yoga*, traduites du sanskrit et annotées, Paris, 1971 (Connaissance de l'Orient, 36), pp. 116-122 (*Amṛtanāda Upaniṣad*), 154-156 (notes). Avec Renard 1995: 240, mentionnons aussi: James A. Santucci, *The Amṛtanāda Upaniṣad*, Fullerton, 1973.

[42] Voir notes 63, 72, 92.

Le texte sanskrit connu de Śaṅkarānanda et les traductions d'Anquetil Duperron

Nous donnons ci-dessous le texte de l'*Amṛtanādopaniṣad* en translittération, tel qu'il est dans la version commentée par Śaṅkarānanda, avec notre traduction basée sur l'interprétation de ce commentaire, puis la traduction française d'Anquetil Duperron, enfin sa traduction latine. La traduction française d'Anquetil est restée inédite jusqu'à ce jour. L'on sait que son auteur n'a pas désiré la publier et il est visible qu'il ne l'a pas préparée pour cela. Nous la publions ici pour donner une idée de la nature de ce travail préparatoire à la traduction latine voulue par l'auteur. Les imperfections de ce «brouillon» sont, d'ailleurs, purement formelles. On appréciera la qualité de la compréhension qu'Anquetil avait de l'ouvrage persan et de la culture philosophique indienne. Ce document nous permet d'entrevoir aussi son auteur au cours de son travail. Nous l'avons donc transcrit tel qu'il est avec son orthographe originale, sa ponctuation, les ajouts placés en interligne. L'écriture d'Anquetil pose beaucoup de difficultés de lecture et est franchement indéchiffrable dans quelques cas. Nous n'avons pu reproduire la totalité des ajouts ou corrections en interligne et même dans le corps du texte quelques mots nous sont restés impénétrables. Nous n'avons pas non plus reproduit toutes les notes de la marge de gauche du manuscrit; elles sont dans la plupart des cas la translittération des variantes du second manuscrit persan. Nous avons mis entre crochets nos indications d'ajouts, ou d'incertitude de lecture. Les parenthèses sont celles d'Anquetil. Nous avons rendu par des accolades des sortes de parenthèse à longues branches (voir planches III et IV) qu'Anquetil a introduites dans son manuscrit pour indiquer des passages, propositions ou mots correspondant au texte du premier manuscrit persan, mais manquant dans le second, celui qu'il appelle «m[anu]s[crit] du R[oi]». Nous avons reproduit la ponctuation, l'usage des majuscules, le soulignement de mots de l'original, mais nous avons restitué les espaces entre les mots ou supprimé des espaces au milieu de mots. La cursive d'Anquetil, quelque peu désordonnée, soude très souvent plusieurs mots entre eux et, à l'inverse, en coupe d'autres sans raison apparente.

Les notes sur la transcription du texte sanskrit indiquent les quelques variantes du manuscrit d'Adyar. Celles sur notre traduction se limitent à quelques éclaircissements brefs. Celles sur la traduction française visent à montrer les concordances avec la version de l'Upaniṣad glosée par Śaṅkarānanda et avec des passages du commentaire de ce dernier. Celles, enfin, sur la traduction latine sont les notes latines d'Anquetil Duperron

placées en appendice dans sa publication (t. II, pp. 716-721) et que nous avons traduites en français.

Amṛtanāda-Upaniṣad
«Upaniṣad du son immortel»
Oupnek'hat Anbratnad (tiré) de l'Atharban Beid[43]
OUPNEK'HAT ANBRAT NAD[44], *ex Athrban Beid* (*desumptum*).

śāstrāṇy adhītya medhāvī abhyasya ca punaḥ punaḥ ǀ
paramaṃ brahma vijñāya ulkāvat tāny athotsṛjet ǁ 1 ǁ

«Après avoir appris les Enseignements et les avoir répétés à maintes reprises, le sage, une fois qu'il connaît le *brahman* suprême, doit les abandonner, comme un brandon». 1.

D'abord ayant lu les sciences et (les) ayant dans le cœur, et y ayant regardé avec répétition [*au-dessus de la ligne*: fixement], sachant le grand créateur[45]; ainsi que ayant fait un bois lumière [*au-dessus de la ligne*: allumé du bois] pour chasser l'obscurité on le prend à la main[46], lorsque on arrive au but projeté [*au-dessus de la ligne*: ce qu'on a volonté d'y voir], on le lache de la main; de même au tems qu'il arrive au grand créateur, (qu')il laisse les sciences qu'il a lues[47]:

[43] En marge Anquetil indique que le second manuscrit ajoute au titre la mention "sat naraïn scit gopal". Il s'agit probablement d'une invocation ajoutée par le scribe, peut-être l'aide hindou Mano Ram Pendit. On y reconnaît les noms d'une figure divine viṣṇuite très vénérée à cette époque dans le Nord de l'Inde, Satya-Nārāyaṇa ou Satya-Gopāla.

[44] En marge Anquetil Duperron inscrit le rang de l'Upaniṣad dans la collection de Dārā Šukōh: OUPNEK'HAT quadragesimum tertium. Au titre même il consacre en appendice la note suivante: "En sanskrit, *anbaram*, nom du ciel; *nad*, son, voix." Dārā Šukōh n'a fait que transcrire le nom sanskrit de l'Upaniṣad en écriture persane, n'en a pas dit en persan le sens littéral. Anquetil Duperron a cherché ce sens, mais a été égaré par la transcription persane qui substitue la consonne *r* à la voyelle *ṛ* et insère un *b* dans le groupe de consonnes *mr* (*mbr* est une variante phonétique très fréquente de *mr*, attestée couramment dans la prononciation et même dans l'écriture; signalons qu'on la retrouve dans le français *ambroisie* qui est le correspondant indo-européen exact de *amṛta*).

[45] Ceci est la traduction de la leçon connue de Śaṅkarānanda. La leçon connue de Nārāyaṇa, *brahmavidyāyā ulkāvan nānyathotsṛjet*, signifie qu'"il ne doit pas laisser... [la vie] cause de la connaissance du *brahman*".

[46] Cette clause n'apparaît que dans le commentaire de Śaṅkarānanda: *haste svīkaroti*.

[47] Ceci est la traduction de la leçon connue et commentée par Śaṅkarānanda: *tāny adhītāni... utsṛjet*.

[*en marge*: CLXIII.] PRIMUM, scientias ut legit, et in corde habuit, et iteratò consideratas fecit, Creatorem magnum ut scivit: quemadmodùm lignum lumen ut fecerunt[48] (*accenderunt*), propter τὸ pellere obscuritatem, in manu sumunt; tempore, quòd (*quo*) cum intento (*ad locum intentum*) perveniunt, illud è manu projiciunt: ipso hoc modo, tempore, quòd, cum Creatore magno (*ad Creatorem magnum*) pervenit, scientias quod (*quas*) legit (*didicit*), transire faciat (*derelinquat*).

oṃkāraratham[49] āruhya viṣṇuṃ kṛtvātha sārathim |
brahmalokapadānveṣī rudrārādhanatatparaḥ || 2 ||
tāvad rathena gantavyaṃ yāvad rathapathasthitiḥ |
sthātvā rathapathasthānaṃ ratham utsṛjya gacchati || 3 ||

«Après être monté sur le char-*oṃ*, ayant fait de Viṣṇu le cocher, étant en quête d'un but, la vision du *brahman*, engagé dans la réflexion sur les onze [facultés], il doit aller à l'aide de ce char jusqu'à l'arrêt du chemin du char; il s'arrête au point d'arrêt du chemin du char[50], abandonne le char, il atteint». 2-3.

Et la manière d'arriver [*au-dessus de la ligne*: au demandé (but)] original est celle-ci; que, ayant fait Oum chariot, et le Pran étant à cheval (monté dessus), Bischn qui (est) où paroit la qualité de suprématie, faisant aller le chariot; et le vouloir d'obtenir le Brahmlok qui est le monde[51] de l'etre et le demandé [*au-dessus de la ligne*: (l'objet)] de tout, le montrant [*au-dessus de la ligne*: ou ce qui se montre], et les sens externes et internes[52] qui sont a la place de Roudr faisant périr, (les) ayant amené dans

[48] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "Usage antique en Inde de la torche de bois".

[49] Ms. Adyar: oṃkāraṃ ratham.

[50] Le texte de la strophe répète le terme *rathapathasthitiḥ* sous la forme *rathapatha-sthānam*. Ce n'est pas une redondance. Dans le premier cas *sthiti* est un nom d'action "l'arrêt". Dans le second cas *sthāna* réfère au lieu de l'action, le point d'arrêt, que Śaṅkarānanda interprète comme étant "le soi de félicité au delà de la parole et de l'esprit".

[51] La traduction de *loka* par "monde" n'est pas l'interprétation de Śaṅkarānanda qui prend ce mot dans le sens étymologique de "vision".

[52] Cette interprétation du nom Rudra comme signifiant les onze facultés, les dix de connaissance et d'action et l'esprit (*indriya* et *manas*), appartient au commentaire de Śaṅkarānanda. Elle repose sans doute sur rien d'autre que le fait que dans la mythologie il y a onze Rudra. La clause "faisant périr" n'a de correspondant ni dans la strophe, ni dans le commentaire. Ce semble être une adjonction du traducteur qui, à côté de l'interprétation

sa propre retenue, c'est à dire les ayant attirés [*au-dessus de la ligne*: réprimés]; jusqu'au lieu que le terme d'arriver ce chariot qui (est) fait de Oum, sur lui [*au-dessus de la ligne*: le Pran] il est assis; étant arrivé là, et (à) ce tems il laisse le chariot Oum; et après cela il laisse aussi cette mention {devient forme du monde de l'etre;}

Et modus τοῦ pervenire cum petito originali (*ad petitum, intentum originale, primum principium*), hic est; quòd, τὸ *Oum* currum ut fecit, et super illum (*currum*) eques factus (*in eum conscendit*); τὸν *Beschn*, quòd manifestationis locus qualitatis dominii (*summæ potestatis*), euntem facientem currum; et volitionem τοῦ obtinere τὸ *Brahm lok*, quòd mundus Entis, et petitum (*objectum*) omnis (*entis*) est, [cogitatione repræsentativâ] ut ostendit; et sensus externos et internos, quòd cum mansione (*loco, vice*) τοῦ *Roudr* evanidum (*destructum*) facientis, sunt, in retentionem suam ut attulit; id est, illos attraxit (*continuit, compressit*) usquè ad locum, quòd terminus τοῦ pervenire hunc currum, quod (*quem*) è τῷ *Oum* ut fecit, super illum sedit; cum illo loco (*illùc*) ut pervenit; et illo tempore currum *Oum* deserat; et post ab illo (*posteà*) hanc mentionem (*quod hucusque dictum est*) etiam deserat; forma mundi entis fiat[53].

mātrāliṅgapadaṃ tyaktvā śabdavyañjanavarjitam |
asvareṇa makāreṇa padaṃ sūkṣmaṃ hi gacchati || 4 ||

«Après avoir laissé phonèmes, corps et mondes, il atteint le but subtil, dénué de sons et de consonnes, par le *m* sans son». 4.

originale de Śaṅkarānanda, aurait gardé le sens courant, celui de Rudra, dieu auteur de la résorption de l'univers à la fin d'un cycle cosmique. Quant au terme *ārādhana* dont le sens courant est "adoration" (sens adopté par Nārāyaṇa qui prend Rudra comme la divinité de la lettre *m*), Śaṅkarānanda le glose "réflexion sur les activités particulières des onze facultés" et dégage l'idée de ne pas être égaré par les sens (*indriyeṣv apramattaḥ*). La traduction de Dārā Šukoh apparaît ainsi fondée non sur le sens littéral, mais sur le sens final dégagé par le commentateur.

[53] Note d'Anquetil sur le paragraphe entier: "Explication de la comparaison. Monté sur l'*Oum*", nom de Dieu, comme sur un char, le *Beschn* ou puissance suprême conduisant le char, que l'homme se dirige vers le *Brahm lok*, monde de l'Être, ses sens internes et externes qui sont comme le *Roudr* détruisant, empêchant toutes choses. Et quand il est parvenu là, qu'il laisse le char; c'est-à-dire qu'il oublie le *Oum*", et une fois les sciences et toutes les choses communes renvoyées, s'attachant au seul Être, qu'il devienne une forme du monde de l'Être".

Les trois lettres du Porno[54] et les trois corps qui sont le grossier et le subtil et la subtile [*au-dessus de la ligne*: bienfaisant (?)]}[55], sous les trois degrés qui sont l'assemblage des degrés des elemens mâles et l'assemblage des elemens subtils, et est [*au-dessus de la ligne*: sont] le degré de la divinité[56], ayant laissé tout cela au degré de grandeur qui dans lui lettre et son n'est pas renfermé, et est prolation pur[57]; de cette prolation il arrive à cet être {bienfaisant bienfaisant.}

Tres (3) litteræ τοῦ *pranou*; et tria (3) corpora[58], quòd, crassum, et subtile, et subtile cum beneficiis et gratiâ sit; [et] quique tres gradus, quòd collectorum gradus elementorum crassorum, et collectio elementorum subtilium sit, et gradus divinitatis sit; hoc omne ut reliquit, cum gradu magnitudinis, quòd in eo littera et sonus non continetur, et vox (*prolatio*) pura est: ex illâ voce[59] cum illo Ente subtili, propitio (*ad illud ens subtile, propitium*) pervenit[60].

[54] Transcription en écriture persane du sanskrit *praṇava*, nom de la syllabe *oṃ*.

[55] Le texte persan parle de corps grossier, subtil (*laṭīf*) et le plus subtil (*alṭaf*, superlatif du précédent). Pour le troisième qui, en fait, est le corps causal (*kāraṇa*), cause des deux autres, Dārā Šukōh a retenu l'idée du plus haut degré de subtilité de la cause par rapport à ses effets et a traduit par le superlatif de *laṭīf*. C'est sans doute le seul sens qu'il donnait à ce terme dans le présent contexte. Anquetil, cependant, s'est laissé entraîner à voir ici un deuxième sens du mot, à savoir celui de "bienfaisant", employé par exemple à propos de la relation de Dieu avec ses fidèles. Cette valeur de sens est évidemment absente de la pensée de Dārā Šukōh.

[56] La clause depuis "les trois lettres" jusqu'à "la divinité" rend le terme *mātrā-liṅgapadam* selon l'interprétation de Śaṅkarānanda, à savoir *mātrā* les sons *a*, *u*, *m* de la syllabe *oṃ* qui est appelée *praṇava*; *liṅga* les corps, grossier (*sthūla*), subtil (*sūkṣma*), causal (*kāraṇa*); *pada* les entités macrocosmiques *virāj*, *sūtrātman*, *bīja* ou *virāj*, *hiraṇya-garbha*, *īśvara*. Dans ce passage Śaṅkarānanda se réfère aux trois triades par les expressions abrégées *akārādyāḥ*, *sthūlaśarīrādīni* et *virāḍādīni*. La première est bien connue. La triade des corps se rencontre, par exemple, dans le *Vedāntasāra* (18, p. 24). La dernière triade est attestée dans le *Vedāntasāra* (7, 14; p. 9, 20) avec les noms *virāj*, *sūtrātman* (ou *hiraṇya-garbha* et *prāṇa*), *īśvara* (et d'autres noms), ou sous la forme *virāj*, *sūtra* (*sūtrātman*), *bīja* (*bījeśvara*, *bījātman*) dans le commentaire d'Upaniṣadbrahmayogin sur *Amṛtanāda-Up.* 26, *Tejobindu-Up.* I. 6, *Nādabindu-Up.* 6c-7b. Sous cette dernière forme la triade est mentionnée spécifiquement en rapport avec les trois phonèmes composants de *oṃ*.

[57] Ceci rend la clause *asvareṇa makāreṇa* : le "*m* sans son" est la résonance inaudible qui suit la prononciation de la dernière lettre de *oṃ*.

[58] Référence d'Anquetil en marge à T. I, N.° VI, p. 24 (*Oupnek'hat Tschehandouk*) où les trois corps sont donnés comme étant *asthoul* [*sthūla*], *soutschehehem* [*sūkṣma*], *karn* [*kāraṇa*].

[59] Note d'Anquetil en bas de page: *Ms.* nat. *nokteh*, "à partir de ce point".

[60] Note d'Anquetil sur le paragraphe entier: "Et, par la même raison, une fois les trois lettres du *pranou* [*praṇava*], corps, degrés de l'Être, laissés, qu'il parvienne au degré

śabdādiviṣayāḥ pañca manaś caivāticañcalam |
cintayed ātmano raśmīn pratyāhāraḥ sa ucyate || 5 ||

«Les cinq [sens] qui ont pour domaine objectif le son, etc., et l'esprit sont très instables; qu'on médite sur des rênes tenues par le soi; cela est appelé "rétraction"». 5.

pratyāhāras tathā dhyānaṃ prāṇāyāmo 'tha dhāraṇā |
tarkaś caiva samādhiś ca ṣaḍaṅgo yoga ucyate || 6 ||

«On appelle *yoga* de six membres, la rétraction, la méditation, la discipline du souffle, la fixation, la réflexion et l'arrêt du psychisme». 6.

Six choses qui sont convenables [*au-dessus de la ligne*: appartiennent] au sélouk[61], de toutes ces (choses) une est Partihar, qui est retenir les sens externes et internes; l'autre est dehan, qui est penser en s'imaginant [*au-dessus de la ligne*: se représenter méditer][62]; et une autre est Pranaïam, qui est retenir la respiration; et une autre est deharna, qui est lier le cœur à quelque chose de particulier; et une autre est tark, c'est à dire l'argumentation [*au-dessus de la ligne*: démonstration] qui est conforme au livre divin, et d'elle la science certaine est acquise; et une autre est samadeh, qui est être noyé [*au-dessus de la ligne*: absorbé] [63].

sublime où il n'y a ni lettres, ni son, à la prolongation nasale de *Oum*, qui est la voix pure, l'Être suprême".

[61] *Sulūk* "marche", aussi terme de mystique désignant la vie contemplative des ascètes, la "pérégrination vers Dieu, le cheminement initiatique". Il est ici utilisé par Dārā Šukōh pour rendre le terme sanskrit *yoga*.

[62] Voir le manuscrit d'Anquetil, pl. III.

[63] Les mots sanskrits transcrits par Dārā Šukōh, puis Anquetil sont: *pratyāhāra*, *dhyāna*, *prāṇāyāma*, *dhāraṇā*, *tarka*, *samādhi*. On remarque que dans l'Upaniṣad la strophe 6 est consacrée à l'énumération des six membres du yoga sans définition d'aucun d'eux, ni aucune indication sur leur nature. Des définitions développées de chacun d'eux sont données dans des strophes séparées, à l'exception du *dhyāna* auquel aucune strophe n'est consacrée. L'Upaniṣad, en effet, définit le premier membre du yoga, le *pratyāhāra*, dans la strophe 5, avant la présentation de la liste des six, omet le *dhyāna* et définit les quatre autres membres dans, respectivement, les strophes 7-14 pour le *prāṇāyāma*, 15 pour la *dhāraṇā*, 16ab pour le *tarka*, 16cd pour le *samādhi*. Ce traitement inégal se comprend par le fait que le sujet de cette Upaniṣad est la syllabe *oṃ* et que son objet est de proposer un exercice spécifique de contrôle du souffle lié à la récitation de la syllabe. De ce fait le contrôle du souffle est privilégié dans son exposé, les autres membres du yoga sont mentionnés à titre

Sex (6) res, quòd conveniens τῷ *selouk* est, ex illis omnibus una τὸ *pratiahar* est; quòd retentio sensuum externorum et internorum sit: altera, τὸ *dehan* est; quòd, cogitatio repræsentativa sit: et alia, τὸ *pranaïam* est; quòd retentio halitûs sit: et alia, τὸ *deharna* est; quòd, cor ligare cum unâ re particulari sit: et alia, τὸ *tark* est, id est, argumentatio (*ratiocinatio*), quod (*quæ*) conformis libro divino sit; et ex illâ, scientia certa acquisita fiat: et alia, τὸ *samadeh* est; quòd demersio sit, è retentione halitûs.

yathā parvatadhātūnāṃ dahyante dhamatā malāḥ |
tathendriyakṛtā doṣā dahyante prāṇanigrahāt || 7 ||
prāṇāyāmair dahed doṣān dhāraṇābhiś ca kilbiṣam |
kilbiṣaṃ hi kṣayaṃ[64] nītvā ruciraṃ caiva cintayet || 8 ||

«De même que l'on brûle les impuretés des minerais de montagne en soufflant [sur le feu], de même il brûle les fautes commises par les sens en contrôlant le souffle». 7.

«Par des contrôles du souffle il doit brûler les fautes et, par des fixations du psychisme, la souillure. Ayant conduit la souillure à destruction, il doit méditer sur [le soi de] félicité». 8.

De [*au-dessus de la ligne*: par] l'absence de la respiration, ainsi que la terre qui est mêlée avec des choses de mines, qui étant tirée de la mine, et l'ayant brulée [*au-dessus de la ligne*: on en tire] l'or et l'argent[65] purs et brule ce qui les cachoit [*au-dessus de la ligne*: l'éclipse d'elle, l'obscuration]; de même de la retenue de la respiration il brule l'éclipse des sens, c'est a dire il ne va pas du côté mauvais. et de la retenue de la respiration il fait bruler l'éclipse [*au-dessus de la ligne*: obscuration] des sens; et du deharna {qui est lier le cœur à quelque chose de particulier}, ayant fait

accessoire. Si la définition du *pratyāhāra* vient avant la présentation de la liste, cela s'explique par le fait que ce membre du yoga s'inscrit dans la suite de l'image du char pour *oṃ* présentée dans la strophe 2. On emprunte le char-*oṃ*, on se dirige vers un but, le domaine sans son de *oṃ* (str. 3), on conduit le char avec les rênes qui sont le *pratyāhāra* (str. 5). A la suite du *pratyāhāra* viennent les autres membres du yoga dont la liste est donnée (str. 6). Telle est la suite des idées de l'Upaniṣad.

Dārā Šukōh a quelque peu modifié cette suite. Il a, en effet, développé la strophe 6 de la liste en insérant une brève définition après la mention de chaque nom. Il ne donne pas de traduction de la strophe 5 à sa place. Il l'omet et compense par la brève définition du *pratyāhāra* insérée dans la strophe 6.

[64] Ms. Adyar: kṣaye.

[65] L'or et l'argent sont mentionnés seulement dans le commentaire de Śaṅkarānanda.

bruler les pêchés, il est toujours dans la pensée [*au-dessus de la ligne*: pensant (...?)] inquiète[66] de cet être lumiere[67].

Quemadmodùm lutum, quòd cum fodinæ rebus (*metallis*) mixtum est, quòd è fodinâ ut super attulerunt (*extraxerunt*), et illud usserunt, aurum et argentum purum supervenit (*exit*), et eclipsationem (*tegumentum*) ab eo (*ejus*) urunt: ipso hoc modo, è retentione halitûs, eclipsationem sensuum (*homo*) adurit; id est, cum latere malo (*ad*) latus malum non vadit: et ex retentione halitûs eclypsationem sensuum urere facit; et ex *deharna*, quòd τὸ cor ligare cum unâ re particulari est, peccata ut urere fecit, semper in recogitatione illius entis luminis sit[68].

ruciraṃ recakaṃ caiva vāyor ākarṣaṇaṃ tathā |
prāṇāyāmās trayaḥ proktā recapūrakakumbhakāḥ || 9 ||

«Les trois contrôles du souffle, [maintien avec vision faite de] félicité, expulsion et attraction du souffle sont appelés *kumbhaka*, *reca[ka]*, *pūraka*». 9.

[66] La lecture de ce mot est incertaine, la mention au-dessus de la ligne étant tout à fait illisible. La traduction latine "recogitatione" n'a rien qui corresponde au terme "inquiète". Ceci traduit le terme sanskrit *cintayet*, référant dans le présent contexte au *dhyāna*, c'est-à-dire à la méditation maintenue sur un même objet, sans qu'aucune cognition d'autre chose intervienne. Le mot latin répond assez bien au concept sanskrit, étant donné qu'il réfère à l'acte de faire repasser dans son esprit un même objet. Le terme persan *andīshah*, comme le sanskrit *cintā*, peut, en dehors de son sens premier de "pensée", exprimer une nuance d'inquiétude ou de souci. Elle ne joue pas dans le présent contexte. Mais Anquetil a eu une hésitation dans sa traduction française, qu'il n'a pas eu lors de la mise au point en latin.

[67] Ceci traduit le mot *ruciram* de l'Upaniṣad. Ce mot a les deux sens "lumineux" et "plaisant". Śaṅkarānanda a retenu le second et y voit une image servant à désigner ici le soi fait de félicité totale dans son essence pure. Le terme "être lumière" peut référer de même au soi pur. Mais il est fondé sur une image qui n'est pas retenue par le commentaire. Il s'agit peut-être d'une innovation de Dārā Šukōh: ce qu'Anquetil a traduit par "lumière" est le persan *rawšan*. A. Weber a, lui aussi, retenu le sens de "lumière", en s'appuyant sur l'emploi du terme *rukmavarṇa* dans le passage parallèle de la "*Maitrāyaṇī*", VI.18 (*Maitryupaniṣad*, éd. ĀSS 29, p. 422).

[68] Note d'Anquetil sur les deux paragraphes précédents: "Les six modes du *selouk* [*yoga*] expliqués (supra, T. I, N° LXXII, p. 338 [OUPNEK'HAT MITRI = *Maitri*]; infra, N° CLXIII, p. 360-363) sont élucidés par la comparaison avec l'or et l'argent extraits d'une mine, brûlés au feu, purifiés." Le passage auquel renvoie Anquetil est *Maitryupaniṣad*, VI.18, qui énumère les six membres du *yoga*. Anquetil l'a aussi présenté en français dans une de ses notes au *Voyage* de Paulin de S. Barthélemy, vol. 3, pp. 144-145.

Et retenir la respiration est (de) trois especes; l'une attirer l'haleine, qu'on l'appele Pourk; et la seconde, garder l'haleine, qu'on l'appele kinhak[69]; la troisième, faire passer la respiration, qu'on l'appele reitschak.

Et retentio halitûs tres (3) divisio (*species*) est: una, attrahere halitum (*adspirare*); quòd illud *pourk* dicunt: et secunda, servatum habere halitum; quòd illud *kanihak* dicunt: tertia, facere transire (*educere*) halitum (*respirare*); quòd illud *reitschak* dicunt.

savyāhṛtiṃ sapraṇavāṃ gāyatrīṃ śirasā saha |
triḥ paṭhed āyataprāṇaḥ prāṇāyāmaḥ sa ucyate || 10 ||

«Il doit réciter la *gāyatrī* avec les *vyāhṛti*, avec *oṃ*, avec le *śiro[-mantra]*[70], trois fois, en retenant son souffle: cela est appelé "contrôle du souffle"». 10.

Et au tems de garder l'haleine, autant que l'on peut[71] la mention du *kalmeh* de l'unification[72] que dans lui Oum est, soit faite [*au-dessus de la ligne*: si elle est faite], on appele ceci retenir l'haleine.

Et in tempore τοῦ servatum habere halitum, tantùm illud quòd (*quantùm*) possunt, mentio τοῦ *kalmeh* unificationis, quòd in illo *Oum* est, facta sit: hoc retinere halitum dicunt.

[69] L'un des mss. persans examinés par Anquetil a la graphie *khnyk*, l'autre *knhk*.

[70] Dans cet exercice de récitation il y a énoncé successif de *oṃ*, des sept interjections *bhūr bhuvar suvar mahar janar tapar satyam*, de la *gāyatrī*, *tát savitúr váreṇyam bhárgo devásya dhīmahi dhíyo yó naḥ pracodáyāt*, et du *mantra* appelé *śiras*, *āpo jyotī raso 'mṛtaṃ brahma bhūr bhuvaḥ suvar oṃ*, au total 62 syllabes. La mention "trois fois" fixe la durée de l'exercice de contrôle du souffle, soit la durée de la récitation de 186 syllabes.

[71] La traduction omet de préciser la répétition du texte. Ceci diffère de l'Upaniṣad qui donne la récitation multiple pour fixer une durée précise à l'exercice de retenue du souffle. La mention de la répétition, pourtant bien attestée dans les deux versions du texte sanskrit et ailleurs (voir *supra* n. 12), manque dans les deux manuscrits et l'édition du texte persan.

[72] Dārā Šukōh a assimilé à la *gāyatrī* et ses appendices la confession de foi musulmane affirmant l'unicité de Dieu (*lā ilāh illā'llāh Mohammad rasūl Allāh*), qui, chez le croyant à inclination mystique qu'il était, est non seulement l'affirmation et la démonstration de la doctrine de l'unicité, mais aussi l'expérience directe, l'appréhension de l'unité transcendante. L'expression persane entière est *kalmeh tohīd* et Anquetil Duperron rend ce dernier terme par "unification", soulignant la parenté avec la notion indienne de visée par le *yoga* à la fusion avec la divinité, l'expérience de l'unification de l'âme individuelle et de l'âme suprême unique.

utkṣipya vāyum ākāśaṃ śūnyaṃ kṛtvā nirātmakam |
śūnyabhāvena yuñjīyād recakasyeti lakṣaṇam || 11 ||

«Après avoir exhaussé le souffle, après avoir rendu l'espace [extérieur] vide [de souffle et le souffle] sans essence, il doit arrêter son psychisme sur la vacuité[73]; telle est la caractéristique du *recaka*». 11.

Et faire passer la respiration est de cette maniere que ayant tiré l'haleine du dedans on l'amene [*au-dessus de la ligne*: la sorte] dehors, et sache que le vent qui a été produit du Bhout akasch il anéanti ce vent dans le Bhout akasch: ceci est la maniere de faire passer la respiration.

Et facere transire (*emittere*)[74] halitum, cum hac ratione est, quòd; halitum ex intrà ut attraxit, cum extrà super afferat (*educat*); et sciat quòd, ventus, quòd è *bhout âkasch* productum factus est; illum ventum in *bhout âkasch* destructum efficiat: hic est modus τοῦ facere transire halitum (τοῦ *respirare*).

vaktreṇotpalanālena toyam ākarṣayen naraḥ |
evaṃ vāyur grahītavyaḥ pūrakasyeti lakṣaṇam || 12 ||

«Avec la bouche, par une tige creuse de lotus, on peut tirer de l'eau, de même le vent doit être saisi; telle est la caractéristique du *pūraka*». 12.

Et la maniere d'attirer l'haleine est celle-ci: que ainsi que ayant mis dans l'eau un bout de tige [*au-dessus de la ligne*: tuyau] de nenufar, et de l'autre bout on attire l'eau avec l'haleine; de même ayant attiré le vent extérieur avec la respiration, on la remplit [*au-dessus de la ligne*: on l'en remplit] en soi-même: ceci est attirer l'haleine.

[73] Littéralement "il doit s'unir à la vacuité". Śaṅkarānanda cependant glose *yuñjīyāt* par "il doit faire le yoga", sans doute ici l'arrêt du psychisme, puis par "il doit méditer". Cette clause n'apparaît pas dans les traductions d'Anquetil Duperron, non plus que dans les manuscrits et l'édition du texte persan.

[74] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "retentio… attrahere… servatum habere… emittere… sont les trois actes de la respiration, aspiration, suspension, respiration. *Pourk*. En sanskrit, *poûranam* [*pūraṇa*], remplir d'air; *poûrana karanam* [*pūraṇakaraṇa*] faire s'emplir. *Kanihak*. En sanskrit, *kanakam* [*kanaka*], or le plus pur. *Kanischam* [?], juste poids. *Khanibhavaha* [*ghanībhāvaḥ*], se coaguler, se durcir. *Reitschak*. En sanskrit, *reschaha* [*recaka*] gorge. *Rekhâ kararam* [?] souffler." A propos de *kanihak*, donné pour *kumbhaka*, Anquetil a été égaré par la transcription; *kumbhaka* signifie le pot et est une image pour le volume d'air retenu avant l'expiration. *Recaka* signifie en réalité "vidage".

Et modus τοῦ attrahere halitum, hic est, quòd: quemadmodùm unum caput caulis τοῦ *niloufer* in aquam ut transire fecerunt (*immiserunt*), et è capite altero aquam cum halitu attrahunt: ipso hoc modo, ventum τοῦ extrà cum halitu ut attraxerunt, in seipsis plenum (*seipsos illo plenos*) faciant: hoc est attrahere halitum (*adspirare*).

nocchvasen na ca niśvasen naiva gātrāṇi cālayet |
evaṃ bhāvaṃ niyuñjīyāt kumbhakasyeti lakṣaṇam || 13 ||

«Qu'il n'inspire, ni n'expire, ni ne meuve le corps; sur cet état qu'il arrête le psychisme; telle est la caractéristique du *kumbhaka*». 13.

Et si on ne fait pas passer l'haleine au dehors et si on ne l'amène pas au dedans, et ne donne pas mouvement aux membres, et garde en soi même le vent que ayant attiré par la respiration [*au-dessus de la ligne*: l'aspiration] on a fait plein en soi; ceci est la maniere de garder [*au-dessus de la ligne*: retenir] l'haleine[75].

Et si halitum (*homo*) non facit transire, et intrà non adducit, et membris motum non dat, et ventum, quòd, ut halitum attraxit, in seipso plenum (*illo se plenum*) fecit, servatum habet; hic est modus τοῦ servatum habere halitum.

andhavat paśya rūpāṇi śabdaṃ badhiravac chṛṇu |
kāṣṭhavat paśya vai dehaṃ praśāntasyeti lakṣaṇam || 14 ||

«Comme un aveugle, vois les formes; comme un sourd, entends les sons; comme une bûche, regarde le corps; telle est la caractéristique du parfaitement apaisé». 14.

Quiconque semblable au non voyant ne voit pas[76], et semblable au sourd n'entend pas, et semblable au bois est sans mouvement (à) ce tems il est sçu que le repos lui est acquis:

[75] La traduction omet la méditation sur l'état d'immobilité du souffle mentionné dans l'Upaniṣad.

[76] Le commentaire de Śaṅkarānanda explique l'impératif *paśya* etc. accompagné de la comparaison avec l'aveugle, en introduisant la négation de la vision et la cessation du fonctionnement des sens: vois en étant vide de la conscience du bleu, du jaune, etc., vide de celle de leur caractère agréable ou pénible (*nīlapītādisukhaduḥkhakāritvabuddhiśūnyaḥ*). Ce peut être l'origine de la tournure négative adoptée par la traduction.

Quisquis, similis non videnti, non videt; et similis surdo, non audit; et similis ligno, sine motu fiat: illo tempore scitum fiat, quòd ei quies acquisita facta est[77].

manaḥsaṃkalpakaṃ dhyātvā saṃkṣipyātmani buddhimān |
dhārayitvā tathātmānaṃ dhāraṇā parikīrtitā || 15 ||

«Et quand le sage a médité sur ce qu'entreprend le sens interne, a résorbé [cela] en soi et a fixé le soi, c'est bien connu comme étant la fixation du psychisme». 15.

Et quiconque sait le ferme propos [*au-dessus de la ligne*: enchantement (?)] et l'ouverture du ferme propos est l'action du cœur, et ayant pris le cœur avec tous les vouloirs, les ayant [*au-dessus de la ligne*: l'ayant (...?)] tournés vers l'atma (les) garde dans l'atma, de même garder le cœur dans l'atma a nom deharna.

Et quisquis scit, [quòd] firmum propositum et apertura (*origo*, *initium*) firmi propositi, actio cordis est, et cor cum omnibus volitionibus ut cepit, tendens (*conversum*) cum (*ad*) *âtma* (*ut*) effecit, in *âtma* custoditum habet; ipsum hoc servatum habere cor in *âtma*, τοῦ *deharna* nomen habet.

āgamasyāvirodhena ūhanaṃ tarka ucyate |

«La conjecture sans opposition avec la source verbale de connaissance est appelée réflexion.»

et chaque (ouverture) [*au-dessus de la ligne*: explication] qui est conforme au Beid, savoir vrai cette explication et faire science certaine avec elle, a nom Tark, c'est à dire, acquérir le juste [*au-dessus de la ligne*: le vrai] avec argumentation [*au-dessus de la ligne*: preuves].

Et quælibet apertio (*explicatio*), quòd conformis (*libro*) *Beid* sit, verum scire hanc apertionem, et scientiam certam facere cum eâ (*illam ut veritatem certam profiteri*), quod τοῦ *tark* nomen habet; id est, acquisivit justum (*verum*) cum (*probatione*) ratiocinatione.

[77] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "Être semblable à l'aveugle, au sourd, au bois immobile, est l'indice de la possession du calme parfait, de la tranquillité de soi-même".

samaṃ manyeta yaṃ labdhvā sa samādhiḥ prakīrtitaḥ || 16 ||

«[L'éveil au soi] qui fait qu'après l'avoir obtenu, [le sage] pense [que tout est] égal, est appelé arrêt du psychisme». 16

Et quiconque l'atma qui dans le corps de l'éléphant[78] et de la fourmil {et de tous les êtres animés et} en tout lieu égal il (le) sçait, cette intelligence on (l')appele samadeh qui est noyement[79].

Et quisquis τὸν *âtma*, quòd in corpore elephantis et formicæ, et omnium animantium (*est*), et omni loco æqualem scit; hanc notitiam *samadeh* dicunt; quòd, demersio sit[80].

[78] Śaṅkarānanda glose le terme *samam* de l'Upaniṣad par "une forme unique dans les corps de l'éléphant, de la poupée, etc. (*hastiputrikādi*)" et est le seul commentateur à recourir à une telle image. On retrouve l'image de l'éléphant dans les traductions d'Anquetil et le texte persan. L'image de la poupée y est remplacée par celle de la fourmi.

[79] La définition de l'Upaniṣad repose sur une analyse étymologique du mot *samādhi* comme composé de *sama* "égal" et d'un dérivé primaire de la racine *dhyai-* "penser" avec le seul préverbe *ā* et s'éloigne du sens courant du mot interprété comme dérivé de la racine *dhā-* avec les deux préverbes *sam* et *ā* (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* de Pāṇini 3.3.92). Avec cette dernière étymologie le mot est couramment compris dans le sens de pacification, d'arrêt du psychisme sur l'objet de la méditation jusqu'à ce que le sujet perde la conscience de sa différence avec l'objet. La traduction "noyement" se comprend sur la base de cette interprétation, non sur celle de Śaṅkarānanda. C'est donc une traduction que Dārā Šukōh aurait ajoutée à partir de l'interprétation la plus courante, tout en rapportant l'interprétation du commentateur.

[80] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "*Atma* [*ātman*], c'est-à-dire l'âme universelle, l'Être suprême unique, égal (*beraber*) dans l'*éléphant* et la *fourmi*; dans le chêne le plus haut et dans une humble paille; dans l'univers entier et dans une ligne, un point, un grain de poussière; dans le prince le plus puissant et dans un infime et débile sujet; dans le maître et dans l'esclave: il va sans dire qu'en dehors de cet *âtma* il n'y a rien: tout est lui-même: avec lui toutes choses sont égales, puisqu'il est partout le même.

Dogme indien qui évalue la nature entière, divisée ou prise tout ensemble, les pays, les peuples, les gouvernants comme conformes à une même mesure.

Que prêtent l'oreille ces grands législateurs, ces superbes empereurs, ces chefs d'armée arrogants, qui ont l'habitude de mouvoir, par des signes de tête, la parole, les cymbales, une foule de soldats, comme une ligne d'histrions, comme des marionnettes, assassins de noble famille et légitimes, formés par l'art et la personnalité à la destruction du genre humain, épuisant la substance de la république par la paix et la guerre, qui pensent eux-mêmes être tout, les autres rien, qui bouleversent les pays, les royaumes, les institutions à leur guise, qui balaient la terre, comme le tourbillon balaie les épis dans son souffle.

Que prêtent attention les jeunes et les vieillards eux-mêmes, qui, rendus livides par la maladie, au seuil même de l'abîme qui engloutit toutes choses, misérablement vendus à

bhūmau darbhāsane ramye sarvadoṣavivarjite |
kṛtvā manomayīṃ rakṣāṃ japtvā vairathamaṇḍale || 17 ||

«Sur le sol, sur une jonchée d'herbe *darbha*, agréable, dénué de tout défaut, qu'il se fasse une protection mentale, récite [*oṃ*] dans le cercle des rites afférents». 17.

Et la manière de s'asseoir dans le maschghouli[81] est ceci: que dans un lieu qui soit tranquille, et le cœur ne soit pas rendu allant et revenant, et la crainte et l'appréhension et immondices ne soit pas là, sur la terre unie ayant ramassé de l'herbe [*au-dessus de la ligne*: paille], qu'il s'asseye, et de la sincerité du cœur il forme un mur autour de soi, et sache que l'atma de tous cotés est mon gardien, et fasse maschghouli a Porno[82].

leurs sens, se fuyant eux-mêmes, avides de gloriole dans le défilé de la mort, briguent des charges politiques, ecclésiastiques, des récompenses littéraires, pour satisfaire leur ventre, les poursuivent avec un zèle ardent, alors que leurs membres sont déjà froids, offrant les services abjects de l'esclave, quand le sort, égal pour eux (*beraber*), les amène à l'ultime événement. Qu'ils regardent ce qui est en eux, quelle est cette redoutable tempête troublant, agitant, poussant au précipice le monde, pour lequel ils font de si grands efforts.

Toutes choses sont égales, pareilles sous le ciel. La goutte s'élève sur la goutte, la poussière sur la poussière, le ver sur le ver, la paille sur la paille, à l'instar des eaux, qui tantôt sont soulevées vers le haut, tantôt portées vers le bas, émergées de la mer, immergées dans la même au même instant, vaine et vide écume!

'Vanité des vanités, dit l'Ecclésiaste: vanité des vanités et toutes choses sont vaines.' [Anquetil donne en note le texte hébreu et la référence, Ecclesiast. I, 2.]

'Écoutons tous ensemble la fin de ce discours. Crains Dieu, observe ses commandements; car c'est l'homme tout entier'".

[Anquetil donne en note le texte hébreu et la référence, Id. XII, 13.] Soulignons que ces lignes furent écrites par Anquetil probablement entre septembre 1794 et octobre 1795, c'est-à-dire, sous le coup de son expérience de la Terreur, dans la période subséquente d'incertitude sur l'avenir politique du pays.

[81] *Mašghūlī* signifie "occupation" en général. Il ne semble pas être en persan un terme de mystique. En Inde, en *hindī* par exemple, *mašghūl* a une valeur religieuse plus forte et s'emploie pour le sage ou le *yogin*. Dans le présent passage on ne voit pas clairement pour quel mot sanskrit Dārā Šukōh l'utilise. On peut penser qu'il l'emploie ici pour le *yoga*, puisqu'il traite de la posture prise dans cette discipline (le terme *yogāsana* vient dans la strophe suivante). A la fin de la stance il l'emploie de nouveau à propos de la récitation répétée de la syllabe *oṃ*, et de nombreuses fois dans sa traduction du reste de la présente Upaniṣad, comme des autres. Il paraît dans tous ces emplois l'associer à un exercice de méditation. Dans la présente Upaniṣad il est associé à l'exercice d'énonciation de *oṃ* accompagné de contrôle du souffle et de méditation. Voir note 89.

[82] Il est certain que, comme cette strophe de l'Upaniṣad, la traduction traite de l'*āsana* et d'un rite de protection, même si elle apparaît ici très éloignée. La mention de la récitation

Et modus τοῦ sedere in *maschghouli*, hoc est, quòd: in loco, quòd tranquillus sit, et cor vadens et rediens (*vagans*, *peregrinans*) non efficiatur, et timor, et metus, et sordes (*purgamenta*) in illo loco non sit, super terram planam paleam (*herbam*) collectam ut fecit, sedeat: et è sinceritate cordis, super circà seipsum murum (*munimentum*) construat; et sciat, quòd, *âtma* ex omnibus lateribus custos meus est; et *maschghouli* τῷ *pranou* faciat[83].

padmakaṃ svastikaṃ vāpi bhadrāsanam athāpi vā I
baddhvā yogāsanaṃ samyag uttarābhimukhasthitaḥ II 18 II

«En prenant correctement la pose de yoga *padmaka*, *svastika* ou *bhadra*, qu'il se tienne tourné vers le nord». 18.

Et au tems de s'asseoir, tantot il s'asseye quarré, tantot avec les deux genouls, tantot de la manière que a lui n'est pas mal de tete (?) [*au-dessus de la ligne*: de l'incommode puis] ayant tourné le visage du coté du nord, il s'asseye,

Et in tempore τοῦ sedere, sive quadratùm (*quatuor genibus*) sedeat, sive cum duobus genibus, si cum ratione (*eo modo*), quòd ei molestia non sit, vultum cum tractu (*ad tractum*) septentrionis ut fecit, sedeat.

nāsikāpuṭam aṅgulyā pidhāyaikena mārutam I
ākṛṣya dhārayed agniṃ śabdam eveti cintayet II 19 II
om ity ekākṣaraṃ brahma om ity etan na recayet I
divyamantreṇa bahudhā kuryād ātmamalacyutim II 20 II

«Après avoir fermé une narine avec un doigt[84] et attiré le vent, qu'il [le] retienne et considère le son [*oṃ*] comme étant le feu». 19.

du *praṇava* apparente de nouveau la traduction au commentaire de Śaṅkarānanda qui donne, en alternative à l'interprétation courante de *rathamaṇḍale* comme le *sāman rathaṃtara* et le *maṇḍalabrāhmaṇa*, une autre interprétation originale. Śaṅkarānanda, en effet, interprète *vairatha* comme dérivé de *viratha* qui serait une désignation de *oṃ*, et comme signifiant les rites d'imposition des parties de la syllabe etc. Le sens serait: *viśiṣṭo ratho virathaḥ praṇavas tanmātrānyāsādikaṃ vairathaṃ vairathasya maṇḍalaṃ samūhas tasmin yat sārabhūtam oṃkārākhyam iti śeṣaḥ* I "récitant ce qui est l'essence, appelé *oṃ*, dans l'ensemble du *vairatha* qui est l'imposition des parties du *praṇava*, etc.".

83 Anquetil insère ici une note portant sur la traduction des strophes 17 à 29: "Description développée du *maschghouli*. Voir supra N° CXXVII, p. 197 etc.". La référence est à la traduction de la *Yogaśikhā-Upaniṣad*, qui effectivement traite de *yoga*.

84 Śaṅkarānanda construit *ekena* avec *aṅgulyā*, le glosant par le féminin normalement requis.

«*Oṃ* est le phonème unique, le *brahman*. Qu'il n'abandonne pas ce *oṃ*. Avec [ce] divin *mantra*, à maintes reprises, qu'il fasse la destruction des impuretés du soi». 20.

Et avec un doigt bouche un trou [*au-dessus de la ligne*: aile] du né et avec l'autre narine ayant attiré le vent, et bouchée avec le doigt, il garde la respiration, et sachant Porno[85] (être) forme de la chaleur qui est dans le cœur[86],

il se représente en pensée Oum (comme) Brahm, et tant qu'il garde la respiration il ne quitte pas cette imagination, et de la [*au-dessus de la ligne*: par la] mention du Oum, qui est Manter lumineux, ayant eloigné toutes ses propres éclipses [*au-dessus de la ligne*: tenebres], il fasse maschghouli au Brahm qui est forme de la chaleur qui est au milieu du cœur.

Et cum uno digito unam alam (*unum foramen*) nasûs liget (*obturet*); et cum alâ (*nari*) alterâ ventum ut attraxit, et cum digito ligavit (*clausit*), halitum servatum habeat (*retineat*); et *pranou*[87] formam (*esse*) caloris, quòd in corde est, ut scivit, *Oum* (*esse*) *Brahm* cogitatione repræsentatum sibi faciat: et quoad halitum servatum habet, hanc cogitationem repræsentativam non faciat transire (*huic fixus*, *intentus hæreat*).

Et è mentione τοῦ *Oum*, quòd *mantr* luminis est, omnes eclipsationes (*tenebras*) suas procul ut fecit, cum (τῷ) *Brahmi*, quòd forma caloris est, quòd in medio cordis est[88], *maschghouli* faciat.

paścād dhyāyeta pūrvoktaṃ kramaśo mantravid budhaḥ |
sthūlātisthūlasaṃjñāyāṃ nābher ūrdhvam upakramaḥ || 21 ||

«Ensuite le sage, connaisseur des *mantra*, doit considérer [le *brahman*] susdit, selon le cours [mentionné]. Sous le nom de plus grossier que le grossier, il y a entreprise [du mouvement du souffle] au-dessus du nombril». 21.

Il faut que le maschgoul d'abord ayant compris Oum ayant fait maschghouli à Oum (l')ait fait et au tems du maschghouli dans une haleine

[85] Cette traduction de *śabdam* par *praṇava* est fondée sur le commentaire de Śaṅkarānanda: *śabdabrahmasārabhūtam oṃkāram eva* "*oṃ* qui est l'essence du *brahman*-parole".

[86] Ceci est aussi fondé sur le commentaire de Śaṅkarānanda: *yo 'ntar hṛdaye mahān agnis tam agniṃ hṛdayapuṇḍarīkasthaṃ śāstraikagamyaṃ jātavedasam* "le grand feu à l'intérieur du cœur, le feu qui se trouve dans le lotus du cœur, feu connaissable par le seul *śāstra*".

[87] Sanskrit *praṇava*, nom de la syllabe *oṃ*.

[88] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "*Oum*, Dieu lui-même, est cette chaleur, forme, cause de la chaleur naturelle (*herarat*) qui est au milieu du cœur".

attirée (et) qu'il a gardée ... [?] le dise jusqu'à quatre vingts fois, et lorsque [*au-dessus de la ligne*: comme] il fait arriver l'execution, autant qu'il peut il (le) dise. et au tems de faire passer l'haleine, que du nombril l'ayant portée en haut par la voye du né la fasse passer:

Oportet quòd, ille *maschghoul*, primùm *Oum* ut intellexit, cum *Oum* (τῷ *Oum*) *maschghouli* ut fecit, (*sic*) fecerit: et in tempore τοῦ *maschghouli*, in uno halitu attracto, (*quem*) servatum habuit (*retinuit*), usquè ad octoginta vice (*vicibus*) id [τὸ *Oum*] dicat; et quandò [hanc] praxim [cum perfectione (*ad perfectionem*)] facit pervenire (*ad finem perducit*), quâlibet quantitate quòd potest, dicat[89].

Et in tempore τοῦ facere transire halitum, ex umbilico cum suprà (*desuper*) ut tulit, è viâ nasûs faciat transire.

tiryag ūrdhvam adho dṛṣṭīr vinivārya mahāmatiḥ I
sthirasthāyī viniṣkampaḥ sadā yogaṃ samabhyasyet II 22 II

«Que le sage, s'abstenant des regards par côtés, en haut et en bas, se tenant immobile, sans trembler, pratique sans cesse le yoga». 22.

Et le maschgoul qui est intelligent, il faut que il ne porte pas la vue en haut et en bas et à droite et à gauche, et ne balance pas les membres et étant sans mouvement il s'asseye:

Et ille *maschghoul*, quòd intelligens est, oportet, quòd intuitum cum suprà et infrà, et (*ad*) dextram et (*ad*) sinistram non faciat; et membra non nutare faciat (*non moveat, agitet*), et sine motu factus sedeat.

tālā mātrā tathāyāmo dhāraṇā yojanaṃ tathā I

«La friction [des souffles], la durée [du souffle], son contrôle, sa fixation, son union [à l'objet] [doivent être maîtrisés[90]]».

[89] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "Étonnant que par la pratique assidue on puisse en venir à un point où dans l'espace d'une respiration maintenue *Oum* puisse être prononcé 80 fois, et qu'ainsi 80 moments puissent s'écouler: mais la vraie nature du *maschghouli*, c'est-à-dire la préparation de la méditation religieuse, est la rétention du souffle, le cœur étant attaché à une seule chose, à savoir l'*âtma*, Dieu suprême, avec qui il est enjoint de se savoir un".

[90] Śaṅkarānanda ajoute cette clause comme intention de l'auteur: *ete pañca bhedāḥ śikṣaṇīyā iti tātparyārthaḥ.*

ces cinq choses il faut qu'il prenne toujours à agir [*au-dessus de la ligne*: à usage, ...(?)]; l'une garder la respiration [*au-dessus de la ligne*: haleine]; la seconde une quantité [*au-dessus de la ligne*: quelque tems] garder (retenir) l'haleine; la 3e, mesure [*au-dessus de la ligne*: terme] du [*au-dessus de la ligne*: attirer aspirer le vent (?)] et mesure du faire passer l'haleine; la quatrieme, garder le cœur dans une chose; la cinquieme, savoir le djiv atma (être) un seul lieu (le même) avec le Pram atma[91];

Has quinque (5) rem (*res*) oportet quòd semper τὸ adhibere sumat (*agendas suscipiat*): una, servatum habere halitum: secunda, quantitate (*temporis*) servatum habere halitum: tertia, terminus (*mensura*, τὸ *quantum*) τοῦ attrahere, et terminus τοῦ facere transire halitum: quarta, cor in unâ re (*ligatum*) servatum habere: quinta, τὸν *djiw âtma* cum *pram âtma* uno loco (*unum*) scire:

dvādaśamātro yogas tu kālato niyamaḥ smṛtaḥ || 23 ||
aghoṣam avyañjanam asvaraṃ ca yad
atālukaṇṭham ananunāsikaṃ ca yat |
arephajātam ubhayoṣmavarjitaṃ
yat tad akṣaraṃ na kṣarate kadācit || 24 ||
yenāsau paśyate mārgaṃ prāṇas tena hi gacchati |

«Un yoga de douze unités est traditionnellement connu comme la limitation en temps». 23.

«Ce qui est autre que sonore, autre que consonne et autre que voyelle, qui est hors du palais et de la gorge, et autre que nasal, qui est autre que le groupe de *r*, dépourvu des deux types de spirantes, cet impérissable ne se détruit jamais». 24.

«Par la [conscience de cet impérissable, l'esprit] voit un chemin; par là va le souffle».

et au commencement du maschghouli jusqu'à douze fois prononcer oum il garde la respiration ou dans un tel maschghouli (ou) il retient [*au-dessus de la ligne*: de retenir] la respiration il fasse arriver [*au-dessus de la*

[91] Cette idée de jonction du *jīvātman* avec le *paramātman* rend le terme *yojanam* "action de joindre", et développe l'idée. Cela diffère de l'interprétation de Śaṅkarānanda qui lit cette énumération dans le seul contexte de la méditation avec rétention du souffle et interprète la jonction comme étant celle du souffle avec le feu etc. (*yojanam agnyādibhiḥ saṃbandhakaraṇaṃ vāyoḥ*).

ligne: médite en se figurant] à Porno que il est exempt de différentes lettres et sons[92], étant sans défauts, et avec la lumiere de lui[93] on peut le voir, et lui est donnant mouvement au Pran:

Et in initio τοῦ *maschghouli*, usquè ad (*tempus* τοῦ) duodecim (12) vice (*vicibus*) pronunciare *Oum*, halitum servatum habeat (*retineat*):

Et in hujusmodi *maschghouli* retentionis halitûs, cogitatione repræsentatum sibi τὸ *pranou* faciat; quòd diversis litterâ et sono (*litteris et sonis*) immune est, et sine defectu est, et cum lumine ejus (*ei proprio*) id potestas vidit (*possunt videre*), et motum dans τῷ *pran* id est.

atas tam abhyasen nityaṃ yan mārgagamanāya vai || 25 ||

«Qu'il pratique donc toujours cette [prise de conscience de l'impérissable] pour aller par ce chemin». 25.

Pour cette raison, pour aller la voye vraie et l'existence [*au-dessus de la ligne*: de l'etre] universelle[94], que toujours il execute la meditation [*au-dessus de la ligne*: penser en se figurant] à l'être universelle.

[92] Les traductions regroupent en une seule phrase les demi-strophes 23b et 25a, n'ayant de la strophe 24 entière que la mention "exempt de différentes lettres et sons". Les auteurs de l'édition moderne du texte persan ont jugé dans une note qu'il y avait là une lacune. Mais s'agit-il d'une lacune? La strophe 24 contient en fait une énumération des différentes classes de phonèmes du sanskrit. Le système phonétique du persan est différent et les termes techniques du système sanskrit ne s'y appliquent guère. Dārā Šukōh n'avait pas en persan de vocabulaire technique correspondant au sanskrit, et n'avait peut-être pas trouvé d'intérêt à transposer dans sa langue le déploiement approprié au seul sanskrit. L'idée de l'absence de lettres et sons lui suffisait dans le présent contexte. En tant que traducteur, il sortait l'objet principal de l'Upaniṣad, à savoir l'exercice mystique, de son contexte sanskrit, pour lui donner une dimension plus universelle.

[93] Śaṅkarānanda interprète cette stance difficile comme explicitant ce que procure la méditation sur le prolongement insonore de *oṃ* à l'issue de la récitation lors du contrôle du souffle. La conscience de cet élément impérissable, sans sons, etc., est issue d'elle-même, n'est pas le résultat d'une autre lumière projetée sur elle. Elle est sa propre lumière (*svayaṃprakāśa*). Elle éclaire aussi le chemin que le souffle va suivre. L'expression "avec la lumière de lui, *ei proprio*" est sans doute la trace de cette interprétation de Śaṅkarānanda.

[94] Dans le texte de l'Upaniṣad comportant la leçon *yan mārgagamanāya* et dans le commentaire de Śaṅkarānanda qui connaît cette seule leçon, il est question du chemin du souffle uniquement. Il semble ici que les traducteurs aient utilisé un texte où apparaissait la leçon *sanmārgagamanāya*, attestée dans le texte commenté par Nārāyaṇa et le manuscrit édité par Weber. La traduction latine reprend le mot persan *hasti* "être" employé par Dārā Šukōh. Ce mot en persan signifie précisément l'être absolu, inconditionnel, plutôt que l'existence universelle dont parle Anquetil.

Ex hoc respectu (*quamobrem*), propter τὸ ire viâ veri et *hasti* (*existentiæ, Entis*) universalis, semper executionem cogitationis repræsentativæ Entis universalis faciat.

hṛddvāraṃ vāyudvāraṃ ca mūrdhadvāraṃ tathāparam |
mokṣamārgabilaṃ caiva suṣiraṃ maṇḍalaṃ viduḥ || 26 ||

«Il y a la porte du cœur, la porte du souffle, la porte de la tête et, autre, l'ouverture de la voie de la délivrance que les sages connaissent comme un disque perforé». 26.

La porte du <u>Pran</u> est un trou au milieu du cœur et la veine sak'hemna[95], et (est) le trou qui est au cerveau et autres; cette porte voye du bonheur est semblable à un pont qui soit fait trou: on appele pont fait trou (celui) qui dans la terre fait descendre [*au-dessus de la ligne*: descend] en bas et est la maison des animaux; et comme la voye du bonheur est descendre en bas dans soi même, pour cette raison pont [(est) *a été raturé*; *au-dessus de la ligne*: on dit un pont] ordonné, que le Pran du savant, au tems de passer le corps, descend dans le trou du cœur.

Janua τοῦ *pran*, foramen in medio cordis est, et vena *sak'hemna* est, et foramen quod in cerebro est, et alia.

Illa janua, via liberationis (*absolutæ*), similis ponti est, quòd foramen factus sit.

Pontem foramen factum (*illum*) dicunt, quòd in terram (*fossam*) infrà iverit, et domus animalium est; et quandoquidem via liberationis (*absolutæ*), τὸ infrà ire (*descendere*) in seipsum est; ex hoc respectu (*idcircò*) pons mandata (*dicta*); quòd *pran* docti, tempore τοῦ facere transire (*deserere*) corpus, in foramen cordis infrà eat (*descendat*)[96].

bhayaṃ krodham athālasyam atisvapnātijāgaram |
atyāhāram anāhāraṃ nityaṃ yogī vivarjayet || 27 ||

[95] Mot sanskrit, *suṣumnā*, nom d'un vaisseau allant de la base du tronc à une fontanelle dans la conception tantrique et yogique du corps.

[96] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "Au temps de la mort, le *pran* de l'homme juste, par la porte qu'est la veine *sak'hemna* et l'orifice fait dans la tête, sort vers le haut. Mais, en vérité, la vraie voie de la libération, chez le sage, est de descendre en soi-même, dans son propre cœur, ce qui se fait, en tirant le *pran* depuis la tête, par l'orifice ou pont, vers le bas, vers l'intérieur".

«Le yogin doit toujours éviter la peur, la colère, la paresse, l'excès de sommeil et de veille, l'excès et le défaut de nourriture». 27.

Et le Salek il faut que ces choses toujours il fasse passer; l'une la crainte; la seconde, la colère; une autre la paresse; une autre beaucoup de sommeil et beaucoup de veille; et une autre manger beaucoup, et renoncer beaucoup de manger.

Et ὁ *salek*[97] oportet, quòd has res semper transire faciat (*relinquat*): una, timor: secunda, ira: altera, pigritia (*lentor*, *tepor*): alia, somnus multus, et vigilia multa: et alia, edere multum, et derelictio τοῦ comedere multa.

anena vidhinā samyaṅ nityam abhyasyataḥ[98] kramāt |
svayam utpadyate jñānaṃ tribhir māsair na saṃśayaḥ || 28 ||
caturbhiḥ paśyate devān pañcabhir vitatakramaḥ |
icchayāpnoti kaivalyaṃ ṣaṣṭhe māsi na saṃśayaḥ || 29[99] ||

«Chez celui qui pratique parfaitement et constamment selon cette procédure, graduellement la connaissance naît d'elle-même au bout de trois mois, il n'y a pas de doute». 28.

«Au bout de quatre, il voit les dieux; au bout de cinq, il est omniscient; il obtient la délivrance à son gré au bout de six mois, il n'y a pas de doute». 29.

Quiconque les opérations [*au-dessus de la ligne*: pratiques; *en marge*: ms. du R. ... cette quantité de pratiques] qui ont été mentionnées, jusqu'à trois mois ne fait pas oubliées, lui-même en lui-même à lui état donnera visage [*au-dessus de la ligne*: sera en cet état / il lui arrivera], que de cet état dans le quatrieme mois les fereschtahs[100] viendront à sa vue, c'est a dire le Malkout

[97] Persan, "ascète, mystique". Voir str. 6 où *sulūk* est employé pour le *yoga*.

[98] Ms. Adyar: abhyasataḥ.

[99] Ms. Adyar omet la strophe 29.

[100] Persan, *firišteh* "ange". Le mot de l'Upaniṣad est *deva* "dieu" que Śaṅkarānanda glose par *khecara* dit d'êtres intermédiaires entre hommes et dieux circulant dans le firmament intermédiaire entre terre et ciel. *Malakūt* est le monde céleste où vivent les anges. *Malakī*, utilisé pour rendre *vitatakrama*, signifie "royal" ou "angélique" et c'est ce dernier sens qu'Anquetil rappelle entre parenthèses. Śaṅkarānanda interprétait *vitatakrama* comme référant à l'élargissement de la conscience jusqu'à l'omniscience. Cet itinéraire yogique a sans doute été rapproché par Dārā Šukōh de la voie des états psychiques, veille, rêve, sommeil profond et quatrième état de la *Māṇḍūkya-Upaniṣad*, où il reconnaît la hiérarchie soufie de quatre mondes, *nāsūt*, *malakūt*, *jabarūt* et *lādhūt*. Voir le *Majma' al-Bahrayn* et sa conception du *malakūt*, monde des âmes célestes, miroir et voie d'accès du monde des

sur lui sera ouvert; et dans le cinquieme mois lui-même aussi fera arriver ensemble toutes les qualités malki (angeliques); et au sixieme mois lui même en lui même ayant obtenu un bonheur pur devient forme de l'être: dans cette parole il n'y a ni doute ni hésitation [*au-dessus de la ligne*: soupçon].

Quisquis hanc praxim, quòd memoratum fit, usquè (*per*) tres (3) menses repulsam non facit, ipse cum seipso, ei status vultum dabit (*eo statu erit*), quòd, ex illo statu, in mense quarto, οἱ *Fereschtehha* cum intuitu (*in conspectum*) ejus ingrediantur; id est, τὸ *malkout* super eum apertum fiat: et in mense quinto (5), ipse etiam omnes qualitates angelicas simul faciat provenire (*adipiscatur*): et in mense sexto (6), ipse cum seipso, liberationem (*absolutam*) puram ut obtinuit, forma entis fiat[101].
In hoc verbo ullum dubium et (*ulla*) suspicio non est.

pārthivaḥ pañcamātraḥ syāc caturmātras tu vāruṇaḥ |
āgneyas tu trimātro hi[102] vāyavyas tu[103] dvimātrakaḥ || 30 ||

«Que [le yoga] de la terre soit de cinq mesures, celui de l'eau de quatre mesures, celui du feu de trois mesures, celui du vent de deux mesures». 30.

Dans le Selouk, que on fait maschghouli à Porno, si on fait maschghouli avec cinq matrai du Porno le maschghouli obtient la maniere de la terre, que la terre aussi a cinq qualités, qui sont couleur et gout et odeur et toucher et son; et Porno aussi à cinq matrai.

Intelligences-archétypes, mis en correspondance avec l'état de rêve des philosophes indiens (Corbin 1986: 297; Shayegan 1997: 33, 127).

[101] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "Ces sept choses, à savoir la peur, la colère, la tiédeur, le sommeil long, les veilles trop nombreuses, la nourriture abondante, fréquente ou les festins, l'excès de jeûne, troublent l'homme, le portent hors de lui, ou nuisent à l'activité de son esprit: y renoncer établit une égalité parfaite dans le corps et l'âme; en quoi il y a le vrai repos, la libération parfaite du *djiw âtma* pour ainsi dire lié à elles sur terre et leur esclave.

Maintenir la modération en tout est la mort du fanatisme. La vraie spiritualité des Indiens est telle que, si pratique en est faite pendant trois, 4, 5 mois, au sixième mois l'homme devient la forme de l'être même, c'est-à-dire le *djiw âtma* devient *âtma*.

Quand donc le *djogui*, le *saniasi*, tel un aveugle, qui ne voit ni ne sent rien, ou tel un aliéné, apparaît étaler un extérieur puéril, mais non affaibli ni brisé par les mortifications et le jeûne, lorsque son immersion en Dieu est absolue, maintenant son corps dans la torpeur, on dirait que ce genre de quasi-démence est prolongé".

[102] Ms. Adyar: trimātro [']tha.

[103] Ms. Adyar: tad.

Si on fait maschghouli avec quatre matrai (du Porno) il obtient la maniere du maschghouli de l'eau; que l'eau hors (sans) l'odeur a les quatre autres qualités que la terre a; dans le Porno aussi quatre matra demeurent.

et si avec trois matrai on fait maschghouli à Porno, on obtient la maniere du feu; que le feu, hors [*au-dessus de la ligne*: sans) l'odeur et le gout, a les trois autres qualités qui sont dans la terre; et dans Porno aussi trois matra demeurent.

et si avec deux matra on fait maschghouli à Porno, le maschghouli obtient la maniere du vent; que le vent a deux qualités, qui sont le toucher et le son; et dans le Porno aussi deux matra demeurent.

In τῷ *selouk*, quòd cum *pranou* (τῷ *pranou*) *maschghouli* (*homo*) facit, si cum quinque (5) *matraï* (τῷ) *pranou maschghouli* facit, *maschghouli* modo (τοῦ *maschghouli*) terræ obtinet: quòd, terra etiam quinque qualitatem (*qualitates*) habet; quòd, color, et gustus, et odor, et tactus, et vox (*sonus*) sit: et *pranou* etiam quinque *matraï* habet.

Si cum quatuor *matraï* (τῷ) *pranou maschghouli* facit, modum τοῦ *maschghouli* aquæ obtinet: quòd aqua, secùs ab (*excepto*) odore, quatuor qualitates alias quòd terra habuit (*habet*), habet: in *pranou* etiam quatuor *matra* manent[104].

Et si cum tribus (3) *matraï* (τῷ) *pranou maschghouli* facit, modum ignis obtinet: quòd ignis, secùs ab odore et gustu, et tres (3) qualitates alias habet, quòd in terrâ fuit (*est*), habet: et in *pranou* etiam tria (3) *matra* manent.

Et si cum duobus *matraï* (τῷ) *pranou maschghouli* facit, *maschghouli* modo venti obtinet: quòd ventus duas qualitates habet, quòd tactus et vox (*sonus*) sit: et in *pranou* etiam duo *matra* manent.

ekamātras tathākāśo hy amātraṃ tu vicintayet |
saṃdhiṃ kṛtvā tu manasā cintayed ātmanātmani || 31 ||

«celui de l'espace d'une seule mesure. Que [le yogin] médite sur ce qui est sans mesure. Après avoir fait en esprit les rites des jonctions du jour, qu'il médite [sur ce qui est sans mesure] par lui-même en soi-même». 31.

[104] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "En raison du nombre des lettres, mis en relation avec les qualités sensibles des cinq éléments, lettres que l'homme exprime en prononçant *Oum*, le *maschghouli* acquiert la vertu, la manière d'un élément: ainsi toujours les opérations spirituelles de l'Indien sont jointes aux parties, même matérielles, de la nature".

Et si avec un matrai on fait maschghoul à Porno[105] le maschghouli obtient la maniere du Bhout akasch; que le Bhout akasch même a une qualité le son; et dans Porno aussi un matrai demeure.

et dans ce degré que le matrai ne renferme pas et si on pense avec attention à cela, [*au-dessus de la ligne*: a lui] et le même penser lui [*au-dessus de la ligne*: a lui] avec attention dans le cœur, est le sandhia[106], qui est prière; que lui meme connait lui meme, étant maschghoul à soi même ceci même est sandhia.

Et si cum uno *matraï* (τῷ) *pranou maschghouli* facit, *maschghouli* modo τοῦ *bhout âkasch* obtinet; quòd, *bhout âkasch* ipsam hanc unam qualitatem vocis (*soni*) habet[107]: et in *pranou* etiam unum *matraï* manet.

Et in illo gradu, quòd (*in eo*) *matraï* non continetur, et si recogitationem illius facit; et ipsum hoc τὸ recogitare id (*de eo*) in corde, *sandhia* est[108]; quòd precatio sit.

Seipsum quòd ipse scit, et cum seipso (*sibi ipsi*) *maschghoul* sit, ipsum hoc *sandhia* est.

triṃśatpārthāṅgulaḥ[109] prāṇo yatra prāṇaḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ |
eṣa prāṇa iti khyāto bāhyaḥ[110] prāṇasya gocaraḥ || 32 ||

«Le souffle [respiratoire se meut] dans trente doigts; là où ce souffle est placé, est [le soi] appelé "souffle", étranger [au premier], champ de [ce premier] souffle». 32.

[105] Voir le manuscrit d'Anquetil pl. IV.

[106] Cette traduction repose sur la lecture connue de Śaṅkarānanda *saṃdhiṃ* au lieu de *siddhiṃ* dans la version commentée par Nārāyaṇa, ainsi que sur le commentaire de Śaṅkarānanda qui glose *saṃdhiṃ* par *saṃdhyāvandanādi karma* "les rites de salutation de jonction du jour etc.".

[107] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "De là suit que le *Bhout âkasch* qui ne possède pas le toucher, comme le vent, mais le seul son, est un air très subtil transmettant le son; ce qui est communément attribué au fezza". *Fezza* mot persan, *fażāh* "espace céleste".

[108] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "Le degré dans lequel aucune *matraï* n'est contenue, est le son nasal qui termine le nom *Oum*".

Vraie signification de la *sandhia*, prière en forme de *rosaire*, de matine. *Mahabar*. 12 porb. 2 part. fol. 547 v. fol. 633 r.

En sanskrit *sandeha*, être beau". *Sandeha*, peut-être sanskrit *sad-deha* "bon corps".

[109] Ms. Adyar: °*parvāṃgulaḥ. parvāṃgulaḥ*.

[110] Ms. Adyar: *bāhya-*.

Prenant du derrière (le fondement) avec [*au-dessus de la ligne*: a] l'extremité de la poitrine et le commencement du cou[111] qui est la quantité [*au-dessus de la ligne*: étendue] de trente doigts du milieu[112], le Prani qui est au milieu de ceci, le djivatma est dans lui; on appele ce même Djivatma Pran; on appele la respiration de cela, Pran, que le Djivatma lui donne mouvement.

È podice sumptum cum extremitate (*usquè ad extremitatem*) pectoris, et initio gutturis, quòd, quantitas triginta (30) digitorum mediorum est[113], *prani*, quòd in medio hujus (*spatii*) est, *djiw âtma* in eo sit (*est*).
Ipsum hunc *djiw âtma*, *pran* dicunt.
Halitum etiam ex illo, *pran* dicunt, quòd, *djiw âtma* ei motum dat[114].

aśītiś ca śataṃ caiva sahasrāṇi trayodaśa |
lakṣaś caiko 'pi niḥśvāso ahorātrapramāṇataḥ || 33 ||

«Cent treize mille cent quatre-vingts est le souffle dans la mesure d'un nycthémère». 33.

Vingt et un mille et six cent fois, est la quantité numeraire du mouvement du vent Pran, qui est frapper l'haleine [*au-dessus de la ligne*: respirer]; et cette même quantité de mouvement le vent apana; et cette même quantité de mouvement le vent advana; {et la même quantité de mouvement le vent samana}; et la même quantité de mouvement le vent biana: et les autres

[111] Cette localisation est donnée d'après le commentaire de Śaṅkarānanda: *ādhāracakram ārabhya hayavadgrīvāyāṃ kṛtāyām*.

[112] Cette traduction est fondée sur la leçon *pārthāṅgulaḥ* de la version connue de Śaṅkarānanda et sur son commentaire, *madhyamāṅgula-* "doigts médians".

[113] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "Il s'agit ici de la largeur du doigt médian, qui, puisque les Indiens ont généralement la main (et par conséquent les doigts) moins large et grande que celle des Européens, peut donner, le médian étant supposé de neuf lignes au plus, 270 lignes, soit 22 pouces six lignes, c'est-à-dire 1 pied 10 pouces six lignes; et c'est la longueur depuis le fondement jusqu'au commencement de la gorge chez un homme de cinq pieds et deux ou trois pouces; ce qui, certes, est la taille commune des Indiens (je l'ai observé dans mon voyage)".

[114] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "Clef du système indien. Le *djiw âtma* est le *pran*; et ils appellent le souffle '*pran*' ou '*djiw âtma*' à partir du fait que c'est lui qui le meut. Tout ce qui communique le mouvement, la vie à autre chose, est appelé le soi-même, l'action sur un autre d'entre des êtres séparés supposant l'intelligence, et tout être possédant une intelligence pour lui-même seulement".

mouvemens, cause de prendre dans les autres veines [*en marge*: ms. du R. … qui a cause d'aller dans les autres veines]. que de les cinq vents [*au-dessus de la ligne*: les autres veines reçoivent le mouvement]{, avec le mouvement de ces cinq vents} rassemblés, un lak et treize mille et cent et quatre vingt fois les vents dans le corps pendant la nuit et jour font mouvement[115].

Viginta et unum mille et sex centum vicis (*sexcentæ vices*), quantitas numeri motûs *pran venti* est[116]; quòd halitum percutere (*respirare*) sit.

Et ipsam hanc quantitatem motûs, *apan* ventus habet: et ipsam hanc quantitatem motûs, *advan* ventus habet: et ipsam hanc quantitatem motûs, *saman* ventus habet: et ipsam hanc quantitatem motûs, *bian* ventus habet.

Et motus alii, causâ[117] quòd τοῦ ire in venas alias (*eo quòd eant in venas alias*), quòd ex his quinque (5) ventis fiat, cum motu illorum quinque ventorum collecti, unum *lak* (*centum millia*) et tredecim millia, et unum centum, et octoginta (113,180) vicis (*vices sunt quibus*) hi venti, in corpore, in nocte-die, motum faciunt.

prāṇa ādyo hṛdi sthāne apānas tu punar gude |
samāno nābhideśe tu udānaḥ kaṇṭham āśritaḥ || 34 ||
vyānaḥ sarveṣu cāṅgeṣu āvṛtas tiṣṭhate sadā |

«Le souffle vers l'avant, premier, est dans le cœur; le souffle vers le bas est dans l'anus; le souffle égal est dans la région du nombril; le souffle vers le haut a son siège dans la gorge.» 34.

«Le souffle diffus se tient toujours dans le corps entier enveloppé».

le vent Pran qui est le premier, est dans la poitrine; et le vent apan est dans le fondement; et le vent saman est dans le nombril; et le vent advan est dans le gosier; et le vent bian est parcourant toujours le corps entier.

[115] La version connue de Śaṅkarānanda donne le nombre 113.180, l'autre 113.680. La traduction repose donc sur la première. Elle suit aussi pas à pas l'analyse propre de Śaṅkarānanda, et le compte de 21.600 pour chacun des cinq souffles, *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *vyāna*, *udāna*, *samāna*, qu'elle énumère avec une légère différence dans l'ordre des trois derniers (*udāna*, *samāna*, *vyāna*). Voir n. 116.

[116] Note d'Anquetil en bas de page: "Si le jour et la nuit de 24 heures, ou 60 *gueri*, sont divisés en minutes, le mouvement respiratoire étant supposé avoir lieu 21.600 fois, il se fera quinze fois par minute." *Gueri* est un mot *hindī* (*ghaṛī*) désignant une durée de 24 minutes.

[117] Note d'Anquetil en bas de page: "*Sabab guerestan*. Erreur de scribe. *Ms*. nat. *ke be sabab raftan dar reghaï diguer…*".

Pran ventus, quòd primùm est, in pectore sit: et *âpan* ventus, in podice sit: et *saman* ventus, in umbilico sit: et *advan* ventus, in gutture sit: et *bian* ventus, semper totum corpus circùm complexus factus (*ambiens*, *pervadens*) sit.

atha varṇās tu pañcānāṃ prāṇādīnām anukramāt || 35 ||
raktavarṇamaṇiprakhyaḥ prāṇo vāyuḥ prakīrtitaḥ |
apānas tasya madhye tu indragopasya saṃnibhaḥ || 36 ||
samānas tasya madhye ca gokṣīrasphaṭikaprabhaḥ |
āpāṇḍura udānaś ca vyāno hy arciḥsamaprabhaḥ || 37 ||

«Maintenant les couleurs des cinq [souffles], souffle vers l'avant, etc., selon leur ordre». 35.

«Le souffle vers l'avant est bien connu comme semblable à une pierre précieuse rouge; le souffle vers le bas, au milieu du précédent, est semblable à la cochenille»; 36.

«le souffle égal, au milieu du précédent, a l'éclat du cristal et du lait de vache; le souffle vers le haut est légèrement pâle; le souffle diffus a un éclat semblable à la flamme». 37.

Et les couleurs de ces cinq vents sont celles qui sont dites: le vent Pran est de la couleur de l'iakout (rubis)[118]; le vent apan qui est au milieu du vent Pran est de la couleur du Bherbhouti[119]; et le vent saman qui est au milieu de l'apan est de la couleur du cristal et du lait de vache; et le vent advan qui est dans le saman est de la couleur du sandal[120]; et le vent bian qui est dans le corps entier, est de la couleur de la flamme du feu.

Et colores horum quinque ventorum, hoc est, quòd dictum fiat: *pran* ventus, cum colore *ïakout* (*carbunculi*) est: *apan* ventus, quòd in medio

[118] Persan *yāqūt*, "hyacinthe, rubis". En fait le sanskrit *raktavarṇamaṇi* signifie littéralement "pierre précieuse de couleur rouge". Śaṅkarānanda parle du corail (*pravāla*) dans sa glose.

[119] Transcription d'un mot sanskrit, probablement *varṣābhūti* "dont la naissance est à la saison des pluies". *Varṣābhū* "qui naît à la saison des pluies" est attesté dans le *Rāja-nighaṇṭu* comme synonyme de *indragopa* (voir *Śabdakalpadruma*); ce serait un nom de la cochenille, connue pour sa couleur rouge.

[120] Le texte de l'Upaniṣad mentionne la couleur blanche, *āpāṇḍura*, littéralement "pâle" de façon générale, et Śaṅkarānanda n'ajoute pas d'interprétation particulière. L'image du santal appartient à la seule traduction. C'est en fait la pâte de santal qui est de couleur blanchâtre.

pran venti sit, cum colore τοῦ *bherbhouti* est: et *saman* ventus, quòd in medio *apan* venti sit, cum colore crystalli et lactis feminæ bovis est: et *advan* ventus, quòd in [medio] *saman* [venti] sit, *ssandal* colore est: et *bian* ventus, quòd in toto corpore est, cum colore flammæ ignis est.

yasyaitan maṇḍalaṃ bhittvā māruto yāti mūrdhataḥ ǀ
yatra tatra mriyetāpi na sa bhūyo 'bhijāyate
na sa bhūyo 'bhijāyata iti ǁ 38 ǁ

«Celui dont le souffle est sorti de la tête en brisant le cercle [de la fontanelle], en quelque lieu qu'il meure, il ne renaît pas, il ne renaît pas». 38.

Le Pran du milieu du corps entier, ayant ouvert le cerveau sort (par là); dans quelque terre qu'il meure à lui n'est pas besoin de terre bénie, de nouveau lui ne prend pas existence apparente.

Pran cujusvis, quòd, è medio totius corporis, cerebrum ut aperuit, supervenit (*illàc exit*), in qualibet terrâ quòd moriatur, ei opus (*indigentia*) cum terrâ benedictâ (τοῦ *Benarès*)[121] non est: rursùs is existentiam apparentem non sumit.

ity atharvavede 'mṛtanādopaniṣat samāptā ǁ
«Ainsi s'achève l'*Amṛtanādopaniṣad* dans l'*Atharvaveda*».

est achevé l'Oupnek'hat Anbrat nad (tiré) de l'Athrban Beid.
Absolutum est *Oupnek'hat* ANBRAT NAD, *ex Athrban Beid* (*desumptum*).

[121] Note d'Anquetil en appendice: "Les cinq vents sont estimés accomplir leur action par la veine *sak'hemna*, durant un jour et une nuit 108.000 fois et dans les autres veines 5.180 fois.

Il n'est pas étonnant que la nature, la localisation des vents du corps soient expliquées avec tant de détail, que même une couleur leur soit donnée, puisque la vie est née du vent, est conservée par lui, et puisque par le vent *pran* sortant de sa tête, l'homme mourant, comme s'il avait achevé sa vie sur la terre de Bénarès, n'est pas forcé de revenir en ce monde et d'y subir des métamorphoses diverses avec les maux, les anxiétés, les durs labeurs, les tourments qui les accompagnent, mais jouit tout de suite de la béatitude.

Bherbhouti. En sanskrit, *Bhâryâha*, genre de grain penchant vers le noir. *Bhoutihi*, cendre, poussière: d'où couleur noir-cendré".

Une fois de plus Anquetil a été trompé par la transcription persane et n'a pu retrouver l'original *varṣābhūti*. *Bhoutihi* doit être le sanskrit *bhūti* qui a, entre autres, le sens de "cendres". Nous ne pouvons identifier le terme *bhâryâha*.

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که عنصر لطیفه روح را فانی کشیده اند در ضبط خود در آورده نفی آنها را کشیده تا جائی منتهای رسیدن

این لا اله را از اوهام ساخته بران گذشته است بانجا رسیده و آن زمان لا اله الا الله

و لا موجود الا الله این ذکر [illegible] الله عین عالم ذات [illegible] حرف [illegible] بدان در کثیف و

لطیف و الطف باشد هر سه مرتبه لا اله مجموع مرتبه عناصر کثیف و مجمع عناصر لطیف باشد

و مرتبه الوهیت باشد اینهمه سالک گذاشته بمرتبه بزرگی در دو حرف و صوت نگنجد و لفظ

محض است از آن لفظ تا بذات الطف میرسد شش [illegible] اللهم سلوک است از جمله

یکی [illegible] است در ضبط حواس ظاهر و باطنی باشد دیگری و همان است که تصور باشد و

دیگری [illegible] است که حبس نفس باشد و دیگری [illegible] است که [illegible] حاجت باشد

دیگری ترک است یعنی [illegible] موافق کتاب الله باشد و از آن [illegible] حاصل [illegible] و دیگر [illegible]

در استغراق باشد از حبس نفس چنانچه [illegible] آنچه است [illegible] و

آنرا سوخته طلا و نقره خالص [illegible] قیمت [illegible] از حبس نفس [illegible] حواس

[illegible] بطرف [illegible] و از حبس نفس [illegible] حواس [illegible]

[illegible] است [illegible] و در اندیشه آنوات روشن باشد و حبس نفس

سه قسم است یکی کشیدن نفس [illegible] گویند دوم نگاهداشتن نفس [illegible] گویند

سیوم گذاشتن نفس [illegible] گویند و [illegible] نگاهداشتن نفس [illegible] توانند [illegible] توحید

در [illegible] است میکرده باشد این [illegible] حبس نفس میگویند و گذاشتن نفس [illegible]

نفس [illegible] از درون کشیده به بیرون [illegible] برآید [illegible]

برآید

Planche I.

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فراموش شود بداند که دو ماه مانده است لفظ اوروهلنکم که فراموش شود

بداند که یکماه مانده است ولفظ درباجهنم که فراموش شود بداند که پانزده

روز مانده است ولفظ پشرویم که فراموش شود بداند که سه روز باقی مانده است　　ازعمر او باقیمانده است

ولفظ نمونه که فراموش شود بداند که همان ساعت بمیرد تمام شد اپنکهت

مرت لابکول ازاتهربن بید اپنکهت جهارده ام اپنکهت انبسرت ناد

ازاتهرس بید ... اول علمها خوانده در خاطر داشته باشد

و مکرر مطالعه کرده و آفریدکار بزرگ را دانسته چنانچه چوب را روشن کرده

برای رفع تاریکی در دست میگیرند و وقتی که بمقصد میرسند از دست

میگذارند همچنین وقتی که بآفریدکار بزرگ میرسد علمها را که خوانده باشد بگذارد

وطریق رسیدن بمطلب اصل اینست که اوم را ارابه ساخته بران سوار شده

وبشن که صفت ربوبیت است روان کننده آرابه و خواهش یافتن برهم

لوک که عالم ذات و مطلوب همه است تصور نموده خواهش ظاهر و باطن را

که بمنزله رود رفانی کننده اند در ضبط خود در آورده یعنی آنها را کشته تا جایی که

Planche II.

77[illegible] Pranaiam c. d. p.

dehorna

tark

samadeh c. d. p. 11

(a) mq. d. A. dar dans

(b) eclypse manq. mq. d. A.

(c) parenth. manq. mq. d. A.

Bourak mq. d. A. [illegible]

(d) et manq. mq. d. A.

(e) Kinhak ou k'hink mq. d. A. k'hanik [illegible]

Veitschak mq. d. A. [illegible]

(f) mq. d. A. dar oum ast, est dans oum

(g) qui manq. mq. d. A.

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; et une autre est Pranaiam, qui
est retenir la respiration. et une au
tre dit dehorna, qui est lier le cœ
ur à quelque chose de particulier. et une
autre est tark c'est à dire l'argu
mentation qui est [illegible] aultre
divin, [illegible]
acquise ; et une autre est samadeh,
qui est être noyé [illegible] la respiration de la
respiration, ainsi que la terre qui est
mêlée avec des choses de mines, qui est
tirée de la mine [illegible] brulé
[illegible] brule
[illegible] l'eclypse [illegible]
ce que les [illegible]
la respiration il brule l'eclypse des sens
c'est à dire il ne va pas du côté mauvais.
[illegible] de la respiration il fait
bruler l'eclypse des sens, et dehorna
qui est lier le cœur à quelque chose de parti
culier ayant fait bruler les péchés, il
[illegible] dans la pensée [illegible]
[illegible] lumière. et retenir la respira-
tion est (de) trois espèces ; l'une [illegible]
ser l'haleine que on l'appelle Bou-
rak ; la seconde, garder l'hali
ne que on l'appelle Kinhak ; la
troisième [illegible] la respiration, que
on l'appelle Veitschak. et autant de
garder l'haleine autant qu'on peut
[illegible] du Kalmeh de l'unification
quand [illegible] oum est [illegible] on
appelle cela retenir l'haleine. [illegible]
[illegible] la respiration [illegible] manière
que ayant tiré l'haleine du dedans
[illegible] on la mette dehors, [illegible]
[illegible] qui a été prédit du Bhout
akasch il anéantit [illegible]
akasch : ceci est la manière de passer
la respiration. et la manière d'attirer

Planche III.

Planche IV.

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ĀSS 29 = *Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-Śaṃkarānanda-viracitadīpikāsametānām* [...] *Upaniṣadāṃ Samuccayaḥ*, Poona, 1895 (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, 29).

ĀSS 48 = *Aṅgiraḥ-prabhṛti-Baudhāyanāntānāṃ* [...] *Smṛtīnāṃ Samuccayaḥ*, Poona, 1929[2] (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, 48).

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Atrismṛti: voir ĀSS 48 (pp. 28-34).

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JOHANNES BRONKHORST, Lausanne

MĪMĀṂSĀ VERSUS VAIŚEṢIKA
Pārthasārathi and Kumārila on the Creation and Dissolution of the World*

In a recent publication Peri Sarveswara Sharma (1994: 60) draws attention to a passage in Pārthasārathi Miśra's commentary *Nyāyaratnākara* on Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Ślokavārttika*, where the former, so he claims, summarises the views of Praśastapāda, author of the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha*, better known as *Praśastapādabhāṣya*. Pārthasārathi's passage occurs under verse 66 of the chapter called "Sambandhākṣepaparihāra", and reads as follows[1]:

> *vaiśeṣikās tv āhuḥ: anādir ayaṃ sṛṣṭipralayapravāhaḥ, brāhmamānena varṣaśatānte bhagavato maheśvarasya samastajagatsaṃhārecchā bhavati, tadicchāvadīśvarātmasaṃyogāt paramāṇuṣu vibhāgakarmāṇy utpadyante, taiś ca sarveṣu mitho vibhakteṣu yāvad dvyaṇukaṃ sarvāvayavināśād paramāṇava eva kevalāḥ pārthivāpyataijasavāyavīyā vyomakāladigātmamanāṃsi cāvatiṣṭhante, dharmādharmāś ca tāvantaṃ kālam īśvarecchāpratibaddhāḥ phalam aprayacchantas teṣu teṣv ātmasv avatiṣṭhante, punas tāvati kāle gate tasyaiva bhagavataḥ karmopabhogaśūnyān ātmano dṛṣṭvā anukampāparavaśasya sisṛkṣā bhavati, tataḥ sisṛkṣāvadīśvarātmasaṃyogāt paramāṇuṣu karmotpattes tadvaśān mithaḥ saṃyuktais tair dvyaṇukādikrameṇa pṛthivyādaya ārabhyante, tatas tadicchāvaśād evāpagatapratibandhair abhivyaktasāmarthyair vividhaiḥ karmabhir vividhānekanarapaśvādibhedabhinnaṃ bhūtajātam ārabhyate, tataḥ sa eva maheśvaro dharmādharmapratipādanāya vedān sṛjati | tad evaṃ pratisargam anye 'nye ca vedāḥ, pravāhatas tu vedāḥ sṛṣṭipralayāś cānādayaḥ, kartā ca maheśvaro 'nādir eva, iha ca paramāṇūnām upādānatvān nānupādānatvaṃ sṛṣṭer iti |*

* I thank Gerdi Gerschheimer for help and advice.

[1] NyR 5.15.66, pp. 465-466.

Pārthasārathi does not say that he here summarises the views of Praśastapāda. It is however true that the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha* contains a passage which in its contents is close to the above one. The relevant parts of it read[2]:

ihedānīṃ caturṇāṃ mahābhūtānāṃ sṛṣṭisaṃhāravidhir ucyate | *brāhmeṇa mānena varṣaśatānte* [...] *maheśvarasya saṃjihīrṣāsamakālaṃ śarīrendriyamahābhūtopanibandhakānāṃ sarvātmagatānām adṛṣṭānāṃ vṛttinirodhe sati maheśvarecchātmāṇusaṃyogajakarmabhyaḥ śarīrendriyakāraṇāṇuvibhāgebhyas tatsaṃyoganivṛttau teṣām āparamāṇvanto vināśaḥ* | *tathā pṛthivyudakajvalanapavanānām api mahābhūtānām anenaiva krameṇottarasminn uttarasmin sati pūrvasya pūrvasya vināśaḥ* | *tataḥ pravibhaktāḥ paramāṇavo 'vatiṣṭhante dharmādharmasaṃskārānuviddhāś cātmānas tāvantam eva kālam* | *tataḥ punaḥ prāṇināṃ bhogabhūtaye maheśvarasisṛkṣānantaraṃ sarvātmagatavṛttilabdhādṛṣṭāpekṣebhyas tatsaṃyogebhyaḥ pavanaparamāṇuṣu karmotpattau teṣāṃ parasparasaṃyogebhyo dvyaṇukādiprakrameṇa mahān vāyuḥ samutpann[aḥ]* etc.

There can be no doubt that Pārthasārathi's account contains much that is also found in the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha*. It even looks as if Pārthasārathi misinterpreted a compound used by Praśastapāda. The latter's passage contains the ambiguous expression *maheśvarecchātmāṇusaṃyogajakarmabhyaḥ*. The part *maheśvarecchātmāṇusaṃyoga* means, according to the commentators: "the desire of God and contact (or: the contacts) between the souls and the atoms"[3]. The whole expression *maheśvarecchātmāṇusaṃyogajakarma-* must therefore mean: "movements arisen from the desire of God and contact between the souls and the atoms". Pārthasārathi's passage, on the other hand, has the phrase *tadicchāvadīśvarātmasaṃyogāt paramāṇuṣu vibhāgakarmāṇy utpadyante*: "movements of separation arise in the atoms as a result of contact between God characterised by that desire on the one hand and the souls on the other". It is hard to imagine that such a position was ever held by a Vaiśeṣika. But it is conceivable that this position was ascribed to the Vaiśeṣikas as a result of a careless reading of the ambiguous expression *maheśvarecchātmāṇusaṃyoga*. Grammatically this could mean "contact between the desire of

[2] WI pp. 9-10, §§ 57-58.

[3] Vy I p. 98, l. 3-4: *maheśvarecchā nimittakāraṇam, ātmanām aṇubhiḥ saṃyogaś ca asamavāyikāraṇam*; Ki p. 62, l. 8: *maheśvarecchayā sahitā ye ātmāṇusāṃyogāḥ*; Ny p. 136, l. 9: *maheśvarasyecchā cātmāṇusaṃyogāś ceti vigrahaḥ*.

God, the souls, and the atoms". As stated above, such an interpretation does not easily fit into Vaiśeṣika doctrine.

Do we have to conclude from all this that Pārthasārathi here summarises, i.e. reformulates in his own words, the passage from the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha*? Or did he have another source, which he perhaps quotes verbatim? It is to be observed that, in spite of the similarities, there are also some important differences between Pārthasārathi's passage and the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha*. It is known that the Vedāntin Śaṅkara was acquainted with a Vaiśeṣika account of the creation of the world different from that in the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha*, and which most probably belonged to the earlier, but now lost, *Kaṭandī* of Rāvaṇa[4]. Is it possible that Pārthasārathi, too, used that text?

This possibility can be discarded. Rāvaṇa's *Kaṭandī* did, to be sure, contain an account of the creation of the world (and probably one of its destruction), but one in which there was no place for a creator God. Indeed, Śaṅkara criticises it for this very reason. Praśastapāda may have been the first Vaiśeṣika author to introduce the notion of a creator (and destroyer) God.

What about Praśastapāda's *Ṭīkā* on the *Kaṭandī*, which has not been preserved either? Is it possible that Pārthasārathi used a Vaiśeṣika account of the creation and destruction of the world which he found in that text? Are the elements recorded by Pārthasārathi that have no parallels in the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha* to be explained as borrowings from Praśastapāda's *Ṭīkā*?

We will see that this too is highly improbable. Pārthasārathi attributes to the Vaiśeṣikas an idea which they are unlikely to have held. It is the idea that God interrupts the workings of karmic retribution at the time of cosmic dissolution, and ends this interruption at the time of renewed creation. We will discuss this point below.

First we consider the following. Pārthasārathi's presentation of the alleged Vaiśeṣika position introduces a passage in the *Ślokavārttika* in which the notion of a creator God is criticised. It is therefore conceivable that it – or at least the parts that talk about God interrupting karmic retribution – has been composed to fit the verses of Kumārila's text. Soon after this account Pārthasārathi introduces a verse of the *Ślokavārttika* with the words: "Concerning what has been said to the extent that deeds do not bear fruit because they are interrupted by the desire of God, [Kumārila] says"[5]. And

[4] Bronkhorst 1996. For information about the *Kaṭandī*, see Bronkhorst 1993.

[5] NyR p. 466, l. 21: *yat tūktam īśvarecchāpratibaddhatvāt karmāṇi na phalantīti, tatrāha*.

after that same verse he resumes: "But there is no proof that all deeds, without giving result, have been interrupted by the mere desire of God"[6]. May we conclude that already Kumārila ascribed to the Vaiśeṣikas the idea that God's mere desire interrupts the working of karma?

This is far from obvious. Kumārila does not mention God's desire, nor indeed anyone else's, in the context of the destruction of the world (which he does not accept). Quite on the contrary, he speaks of a deed (*karman*) of Prajāpati. The verses concerned read as follows[7]:

> *pralaye 'pi pramāṇaṃ naḥ sarvocchedātmake na hi* |
> *na ca prayojanaṃ tena syāt prajāpatikarmaṇā* || 68 ||
> *na ca karmavatāṃ yuktā sthitis tadbhogavarjitā* |
> *karmāntaraniruddhaṃ hi phalaṃ na syāt kriyāntarāt* || 69 ||
> *sarveṣāṃ tu phalāpetaṃ na sthānam upapadyate* |
> *na cāpy anupabhogo 'sau kasyacit karmaṇaḥ phalam* || 70 ||
> *aśeṣakarmanāśe vā punaḥ sṛṣṭir na yujyate* |

This means:

> 68. For we have no proof for a dissolution in the form of universal destruction. And that activity (*karman*) on the part of Prajāpati would serve no purpose.
> 69. Moreover, it is not possible that beings that have engaged in activity (*karmavat*) would stop without experiencing [the results of] those [activities]; for the fruit deriving from one action cannot be stopped by another activity (*karman*).
> 70. The coming to a stop of all [beings] without [experiencing] the fruits [of their activities] is not possible. And nor is that absence of experience itself the fruit of any activity (*karman*).
> 71ab. Alternatively, in case all activities (*karman*) have been destroyed, no new creation is possible.

This passage repeatedly uses the word *karman*, a notoriously difficult term to translate. It means primarily activity, but can also refer to the mechanism that brings about karmic retribution. In the case of Vaiśeṣika this means that *dharma* and *adharma*, or *adṛṣṭa*, might conceivably be referred to by this term. It certainly never refers to the desire of God, especially not if, as Pārthasārathi maintains, God's desire interferes with

[6] NyR p. 466, l. 24-25: *sarvakarmaṇāṃ tu phalam adadatām īśvarecchāmātreṇa pratibaddhānām avasthānam apramāṇakam iti.*

[7] ŚlV 5.15.68-71ab.

the process of karmic retribution. Kumārila's text speaks about cosmic dissolution as an activity, most probably an activity of Prajāpati, and there is no reason whatsoever to assume that God's desire played a special role in this event.

This impression is confirmed by the fact that God's desire does enter the picture in Kumārila's then following account of renewed creation. God's desire is here presented, hypothetically, as the cause of karmic retribution, and is indeed contrasted with activity. The verses concerned read[8]:

karmaṇāṃ vāpy abhivyaktau kiṃ nimittaṃ tadā bhavet || 71 ||
īśvarecchā yadīṣyate saiva syāl lokakāraṇam |
īśvarecchāvaśitve hi niṣphalā karmakalpanā || 72 ||
na cānimittayā yuktam utpattuṃ hīśvarecchayā |
yad vā tasyā nimittaṃ yat tad bhūtānāṃ bhaviṣyati || 73 ||

71cd. Or if [you maintain that] activities manifest themselves [anew at the occasion of a new creation], what would cause this?
72. If you propose God's desire, then let that be the cause of the world. For it would be pointless to imagine [the efficacy of] actions (*karman*) if [the creation of the world] is controlled by God's desire.
73. Moreover, God's desire cannot come into existence without having itself a cause; or rather, the cause of that [desire] will be the cause [of the creation of] living beings.

God's desire, then, is introduced in the discussion of the creation of the world, but plays no role in its dissolution. Kumārila's opponents rather looked upon the destruction of the world as due to the activity of Prajāpati. There is nothing typically Vaiśeṣika in this part of the discussion.

Pārthasārathi, on the other hand, uses this passage as a pretext to ascribe a certain position to the Vaiśeṣikas. To understand what is at stake, some general reflections are called for.

The notion of a creator God had been introduced into Vaiśeṣika (perhaps by Praśastapāda) for a special reason. It solved a problem which had occupied the thinkers of that school. It answered the question how deeds of living beings can bring about situations that punish or reward them. In other words, it helped to understand the mechanism of karmic retribution. Earlier Vaiśeṣikas had tried to solve this problem differently. They had claimed that deeds and their retributions are linked through the

[8] ŚlV 5.15.71cd-73.

intermediary of two qualities of the soul, *dharma* and *adharma*. The soul of each living creature being omnipresent and eternal, these qualities could be thought of as acting at a distance, and at a moment of time far removed from the deed that had caused them. However, foresight and conscious design could not be attributed to these qualities. These were rather linked to other qualities of the soul – such as *buddhi* 'knowledge' – that are not involved in the mechanism of karmic retribution. How then can these unconscious qualities act as if guided by foresight and conscious design?

The answer proposed by Praśastapāda is simple. They **are** guided by foresight and conscious design. There is an all-powerful creator God who arranges things in such a way that *dharma* and *adharma* bring about the desired results. The following passage from the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha* shows this[9]:

> When in this way the four composite elements have come into existence, a great egg (*mahad aṇḍam*) is formed, caused solely by God's (*maheśvara*) meditation / volition (*abhidhyāna*), out of atoms of fire with an admixture of atoms of earth[10]. In it [God] creates Brahmā, with four faces like so many lotuses, the grandfather of all worlds (*sarvalokapitāmahaṃ brahmāṇam*), and all worlds; he then enjoins him with the duty of creating living things. That Brahmā, thus enjoined by God, and endowed with abundant knowledge, complete absence of passion and absolute power, **knows the effects of the deeds of living beings**; he creates the Prajāpatis, his mind-created (*mānasa*) sons, with knowledge, experience and span of life **in accordance with their [past] deeds**; [he also creates] the Manus, Devas, Ṛṣis and groups of Pitṛs (*pitṛgaṇa*), the four *varṇa*s out of his mouth, arms, thighs and feet (*mukhabāhūrupādataḥ*) [respectively], and the other living beings, high and low (*uccāvacāni bhūtāni*); he then connects them with Dharma,

[9] WI p. 11, § 59: *evaṃ samutpanneṣu caturṣu mahābhūteṣu maheśvarasyābhidhyānamātrāt taijasebhyo 'ṇubhyaḥ pārthivaparamāṇusahitebhyo* (variants: *pārthivādiparamāṇusahitebhyo, pārthivāṇusahitebhyo*) *mahad aṇḍam ārabhyate* (some editions read *utpadyate*) | *tasmiṃś caturvadanakamalaṃ sarvalokapitāmahaṃ* (variant: *caturvadanakamalasakalalokapitāmahaṃ*) *brahmāṇaṃ sakalabhuvanasahitam utpādya prajāsarge viniyuṅkte* (variant: *niyuṅkte*) | *sa ca maheśvareṇa viniyukto* (variant: *niyukto*) *brahmā 'tiśayajñānavairāgyaiśvaryasampannaḥ prāṇināṃ* (variant: *sarvaprāṇināṃ*) *karmavipākaṃ viditvā karmānurūpajñānabhogāyuṣaḥ sutān prajāpatīn mānasān manudevarṣipitṛgaṇān* (variant: *manūn deva°*) *mukhabāhūrupādataś caturo varṇān anyāni coccāvacāni bhūtāni* (variants: *bhūtāni ca; anyāni coccāvacāni ca sṛṣṭvā*) *sṛṣṭvā, āśayānurūpair dharmajñānavairāgyaiśvaryaiḥ saṃyojayatīti* ||.

[10] Atoms of fire with an admixture of atoms of earth constitute, in Vaiśeṣika, gold.

knowledge, absence of passion and power **in accordance with their residue of past deeds**.

Other authors of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika schools confirm the importance of this side of God's activity. They came to admit that they could not make sense of karmic retribution without assuming an omnipotent God supervising the process[11].

Unfortunately for the Mīmāṃsakas this solution was not open to them. They were indissolubly linked to the idea that the Veda is without beginning (not uttered by God, as the Vaiśeṣikas had it), having been continuously handed down in a world which, too, is without beginning, and without periodic destructions and recreations. They did however accept the principle of karmic retribution. But unlike the Vaiśeṣikas they had to maintain that karmic retribution can work, and can be understood, without assuming that it is guided by foresight and conscious design.

We now understand why Pārthasārathi, instead of presenting the notion of God as a means to explain karmic retribution, depicts it as interfering with it. The period of dissolution of the world, in particular, is described as one in which "*dharma* and *adharma*, not producing an effect because interrupted by the desire of God, remain in their respective souls" (*dharmādharmāś ca ... īśvarecchāpratibaddhāḥ phalam aprayacchantas teṣu teṣv ātmasv avatiṣṭhante*). And the subsequent renewed creation of living beings is made possible by the removal of those restraints: "Then many different living beings, such as humans, animals, etc., are produced by the various deeds (*karman*) whose potencies have become manifest once the interruptions have disappeared due to the power of [God's] desire [to create]" (*tatas tadicchāvaśād evāpagatapratibandhair abhivyakta-sāmarthyair vividhaiḥ karmabhir vividhānekanarapaśvādibhedabhinnaṃ bhūtajātam ārabhyate*). In other words, if only God did not interfere, karmic retribution would pursue its normal course, and there would be no destruction and new creation of the world. This position is attributed to the Vaiśeṣikas. The Mīmāṃsā position is closely related to this: There is no creator God who interferes, and karmic retribution does pursue its course, not interrupted by destructions and renewed creations of the world.

Do we have to conclude that Pārthasārathi made up the position he ascribes to the Vaiśeṣikas? The answer must be negative. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjarī* (ca. 900 C.E.)[12] contains some passages that are of interest.

[11] See Bronkhorst 2000.
[12] On the date of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, see Hacker 1951: 162 (112).

First there is a passage that presents a view that is rejected by the critic of the idea of a creator God, and which may therefore represent Jayanta's own position[13]:

atha brāhmeṇa mānena saṃvatsaraśataniṣṭhām adhitiṣṭhati parameṣṭhini maheśvarasya saṃjihīrṣā jāyate | tayā tirohitasvaphalārambhaśaktīni karmāṇi saṃbhavantīti saṃpadyate sakalabhuvanapralayaḥ | punaś ca tāvaty eva rātriprāye kāle vyatīte sisṛkṣā bhavati bhagavataḥ | tayā 'bhivyaktaśaktīni karmāṇi kāryam ārabhante iti |

Then, when Brahman supervises the conclusion of hundred Brahman-years, a desire to destroy arises in the Supreme Lord. On account of that [desire] the activities (*karman*) loose the power to bring about their results, and so the dissolution of all worlds comes about. And again, when the same amount of time, which is like the night, has passed, a desire to create arises in the Lord. On account of that [desire to create] the power of the activities manifests itself, and the activities bring about their effect.

Later in the same discussion about God, the *Nyāyamañjarī* refers back to this passage and states[14]:

nanu ca yugapad eva sakalajagatpralayakaraṇam anupapannam, avināśināṃ karmaṇāṃ phalopabhogapratibandhāsaṃbhavād iti coditam | na yuktam etat | īśvarecchāpratibaddhānāṃ karmaṇāṃ stimitaśaktīnām avasthānāt | tadicchāpreritāni karmāṇi phalam ādadhati | tadicchāpratibaddhāni ca tatrodāsate | kasmād evam iti cet | acetanānāṃ cetanānadhiṣṭhitānāṃ svakāryakaraṇānupalabdheḥ |

It has been objected that the simultaneous dissolution of the entire universe is not possible, because it is not possible to obstruct the experiences of their results of the activities (*karman*) which are undestructable. This is not correct. Because the activities are obstructed by God's desire, and their power [to bring about results] is paralysed. Activities that are impelled by His desire bring about results, and those that are obstructed by His desire remain inactive. If [you ask] why it is like this, [the answer is:] because it has never been observed that unconscious things, not supervised by someone conscious, bring about their effects.

[13] NM p. 490/177.

[14] NM p. 510/186.

The final argument – unconscious things, not supervised by someone conscious, cannot bring about their effects – is not new, as we have seen. To bring about their effects, activities have to be guided by a conscious being; in other words, they have to be impelled by His desire. This idea may be behind the very introduction of God in the Vaiśeṣika system. The present passage expands the idea by adding that God's desire can also obstruct activities; this explains the simultaneous destruction of the entire universe. But this passage does not say that God only obstructs activities, and that without God's interference they would bring about their results just as well. The final remark "it has never been observed that unconscious things, not supervised by someone conscious, bring about their effects" proves the opposite. It had to be a Mīmāṃsaka, viz. Pārthasārathi, who turned the argument on its head. For him God interferes with the working of karma, and nothing else.

Not all Vaiśeṣikas looked upon God's role as that of interrupting the process of karmic retribution. Praśastapāda, as we have seen, states the opposite. And Udayana's *Kiraṇāvalī*, while commenting Praśastapāda's phrase "when the *adṛṣṭa*s have stopped their activity" (*adṛṣṭānāṃ vṛttinirodhe sati*), explains[15]: *pralayahetunādṛṣṭena pratibandhe sati* "when there is interruption [of the *adṛṣṭa*s] on account of the *adṛṣṭa* which is the cause of the destruction [of the world]". *Adṛṣṭa*, singular or plural, is synonymous with *dharma* and *adharma*, the two qualities that are responsible for karmic retribution. The destruction of the world itself, according to Udayana, is due to *dharma* and *adharma*, and not to the interruption of their activity caused by the desire of God.

But even Pārthasārathi himself describes, in his *Śāstradīpikā*, the Vaiśeṣika position in a way which does not differ so blatantly from the texts of that school. (It may here be recalled that the *Śāstradīpikā* was composed before the *Nyāyaratnākara*)[16]. We read here (p. 115):

> *na hi pralaye paramāṇūnāṃ pralayo 'smākam* (i.e., *vaiśeṣikānām*) *asti sāṃkhyādivat* | *kāryadravyāṇi tu dvyaṇukādīni sarvāṇy eveśvarecchayā viśliṣṭāvayavāni pralīyante, paramāṇavas tu mitho 'saṃyuktās tiṣṭhanti vyomādayaś ca kṣetrajñāś cātmīyadharmādharmayuktā evāvatiṣṭhante* | *sargakāle punar īśvarecchāṃ kṣetrajñādṛṣṭaṃ ca nimittam āsādya paramāṇuṣu karmāṇy utpadyante tadvaśāc ca mithaḥ saṃyuktāś catuṣṭaye 'pi paramāṇavo dvyaṇukādikrameṇa yathāsvaṃ pṛthivyādikaṃ bhūtacatuṣṭayam ārabhante* | *nimittabhūtakṣetrajñādṛṣṭavaici-*

[15] Ki p. 62, l. 6-7.
[16] See Ramaswami Sastri 1937.

tryāc ca jarāyujāṇḍajodbhijjasvedajabhinnaṃ śarīrabhedam īśvarecchākāritasaṃyogaviśeṣāt paramāṇava ārabhante |
For according to us Vaiśeṣikas, unlike the Sāṃkhyas, atoms do not dissolve in the dissolution [of the world]. Composite substances (*kāryadravya*), on the other hand, that is to say all dyads and [larger objects], dissolve, their parts having been separated by God's desire; but the atoms, without mutual connection, remain, and so do [the omnipresent substances] such as ether, and the souls, the latter accompanied each by their own *dharma* and *adharma*. At the time of a new creation movements arise in the atoms, the cause of which is God's desire as well as the *dharma* and *adharma* (*adṛṣṭa*) of the souls; the four kinds of atoms, which by virtue of these [movements] are [now] joined together, form the four elements earth etc., each their own, in the sequence which begins with the dyad. And on account of the variety of *dharma* and *adharma* in the souls, which cause [the process], the atoms, because of the special connections brought about by God's desire, form a variety of bodies, viz. born from the womb, born from an egg, sprouting, and born from perspiration.

* * *

We can conclude that Pārthasārathi in his *Nyāyaratnākara* (but not yet in his *Śāstradīpikā*) brings to light a fundamental difference in attitude between Mīmāṃsā and Vaiśeṣika with regard to the mechanism of karmic retribution. The Vaiśeṣikas had come to admit that this mechanism is hard to explain in non-teleological terms, and without assuming a conscious agent in the process. They introduced the notion of a creator God in order to avoid this difficulty. The Mīmāṃsā thinkers were basically confronted with the same problem, but could not accept the Vaiśeṣika solution without fundamentally changing their system. All they could do was ignore the problem, and criticise the notion of a creator God on other grounds. This is what Kumārila does. His commentator Pārthasārathi goes one step further. He depicts the Vaiśeṣika system as not really needing the idea of a creator God. We have seen that in so doing he painted an incorrect picture of that system.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ki — *Praśastapādabhāṣya* with the commentary *Kiraṇāvalī* of Udayana.
KlSchr — Kleine Schriften (in the series of the Glasenapp-Stiftung), Wiesbaden, Stuttgart.

NM	*Nyāyamañjarī* of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa.
Ny	*Nyāyakandalī* of Śrīdhara.
NyR	*Nyāyaratnākara* of Pārthasārathi Miśra (for the edition see ŚlV).
ŚlV	*Ślokavārttika* of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, with the commentary *Nyāyaratnākara* of Pārthasārathi Miśra.
Vy	*Vyomavatī* of Vyomaśiva.
WI	*Word Index to the Praśastapādabhāṣya*, see Bronkhorst and Ramseier 1994.

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MANTRAS ET *MANTRAS* DANS LES TANTRAS ŚIVAÏTES

I. Introduction

«L'hindou vit et meurt dans les mantras». Cette remarque, faite par l'auteur des *Principles of Tantra* et rappelée par André Padoux dans une étude sur la formation des mantras (Padoux 1978: 65), souligne, par son exagération même, l'importance énorme, dans la culture indienne, du mot-force, du mot magique, le mantra, et l'immense respect, souvent teinté de crainte, que les hindous ont toujours éprouvé pour les personnes qui, sachant utiliser ces instruments, disposent de leur pouvoir. Ce sont, ou plutôt c'étaient, car ils ont pratiquement disparu, les *sādhaka*[1], initiés à la pratique des mantras dans une tradition religieuse précise; ce sont maintenant leurs successeurs plus humbles, magiciens ou sorciers de toutes sortes, partout présents dans le pays.

Nous avons parlé de «mots», car c'est bien ainsi, comme élément sonore, mot ou formule, que le terme de «mantra» est généralement entendu. Mais derrière le mot, ou plutôt en amont de celui-ci, les Tantras reconnaissent une Puissance, conçue comme un être conscient, avec sa personnalité propre, sa naissance, son statut. Si on lit les textes de cette famille, en particulier les ouvrages de rituel, en comprenant toujours par «mantra» l'élément sonore (ou son expression écrite), on se heurte à des difficultés que seule une gymnastique acrobatique peut résoudre et qui disparaissent en général lorsqu'on veut bien se rappeler l'existence de l'autre élément. Le poids de la tradition classique, directement héritée des Védas, où le son était premier, et sans doute aussi d'une vision populaire encore plus ancienne, est tel cependant que des interférences malheureuses ne sont pas rares; au moins peut-on essayer de les reconnaître et de démêler

[1] Voir Brunner 1975.

les fils. C'est ce que nous allons tenter de faire. Notre exposé n'entend pas être une étude exhaustive sur les mantras, il a pour seule ambition de clarifier le problème posé par la double nature que leur prêtent les textes tantriques: leur nature sonore, que tout le monde reconnaît, et leur nature spirituelle, sur laquelle nous devrons insister parce qu'elle est souvent ignorée, en tout cas négligée. Nous appellerons «Mantra» cette dernière, qui est le signifié (*vācya*), et «mantra», sans majuscule, la forme sonore, qui est le signifiant (*vācaka*).

Notre étude concernera essentiellement le Śaiva-Siddhānta ancien. Nos sources principales seront par conséquent des textes médiévaux de cette école, choisis pour leur clarté ou leur accessibilité, auxquels s'ajouteront quelques ouvrages appartenant à d'autres traditions śivaïtes[2]. Ce seront d'abord des Tantras[3]: en premier lieu le *Mataṅgapārameśvara* et le *Mṛgendra*, avec leurs commentaires[4], mais aussi le *Kiraṇa*, le *Raurava* et quelques autres, appartenant au Siddhānta; puis le *Svacchanda*, le *Netra*, le *Śāradātilaka* et le *Mālinīvijaya*, rattachés au Trika. Ce seront ensuite quatre traités doctrinaux du Siddhānta, accompagnés de leurs commentaires: le *Tattvasaṅgraha* et la *Mokṣakārikā*, écrits par un maître du IXème siècle, Sadyojyoti, la *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*, due à un Śrīkaṇṭha qui appartient probablement au début du Xème siècle, et le *Tattvaprakāśa*, dont l'auteur, Bhojadeva, a sans doute vécu au XIème siècle[5]. Enfin, nous ferons appel aux manuels de rituel les plus connus: d'abord celui de Somaśambhu (la *Somaśambhupaddhati*), qui date de la fin du XIème siècle et que nous

[2] Voir la Bibliographie à la fin de l'article, qui donne aussi les sigles utilisés dans les notes.

[3] Redisons ce qui maintenant devrait être entendu: il n'y a pas lieu de faire une différence entre un ensemble de textes qui se nommeraient Tantras et un autre ensemble qui grouperait des Āgamas; car les deux mots sont, à l'origine au moins, interchangeables; et l'habitude de désigner par le mot «Āgamas» les Écritures canoniques du Siddhānta, en évitant «Tantras», est relativement récente. Voir par ex. Brunner 1985: xix, et maintenant Goodall 1998: xxxvi-xxxix, beaucoup plus précis.

[4] Le commentateur du Mṛg est Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, fils d'un Vidyākaṇṭha I, disciple de Śrīkaṇṭha; et sa *vṛtti* a fait l'objet d'un sous-commentaire (*dīpikā*) par Aghoraśiva, un *ācārya* du XIIème siècle qui fut très célèbre dans le Sud de l'Inde. Celui du MatP est Rāmakaṇṭha II, fils de Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha. Pour toutes les dates que nous donnons, nous suivons Goodall 1998: ix-x ou, pour les traités qu'il a traduits, P.-S. Filliozat.

[5] La *Mokṣakārikā* est commentée par ce même Rāmakaṇṭha II, le *Tattvasaṅgraha* et la *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* par Aghoraśiva, et le *Tattvaprakāśa* par deux commentateurs: le même Aghoraśiva et un Śrīkumāra, de date incertaine (voir Filliozat 1971: 248).

avons traduit et commenté[6], mais également celui d'Aghoraśiva (la *Kriyākramadyotikā*), qui s'en inspire largement, et celui d'Īśānaśivagurudeva (l'*Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*), mieux connu mais plus tardif.

II. Les Mantras comme Puissances

Pour aborder la question qui nous préoccupe, nous mettrons de côté dans un premier temps tout esprit critique aussi bien que tout préjugé, pour tenter de percevoir l'univers comme devaient le faire les anciens maîtres de l'école au vu des écrits qu'ils nous ont laissés. Il est donc naturel de commencer par lire les passages de ces écrits qui présentent les «personnages» nommés Mantras. On rencontre généralement, mais pas toujours, ceux-ci dans les sections doctrinales (*vidyāpāda*) des ouvrages – qu'elles en forment ou non une section séparée –, et ce, dans des contextes divers: dans le récit de la création de l'univers par Śiva[7], à propos d'une réflexion sur les mantras[8], de la présentation des *tattva*[9], de la description des mondes (*bhuvana*)[10]. Prenons l'exemple de cette dernière. A partir des mondes inférieurs, qui sont des sortes d'enfers, elle nous conduit jusqu'aux mondes les plus élevés, en s'arrêtant à chaque niveau important, où les mondes sont présentés avec les habitants qu'ils hébergent. L'escalade se fait le plus souvent en utilisant l'échelle des *tattva* où se logent les mondes: trente-six *tattva* en théorie[11] qui, dans la version la plus courante, se divisent en deux sections, l'une impure, l'autre pure, la matière des mondes et des corps que l'on y rencontre étant la *māyā* pour les premiers[12],

[6] Nous renverrons très souvent à cette traduction et à ses notes, pour les explications que nous y avons données et pour les citations qu'on y trouve d'ouvrages épuisés ou inédits ou dont la seule édition qui existe est en caractères *grantha*.

[7] Par ex. Mṛg vp, paṭ. 1 et 4; Rau vp 1.12-15.

[8] Par ex. MatP vp, paṭ. 7.

[9] Par ex. Rau vp, paṭ. 2; TS; TPr. La RTP les introduit en traitant du Bindu.

[10] Comme en SvT 10.1142b-1189; Mṛg vp 13.157-161b.

[11] Voir pour leur liste SP3, Pl. VI; SP4, Pl. I; Gengnagel 1996: 177; et Goodall 1998: li-lv pour les variations d'un texte à l'autre. Le Siddhānta considère ces *tattva* comme matériels, bien que quelques auteurs mettent à part le plus élevé, le *śivatattva*, pour lequel ils refusent cette vision. Nous laissons le mot *tattva* non traduit, tout en reconnaissant que les arguments de P.-S. Filliozat (1988: 97-8) invitant à le traduire par «essence» sont assez convaincants.

[12] La section impure comprend en général trente et un *tattva*, où l'on distingue souvent un groupe vraiment impur (les vingt-cinq *tattva* hérités du Sāṃkhya) et un groupe semi-pur (les six suivants), ce qui donne finalement trois sections. La section pure comprend cinq *tattva*: *śuddhavidyā*, *īśvara*, *sadāśiva*, *śakti* et *śiva*, en montant.

et pour les autres une matière extrêmement subtile nommée Mahāmāyā ou Bindu[13]. Dans le premier de ces *tattva* purs, dénommé «science pure» (*śuddhavidyā*, plus rarement *mahāvidyā*, très souvent simplement *vidyā*), se trouvent, nous dit-on, soixante-dix millions de Mantras[14], parfois dominés par sept Déesses; et dans le suivant, à savoir le «maître» (*īśvara* ou *īśa*)[15], huit Seigneurs appelés Vidyeśvaras ou Mantreśvaras[16], «Seigneurs des Mantras», ou même Mahāmantreśvaras, «Grands Seigneurs des Mantras»[17]. Des uns et des autres on indique la nature, l'apparence, les fonctions. Ce sont des âmes (*aṇu*)[18] particulièrement pures – les Mantreśvaras plus purs que les Mantras –, donc proches de la libération, celle-ci ayant seulement été différée afin qu'elles puissent accomplir la tâche que Śiva leur a confiée au début même d'une nouvelle création[19]. Du

[13] Ou encore Kuṇḍalinī, Parigrahaśakti, etc. Bien que de nature matérielle, c'est en effet une Puissance: voir plus loin, section III.

[14] Presque tous les textes s'accordent sur ce point. Voir par ex. MatP vp 7.3c-4b (qui dit même que ces Mantras constituent le *vidyātattva*); TPr 31d (qui place là les Mantras et la Vidyā – qui, selon le commentateur, est faite des vingt-huit Tantras); TS 34 (qui appelle ce *tattva mantratattva*); RTP 24c-25b; et maint commentaire d'Aghoraśiva. En Mṛg vp 13.157-158b, le *tattva* n'est pas précisé; et en 1.22, ce texte dit simplement que les Mantras, comme les Vidyeśvaras, sont placés «sur la Voie pure».

[15] Voir TS 44ab (avec son introduction); TPr 31c; RTP 26c-27; Kir 3.25c-26b (par *vidyānāṃ patīn*, comprendre *vidyeśvarān*); MatP vp 5.5. Le SvT 10.1152 les montre entourant le Seigneur Īśvara – une forme de Śiva légèrement inférieure à Sadāśiva.

Dans un autre passage (vp 4.13), le MatP semble situer les Vidyeśvaras dans le *tattva* suivant, *sadāśiva*: il montre en effet le Dieu Sadāśiva entouré des huit Vidyeśvaras dans le «ciel supérieur» (*parame vyomni*), ce que le commentateur interprète par *sadāśivabhuvana*, un monde qui existe au niveau du *sadāśivatattva*. Cela ne doit pas nous troubler, car il est assez fréquent de voir les mêmes Puissances présentes à deux niveaux différents: tout dépend de l'angle sous lequel on les considère.

[16] On verra plus loin que les deux mots sont synonymes. La liste de ces Personnages semble bien fixée: voir Mṛg vp 4.3-4a; MatP vp 4.9-10; SvT 10.1161c-1162, etc. (Autres noms cependant en MVT 1.19-20).

[17] Pour les distinguer d'autres Mantreśvaras, dits «inférieurs», qui appartiennent à la Voie impure et dont nous n'avons pas à nous soucier.

[18] Le mot *aṇu*, qui ne veut pas ici dire «atome» et n'évoque même pas dans le Siddhānta l'idée de condensation ou de limitation, est un synonyme d'*ātman*. Il désigne donc n'importe quelle âme, en particulier les Mantras – et, par extension, les mantras, dont c'est même une des appellations les plus courantes. Mais ces Mantras sont aussi des Rudras, d'où leur autre nom de Rudrāṇus, qu'ils partagent d'ailleurs avec les Mantras impurs dont nous parlerons plus loin. (Voir MatP vp 7.3ab et son comm., qui insiste pour marquer la différence entre eux.)

[19] Voir par ex. Mṛg vp 1.22. Il ne faut pas croire que Śiva crée ces Mantras et Mantreśvaras: les *aṇu* sont éternels, et Śiva, au début d'une nouvelle création cosmique, ne

fait que leurs trois liens (*pāśa*) sont tombés – les deux plus grossiers, le *karman* et la *māyā*, de par leur propre effort lors du cycle cosmique précédent, le plus intime, le *mala*, au moment où Śiva les a élevés à leur grade[20] –, ces *aṇu* disposent d'une capacité presque infinie de Connaissance et d'Action[21]; et cette Puissance qui leur est propre est encore exaltée par la Puissance de Śiva, qui non seulement l'a révélée, mais l'anime[22]. La fonction des Mantras est d'aider les âmes qui migrent dans les différents mondes, dont naturellement la terre, à se débarrasser de leurs liens, en vue de la jouissance parfaite (*bhukti*) et de la libération finale (*mukti*): c'est à cette fin qu'ils ont été établis. Selon le *Mṛgendra*, ils «accordent la grâce aux âmes, au moment qui convient»[23]. Leur devoir

fait que choisir, parmi les plus purs, un certain nombre qu'il destine à des fonctions particulières.

[20] Ils font partie des *vijñānākala* ou *vijñānakevala* (voir TPr 8-10; RTP 23; la *vṛtti* de Mṛg vp 4.2; et la *vṛtti* de MatP vp 5.6ab), c'est-à-dire des *aṇu* qui étaient déjà arrivés, lors d'un cycle précédent, à se libérer de deux de leurs liens. Śiva choisit parmi eux ceux dont le troisième lien est «mûr», donc prêt à «tomber» (c.-à-d. à cesser de bloquer les capacités de l'âme), mais qui, selon la doctrine de l'école, ne peut le faire sans l'intervention, directe dans les mondes purs, de Śiva lui-même. C'est ce qu'explique Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha dans son commentaire du Mṛg, loc. cit.: Śiva (par sa Śakti, on le dit ailleurs), ôtant à ces *aṇu* leur dernier lien (le *mala* ou *āṇavamala*, ici nommé «entourage», *āvaraṇa*), fait se manifester leur nature réelle, à savoir leurs Puissances propres de Connaissance et d'Action (la Jñānaśakti et la Kriyāśakti), qu'il exalte en outre par sa Śakti. Il unit encore les Mantreśvaras aux neuf Śaktis du trône (Vāmā, etc. – peut-être Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā et Raudrī seules) ce qui leur confère une puissance égale à la sienne. Voir aussi MatP vp, paṭ. 4 et 5; Rau vp, paṭ. 2; SvT 10.1161sq; MK 73-77 et comm.; Gengnagel 1996: 72-75.

Sur l'âme et ses liens, voir SvāSS, vp, paṭ 1 et 2 (et plus loin, n. 43). Sur le *mala*, son action, sa transformation, la fin de son action, voir TTN 7-32.

[21] La pleine possession de ces Puissances n'est affirmée clairement que pour les Mantreśvaras. Et il faut peut-être nuancer cette affirmation, car leur révélation totale, par disparition du *mala*, équivaudrait à la délivrance, la *mukti* (voir TS 34; MK 44c-45b). Si elle n'a pas lieu ici, c'est qu'il reste aux Mantras comme aux Mantreśvaras une trace de souillure, l'*adhikāramala*, «impureté liée à la fonction» (voir RTP 27a). On exprime cela en disant que les uns et les autres n'ont obtenu pour le moment qu'une libération inférieure (*aparamukti*: voir TS 54ab). Ils ne sont pas indépendants, et c'est pour cela qu'il faut, comme on va le dire, imaginer derrière leur action celle de la Śakti de Śiva.

[22] Le MatP vp 4.11cd, insiste sur le fait que c'est par la Śakti de Śiva que la force des Vidyeśvaras (la plénitude de leur Puissance de Connaissance et d'Action) est manifestée - donc, pas de soi-même, souligne le commentateur. Voir aussi RTP 27cd.

[23] *kurvanty anugrahaṃ puṃsāṃ yadā yeṣāṃ sa yujyate* (vp 4.6cd). Par «accorder la grâce», comprendre «donner l'initiation libératrice». Voir aussi MatP vp 7.5, qui dit que les Vidyās (les Mantras) sont: *niyuktās tā mahābhāgāḥ pāśavicchittikāraṇam / paśūnāṃ parameśena* (voir aussi ibid. 7.6-7).

accompli, ils seront unis à Śiva[24]. La fonction des huit Mantreśvaras est, en principe, d'exercer les mêmes cinq fonctions que Śiva lui-même[25]. C'est actuellement le cas du premier, Ananta, qui est chargé par Śiva du gouvernement des mondes impurs (lui-même agissant directement dans les autres)[26]. Les sept autres semblent attendre que leur tour arrive[27]. Leur nom en tout cas fait comprendre qu'ils gouvernent, d'une façon ou d'une autre, les Mantras[28].

Il faut encore savoir, si l'on veut comprendre quelque chose aux Tantras, qu'en dehors de cette catégorie bien définie de Mantras – ceux qui sont présentés comme tels, qui sont des âmes (*aṇu*) purifiées résidant dans le *tattva* «science pure» –, on rencontre des Mantras à d'autres niveaux, plus haut et plus bas. Au niveau immédiatement supérieur, d'abord, celui du *sadāśivatattva*. Là résident en effet des Puissances qui ressemblent aux Mantras dont nous venons de parler, mais qui ne sont autres que des aspects de la Śakti de Śiva: il s'agit des cinq Brahmans: Īśāna, Tat-Puruṣa, Aghora, Vāmadeva et Sadyojāta, et des six «Membres» (Aṅgas): le Cœur (Hṛdaya), la Tête (Śiras), la Touffe (Śikhā), les Yeux (Netra) et l'Arme (Astra)[29]. Ils accompagnent là le Dieu Sadāśiva, qui réside naturellement dans ce *tattva*[30].

[24] Il nous importe peu ici de savoir que, selon qu'ils œuvrent en empruntant ou non un corps à un maître initiateur, ces soixante-dix millions de Mantras se répartissent encore en deux moitiés, dont la libération se fait de façon différente.

[25] Voir TS 43 et son comm. par Aghoraśiva, qui cite à ce propos une ligne du Rau (vp 1.15ab), également citée dans son comm. à RTP 27, ce qui permet d'en corriger le premier mot (qui est *sṛṣṭi-* et non *sthiti-*): *sṛṣṭisaṃrakṣaṇādānabhāvānugrahakāriṇaḥ*, où *ādāna* = *saṃhāra* et *bhāva* = *tirobhāva*. Ils sont en tout cas présentés comme des divinités puissantes, et pourvus par Śiva de demeures splendides, de «Membres» (nommés Vidyāṅgas), c.-à-d. d'instruments, qui les rendent aptes à accomplir les actes les plus divers (couper, briser, tuer, protéger…), et chacun d'une compagne (MatP vp 7.15-22b).

[26] Tous les textes s'accordent là-dessus, et les commentateurs citent à qui mieux mieux le demi-verset suivant du Kir (3.26cd): *śuddhe 'dhvani śivaḥ kartā prokto 'nanto 'site prabhuḥ*. La Voie pure (*śuddhādhvan*) contient évidemment les mondes purs.

[27] Le MatP vp 5.9-15 explique en effet que le «poste» (et le nom) d'Ananta sera confié à Sūkṣma quand Ananta sera libéré; et ainsi de suite, successivement, aux autres, dans l'ordre, le dernier étant chaque fois remplacé par un Mantra dont Śiva exalte la puissance.

[28] Voir Kir 3.25c-26b; RTP 25a. Ou TS 43b: *patibhāvāt prerayanti mantrādīn*. Notons que *pati* est le nom dont on les désigne souvent (voir par ex. TS 44b ou Kir, cité n.16); mais l'emploi de ce terme n'est pas systématique: en Mṛg vp 4.9b, il est utilisé pour désigner les Mantreśvaras inférieurs.

[29] Voir pour ces listes les Index de SP.

[30] Voir Mṛg vp 13.161c-162a: *sadāśive pavitrāṅgasakalādiparicchadaḥ / devaḥ sadāśivo* […]: «Dans le *tattva* 'sadāśiva' se trouve le Dieu Sadāśiva, entouré des Brahmans

Les commentateurs insistent sur le fait qu'à ce niveau, aucune différence réelle ne peut se concevoir, et que ces Puissances ne sont distinctes qu'en apparence[31]. On les nomme «Mantras» cependant, comme les autres.

A partir de cette description, certains textes semblent distinguer trois catégories de Mantras: ceux «de Śiva» qui forment le *śambhupakṣa*, ceux «de Śakti» qui forment le *śaktipakṣa*, et les Mantras-âmes, qui forment *l'aṇupakṣa*. La catégorie «de Śiva» doit comprendre Śiva seul, exprimé par son *mūlamantra*, puisque Aṅgas et Brahmans sont «de Śakti»[32]. Cette lecture des passages qui parlent de trois *pakṣa*[33] n'est cependant pas acceptée par tous les textes. La version la plus courante, celle de plusieurs ouvrages du Siddhānta[34], celle aussi du SvT et du NT[35], utilise les trois mots *śivapakṣa*, *śaktipakṣa* et *aṇupakṣa* pour désigner, non trois catégories distinctes de Mantras, mais les trois aspects (ou natures?) que présentent tous les Mantras[36]. Un commentateur comme Aghoraśiva semble combiner les deux vues. Dans son sous-commentaire au *vidyāpāda* du *Mṛgendra*, il cite en effet deux demi-distiques qui affirment, l'un que Śiva est un

(*pavitra*), des Membres et de [huit Rudras] dont le premier est Sakala». Voir aussi SvT 10.1190-1194, où l'on trouvera la liste de ces huit Rudras. Que Brahmans et Aṅgas résident au même niveau que Sadāśiva va de soi, puisque les premiers constituent son corps (voir plus loin et n. 59), et les autres aussi selon l'opinion de quelques maîtres (par ex. Rāmakaṇṭha: voir ci-dessous), tandis que d'autres y voient la personnification des Perfections divines (voir Brunner 1986: 107 sq.).

On notera que, lorsque MatP vp 7.24-30 les nomme en décrivant le *vidyātattva*, il s'agit de ces formes inférieures que sont leurs *vācaka*. Car, précise Rāmakaṇṭha II dans son commentaire, la résidence des Brahmans et des Aṅgas est le domaine de Sadāśiva, puisqu'ils forment la *mūrti* de Śiva, et sont donc des aspects de sa Śakti (*śivāṅgabrahmaṇāṃ śivamūrtitve sati śaktirūpatvena uktatvād vastutaḥ sadāśivapade eva sthitiḥ*).

[31] Voir par ex. TS 46-48 et son commentaire par Aghoraśiva. Kṣemarāja cite et réfute le verset 47 dans son comm. du SvT 11.57 et du NT 21.57-58 (bien que l'éditeur renvoie là à la *Nādakārikā*), ces deux Tantras, à tendance non-dualiste, n'acceptant nulle part de différences réelles.

[32] Voir n. 31. Notons que les trois réalités que sont Śiva, Śakti et l'*aṇu* forment la triade la plus caractéristique de la doctrine śivaïte (voir TPr 5). Ce sont le trois *padārtha* des textes qui n'en reconnaissent que trois, par ex. le Kir (1.13, malgré le comm. de Rāmakaṇṭha II: voir Goodall 1998: 182, n. 69) et le Mṛg (vp 2.2a).

[33] C'est apparemment celle de Rāmakaṇṭha II, commentant MatP vp 7.3ab, puisqu'il déclare là que les Mantras, à la différence des Aṅgas et des Brahmans, ne font pas partie de la catégorie 'śakti' (*na tu brahmāṅgādivac chaktipakṣe vartante*). Voir aussi le passage du commentaire de Trilocana à la *Somaśambhupaddhati* cité en SP2, p. 151, sous [97d].

[34] Comme apparemment le *Kiraṇa*, paṭ 7; mais voir plus loin.

[35] NT, paṭ. 21 (voir en particulier 21.57-58; 77ab; 78c-80b); SvT11.54c-55b (et comm.).

[36] Et les Vidyeśvaras; c'est ainsi que l'on peut dire que ces derniers sont au nombre de vingt-quatre.

Mantra, l'autre que Śakti a assumé la nature d'un Mantra, puis un vers qui dit que les Seigneurs des Mantras (i.e. les Vidyeśvaras) sont vingt-quatre (comprendre que chacun a un triple aspect) et que les millions d'autres Mantras possèdent aussi les trois aspects[37]. L'introduction à ce passage: *aṇupakṣe śaktipakṣaśambhupakṣayor api sambhavāt* (dans la catégorie *aṇu* celle de Śakti et celle de Śiva sont présents) montre qu'Aghoraśiva a d'abord pris le mot *aṇupakṣa* comme renvoyant à une classe de Mantras. Au fond, la différence entre les deux lectures n'est pas capitale, l'essentiel étant que, dans les Mantras et les Mantreśas, l'aspect Śiva et l'aspect Śakti soient reconnus. On peut noter que, lorsque le *Kiraṇa* répond à la question: «Quel est le *vācya* des mantras: Śiva? Śakti? l'*aṇu*? ou les trois ensemble?», il n'utilise pas la notion de *pakṣa*, et dit simplement que trois entités conscientes agissent nécessairement ensemble pour accomplir le travail qu'on attend des Mantras, à savoir toutes les actions possibles: Śiva, qui est la Cause agissante (*nimitta, hetukartṛ),* par sa Śakti, qui est le moyen (*kāraṇa),* excite l'*aṇu* (le Mantra), qui est l'instrument (*karaṇa* – comprendre: instrument de toute action, en particulier instrument de salut pour les âmes)[38]. Ce texte ne parle là que des Mantras qui rentrent dans la catégorie nommée ailleurs *aṇupakṣa.*

Tous les Mantras dont nous avons parlé jusqu'ici ont un corps pur (fait de Bindu) et habitent les mondes purs. On peut les appeler les Mantras «purs». Mais d'autres, nous l'avons annoncé, résident plus bas, dans les mondes impurs, au-dessous de la *māyā*. Les passages qui décrivent la création de l'univers par Śiva ne les présentent pas en tant que Mantras, mais comme des Puissances de rang inférieur, les Rudras nommés Bhuvaneśvaras, qui gouvernent les mondes en question[39]; mais on les trouve ailleurs sous le nom de Mantras impurs (*sāñjana*), leur groupe comprenant «Brahmā, Viṣṇu et les autres»[40]. Autrement dit, ils ne sont autres que les dieux communs, ceux qui n'appartiennent pas à la section du

[37] *dīpikā* ad Mṛg vp 1.22. Aghoraśiva cite les mêmes passages en commentant TS 46.

[38] Kir 7.2-5, qui compare l'action de ce trio à la cuisson du riz par un cuisinier obéissant au patron et se servant d'instruments.

[39] Voir par ex. Mṛg vp 4.10.

[40] Voir le verset cité dans la suite du sous-commentaire d'Aghoraśiva à Mṛg vp 1.22: *anye prādhānikā mantrā brahma viṣṇvādayo 'parāḥ / sāñjanās te 'ṇḍamadhyagās sāttvarājasatāmasāḥ* //: «Il y a d'autres Mantras, inférieurs, comme Brahmā, Viṣṇu et les autres. Faits de *prakṛti*, ils sont affectés par [les trois *guṇa*], *sattva*, *rajas* et *tamas*. [Ces Mantras] sont impurs, ils résident au sein de l'Oeuf (de Brahmā)». Ce verset, que l'on retrouve deux fois en entier et une fois à demi dans la *vṛtti* du *vidyāpāda* de MatP (voir la liste des demi-*śloka*

cosmos créée directement par Śiva[41]. Ce sont comme les autres des âmes individuelles, mais cette fois des âmes ordinaires, celles qui sont dites *sakala* parce qu'elles sont empêtrées dans les trois liens, y compris les produits de la *māyā*, dont *kalā* est le premier[42].

Le vocable de Mantra a pris maintenant une extension maximum: on peut appeler ainsi toute Puissance à qui un initié peut faire appel, qu'il invoque donc et à qui il rend hommage, soit à propos d'un rite obligatoire comme le culte de Śiva, soit à propos d'un rite intéressé. Que ce terme soit souvent compris ainsi, nous en avons la preuve dans plusieurs injonctions rituelles. On demandera par exemple à l'officiant, pendant tel ou tel culte, de nourrir «tous les Mantras»[43], ou, à la fin, de rappeler «tous les Mantras pour les faire entrer dans son cœur»[44], expressions incompréhensibles si l'on réduit la portée du terme, ou pire encore, si l'on croit qu'il s'agit de formules. Le mot «Mantra», dans tous ces cas, pourrait être remplacé par «Puissance» ou par «Divinité»[45]. Il est possible que cette extension ait été commandée par l'existence de la science plus ancienne qui porte sur les mantras-formules. En effet, la totalité de ces dernières, instruments précieux dont il n'était pas question de se passer, ne pouvaient se retrouver comme signifiants des Mantras «officiellement» reconnus par les écoles tantriques, et placés au-dessus de la *māyā*, car certaines formules magiques présentaient des caractères probablement jugés incompatibles avec la pureté essentielle de ces Mantras. On était donc obligé, par souci de logique, de

donnée par N.R. Bhatt) est toujours attribué au Raurava; mais, comme N.R. Bhatt le fait remarquer chaque fois, il n'existe pas dans le texte actuellement connu. On trouve cependant là un demi-vers de contenu semblable: *patayaḥ sāñjanāḥ proktā brahmaviṣṇvindradevatāḥ* (Rau vp 1.19ab, p. 4). Le *Tantrāloka* 16.254c-257b présente les Mantras impurs dans les mêmes termes en citant le *Pauṣkara* (l'*Ur-Pauṣkara*, comme le nomme Goodall pour le différencier du *Pauṣkara* visiblement récent publié dans l'Inde du Sud).

41 On remarquera que, bien qu'ils soient des *aṇu*, ces Mantras impurs ne sont pas comptés dans l'*aṇupakṣa* lorqu'on divise les Mantras en trois catégories. Notons encore que plusieurs auteurs insistent pour faire entrer dans la catégorie «purs» d'autres Mantras importants pour le rituel, tel Vīrabhadra.

42 Voir le comm. de Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha à Mṛg vp 4.10 (passage cité n. 40). Sur les trois catégories d'âmes (*sakala*, *pralayākala* et *vijñānākala*), voir TPr 8; SP3, p. 4, śl. 3-4; RTP 22, comm.; Gengnagel 1996: 50-62.

43 Voir par ex. SP4, p. 128 et n. 331.

44 Voir par ex. SP2, p. 182, śl. 126a.

45 Voir le commentaire de Nirmalamaṇi sur la dernière ligne du passage de KKD, p. 267, cité en SP3, p. 159, sous [1a]: *vācyāḥ vācakādhiṣṭhātṛdevatāḥ. tathā – yāvad devo hy adhiṣṭhātā vācyamantrātmako mataḥ.*

concevoir derrière ces dernières et à leur niveau d'autres types de Puissances, des Mantras impurs, bâtards si l'on veut. Et l'on pouvait ainsi incorporer dans le système tous les dieux extérieurs à la famille de Śiva.

Avant d'aller plus loin, revenons un moment sur le terme de Vidyeśvara, rencontré plus haut comme alternative à Mantreśvara[46]. Il ne s'explique que si l'on admet que Vidyā est là synonyme de Mantra. Or cette synonymie n'apparaît pas toujours clairement, et elle n'est pas toujours absolue. Dans certains textes elle est parfaite: voir le *paṭala* 7 du *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, où l'on trouve plusieurs fois l'équation Mantra = Vidyā affirmée par le texte et mise en évidence par le commentateur[47]. C'est cette identité qu'il faut garder à l'esprit pour comprendre des composés tels *vidyādeha*, dont nous allons parler, *vidyāṅga*[48], *vidyātattva* et d'autres. On notera que Vidyā est également un synonyme de Śakti[49], et c'est probablement la raison pour laquelle le terme peut désigner les Mantras, qui en sont des expressions[50].

Les chercheurs qui ont une certaine familiarité avec les Tantras connaissent les descriptions que nous venons d'évoquer, où les Mantras se présentent comme des Puissances individualisées, des êtres réels. Mais une tendance assez répandue est de considérer ces enseignements comme des visions théoriques, qui n'ont aucun rapport avec la pratique rituelle. Théoriques, elles le sont certainement, dans la mesure où certains des détails qu'on trouve là (à propos du nombre des Mantras, par exemple) sont inutilisables autant qu'invérifiables; mais pas dans le sens où elles n'auraient aucun rapport avec les questions concrètes. On constate aisément en effet que cette partie du bagage des maîtres śivaïtes anciens

[46] On trouve aussi Vidyārāja, Vidyāmaheśvara, etc.

[47] Voir MatP vp 7. 3c-4, et le commentaire à 4c. Voir aussi RT 24cd et le comm. à TS 34 qui note que le *śuddhavidyātattva* est appelé *mantratattva* dans quelque textes, dont le *Raurava*.

[48] Nous n'insisterons pas sur ce terme, car on peut hésiter sur l'interprétation à lui donner: voir Brunner 1986: 122-23. Le MatP (vp 7.16c-19b) pourrait orienter vers la traduction «Membres des Mantras».

[49] Voir par ex. MatP vp, paṭ. 7, dont les premier mots, *atha vidyādhikāro 'yaṃ*, sont commentés ainsi par Rāmakaṇṭha II: *vidyety adhikāraḥ śaktyāhvayaḥ padārthaḥ*.

[50] Dans quelques ouvrages, comme le PKām, l'appellation «Vidyā» est réservée aux Mantras féminins: *mantravidyāvibhāgena dvividhā mantrajātayaḥ / mantrāḥ puṃdevatā-mantrā vidyās strīdevatāḥ smṛtāḥ //* (paṭ. 2, *śloka* non numéroté, p. 16 de l'édition de 1975). Voir aussi Padoux 1963: 277, n. 2. Noter que les distinctions de sexe qu'enseigne par ex. l'ĪśgP (*pūrvārdha* 4.1-2) ne nous concernent pas ici, car elles s'appliquent aux mantras dans le sens de formules.

n'est pas oubliée lorsqu'ils traitent de questions pratiques; le rituel qu'ils ont décrit en tient largement compte, en particulier celui de la *dīkṣā* et celui de la *pratiṣṭhā*[51]; et nous, interprètes du XXème siècle qui essayons de comprendre ce rituel, ne saurions la perdre de vue.

Nous sommes d'ailleurs prévenus contre un risque de confusion dès l'analyse du mot «mantra» qu'on nous propose; car, nous explique-t-on, elle renvoie au *vācya*, non au *vācaka*. Voici le verset avancé par plusieurs auteurs, Aghoraśiva en particulier, qui le cite souvent, deux fois même dans son commentaire (*ullekhinī*) de la *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* de Śrīkaṇṭha: *mananaṃ sarvaveditvaṃ trāṇaṃ saṃsāryanugrahaḥ / mananatrāṇadharmitvān mantra ity abhidhīyate //* (L'intelligence, c'est le fait de tout connaître; la protection, c'est la grâce accordée à l'âme migrante; et c'est parce qu'ils ont comme caractéristiques cette intelligence et cette grâce qu'ils sont appelés «man-tra»)[52]. Aghoraśiva précise là chaque fois que l'explication concerne des Puissances, et non des formules, en ajoutant par exemple, à la première occasion: *iti nyāyāt śivaśaktitadanugṛhīteṣu mantraśabdo vartate, upacārāt tu vācakaśabde prasiddhaḥ* (selon cette loi, le terme de 'mantra' s'applique à la Śakti de Śiva et à ceux qui ont reçu sa grâce, et c'est par extension qu'il est couramment employé pour le signifiant.) – une glose qui s'inspire d'ailleurs du second des deux passages qu'il commente[53].

[51] Voir les études que nous leur avons consacrées: SP3 pour la *dīkṣā*, SP4 pour la *pratiṣṭhā*.

[52] RTP, commentaire des śl. 98a et 267. Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha cite déjà le même vers en commentant Mṛg kp 1.1. Dans notre traduction de ce chapitre (Brunner 1985: 4, n. 9), nous l'avions attribué au PKām (2.2); mais il est évident que cet Āgama, dont on sait maintenant qu'il a été rédigé tardivement, n'en est pas la source (on le trouve d'ailleurs là avec une variante: *saṃsārasāgarāt* au lieu de *saṃsāryanugrahaḥ*). Il est à peu près certain qu'Aghoraśiva (qui cite d'ailleurs ce vers en plusieurs autres occasions, par ex. en commentant TS 34) l'a pris à Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, dont il connaissait bien le commentaire (*vṛtti*) du Mṛgendra, puisque, comme nous l'avons dit, il en a écrit un sous-commentaire (*dīpikā*) dont la partie qui concerne le *vidyāpāda* nous est parvenue. Resterait à trouver où Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha lui-même a pris ce verset. (Sur Śrīkaṇṭha et Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, voir n. 5).

La même «définition», avec *vettṛtvaṃ* au lieu de *veditvaṃ*, est citée par Jayaratha dans son comm. à TĀ 3.225 et interprétée par Padoux (1963: 294) comme se référant aux mantras, aspects de la parole – ce qui est probablement exact pour Jayaratha. Signalons aussi qu'une analyse de même type, mais différente dans son esprit, est donnée par la *Saṅketapaddhati*, citée par Amṛtānanda dans son commentaire au *Yoginīhṛdaya* (2.1): *mananāt trāṇadharmāsau mantro 'yaṃ parikīrtitaḥ*. (Voir la traduction qu'en donne Padoux 1994: 181).

[53] Il s'agit du śl. 267, où Śrīkaṇṭha explique pourquoi l'on peut dire que la Śakti de Śiva a la nature (ou prend la forme) des Mantras: *mananāt sarvabhāvānāṃ trāṇāt saṃsārasāgarāt / mantrarūpā hi tacchaktir mananatrāṇadharmiṇī //*. (Parce qu'elle connaît tous les

Il ne s'agit pas pour nous de faire passer cette analyse pour une étymologie du terme «mantra», mais simplement d'attirer l'attention sur une approche des mantras qui n'est pas seulement celle d'Aghoraśiva, mais, de toute évidence, celle d'une lignée de maîtres qui l'ont précédé ou suivi[54].

Considérons maintenant quelques-uns des rites impliquant des Mantras qui ne peuvent être conçus que comme des Puissances.

L'un de ceux pour lesquels aucune hésitation n'est permise est la construction, avant tout culte la concernant, du «corps de Mantras» d'une Divinité. Prenons le cas de Śiva: après avoir préparé son trône (lui aussi une accumulation de Mantras, comme nous allons le dire), la première chose que doit faire l'adorateur est d'y placer Śiva sous un aspect qu'il pourra se représenter, cette forme (*mūrti*) à cinq Visages, appelée Sadāśiva dans le Siddhānta[55]. La formule employée par les textes est, soit simplement «on placera la *mūrti*», soit «on placera le *vidyādeha*»[56]; et de faire pour cela réciter les mantras des cinq Brahmans (les *brahmamantra*), et souvent encore les mantras évoquant leurs «parties» (*kalā*) respectives. Or cette technique même, et la méditation à laquelle elle aboutit, montre que le terme de *vidyādeha* (ou *vidyāśarīra*) signifie, non «corps de connaissance» comme nous l'avions cru d'abord, ignorant l'identité mantra = vidyā[57], ni «corps de mantras», mais bien «corps de Mantras»,

existants, et qu'elle [les] sauve de la mer du *saṃsāra*, on dit que cette Śakti, qui a ainsi pour attributs la connaissance et la grâce, a la nature des Mantras.) Ce *śloka* est parfois cité avec *bhūtānāṃ* au lieu de *bhāvānāṃ*, par ex. en ĪśgP, vol. I, p. 3, mais cela ne change pas son sens. Aghoraśiva est encore plus explicite dans son commentaire de TS 44 où il explique pourquoi la définition précédente ne peut pas s'appliquer aux signifiants: c'est «parce qu'il n'y a pas pour eux d'intelligence et de réflexion possibles, puisqu'ils sont inertes» (*vācakaśabdānām acetanatvena mananatrāṇadharmāsambhavāt*).

[54] Voir n. 52, où nous citons Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha. On pourrait mentionner des auteurs ultérieurs, par ex. Nirmalamaṇi dans son commentaire à KKD (p. 81) et des Tantras tardifs (voir SārK, p. 4, n. 22 de N.R. Bhatt). Rāmakaṇṭha II, en commentant SārK 1.1c, cite le même *śloka*, puis explique que «on appelle 'mantras' la Śakti de Śiva, les Vidyās et Vidyeśvaras, les *aṇu* qui leur ressemblent, et [également] les mots qui les désignent, du fait qu'ils sont le lieu de leur manifestation».

[55] Dans le Trika, ce sera Bhairava.

[56] Les deux expressions sont utilisées comme synonymes par Somaśambhu (voir SP3, p. 182, śl. 14a et n. 44). Aghoraśiva distingue les deux termes et fait correspondre le premier à une phase initiale de la «construction» du corps divin, où celui-ci ne se présente encore que comme un trait lumineux: voir le passage de KKD cité en SP1, p. 179, sous [57a] et [57b].

[57] Voir SP1 (édition de 1963), p. 178, titre repris de l'édition de Devakoṭṭai (mais le terme n'était pas dans le texte). Cette faute a été corrigée plus tard (SP3, p. 182, n. 44).

ceux-ci étant les Brahmans, dont nous avons dit plus haut qu'ils rentraient dans la catégorie «Śakti» des Mantras. La récitation des formules correspondantes, plus exactement des «germes» (*bīja*) voulus, les appelle à l'existence, l'un après l'autre, chacun avec ses caractéristiques propres; et leur coalescence constitue Sadāśiva, «celui dont le corps est fait de cinq Mantras»[58]. Dire que ce Dieu, que l'on représente comme un être anthropomorphe, est fait de mantras-sons serait une absurdité, en tout cas dans l'optique du Siddhānta: il est fait de la Śakti de Śiva, manifestée par les Mantras. L'officiant construit mentalement son image, puis la projette sur l'objet de culte, s'il y en a un; et ce dernier, un *liṅga* par exemple, doit disparaître totalement à ses yeux, remplacé qu'il est par le «corps de Mantras»[59]. C'est ensuite seulement qu'il «invite» dans ce corps le Śiva suprême, «sans parties» (*niṣkala)* et lui «donne» ses Membres (Aṅgas) – en prononçant leurs *bīja* respectifs, naturellement. Quant au Trône où l'on installe Śiva, on insiste sur le fait qu'il est «fait de Mantras», pour le distinguer du trône concret qui, s'il existe, disparaîtra dès lors que le «trône de Mantras» sera construit. Là aussi, il faut comprendre «Mantras»; mais la chose étant moins évidente pour le Trône que pour le Dieu, malgré les descriptions précises de la forme de méditation de ses différentes parties (l'Ādhāraśakti, Ananta, les Lions, etc.), nous avons préféré commencer par le cas de ce dernier[60].

Autres exemples faciles. On sait que le *sādhaka* a reçu lors de sa consécration un mantra particulier, le *sādhyamantra*, et que ce dernier a été

[58] Selon MatP vp 3.18a, mais on pourrait multiplier les citations. Citons encore deux textes qui ont l'avantage d'utiliser le mot *mantradeha* au lieu du terme plus courant (et synonyme) de *vidyādeha*: le premier est un passage anonyme cité dans un manuel tardif mais riche en citations, la *Śaivasannyāsapaddhati* (p. 60): *pañcamantrātmako haṃso vyaktamūrtis sadāśivaḥ / mantradehaś śivasyāsau* [...] //; le second est tiré de l'ĪśgP (*uttarārdha* 59.103ab): *atha mūrtiṃ mantradehaṃ vinyasyāvāhayet tataḥ / prāgvad devīm ... //*

Notons qu'il y a plusieurs façons de considérer cette quintuple structure: en envisageant les Brahmans comme des «Visages» ou Têtes qui se répartissent dans les cinq directions, avec un corps unique pour tous: c'est la *vaktrabhaṅgi* ou *kavāṭabhaṅgi* (voir SvT 1.47ab et 2.48, avec comm.), qui correspond aux représentations concrètes du Dieu; ou en les voyant superposés, chacun constituant alors un «étage» de Sadāśiva: c'est la *dehabhaṅgi* ou *daṇḍabhaṅgi* (voir SvT 1.46cd et 2.47cd, avec comm.). Voir Brunner 1986: 92, n. 14. De toutes façons, le problème qui nous occupe reste inchangé.

[59] Voir le demi-*śloka* de provenance inconnue cité par Aghoraśiva (KKD, p. 99) et donné en SP1, p. 179, sous [57c]: *liṅgākāropamardena bhāvane liṅgatāṃ tyajet*.

[60] Pour la structure et la construction de ce trône, voir par ex. SP1, pp. 154-74, qui donne une version détaillée. Le Kir (14.19c-22b), cité dans le commentaire à Mṛg kp 3.12, a une description différente.

soigneusement choisi pour lui convenir, soit à partir des caractéristiques de la Divinité que le mantra représente, soit à partir des lettres du mantra, son *vācaka*. Quand nous lisons ensuite que ce *sādhaka* doit rendre un culte quotidien à son *sādhyamantra*, il faut évidemment comprendre qu'il doit adorer le Mantra-Divinité, non le mantra-son; et cette Divinité a, dans son culte, le même statut que Śiva dans le culte quotidien d'un autre initié. On peut généraliser cela à tous les Mantras, objets de culte. Et la raison d'être de ce culte, dit un texte cité par le commentateur de la *Kriyākramadyotikā*, est de «faire en sorte que [le Mantra] soit proche»[61], qu'il ne tourne pas le dos à l'officiant: pourrait-on dire cela d'une formule? La même vision doit être maintenue pour toutes les actions relatives aux Mantras que le culte implique, par exemple le rassasiement ou le congé. Et l'on comprendra le rite nommé *mantranyāsa*, qui consiste à toucher un objet quelconque en récitant un mantra, comme le dépot dans cet objet, par ce biais, d'un Mantra, d'une Puissance, non d'un mot.

Nous avons parlé de «rassasiement» les Mantras. Cette action fait partie des techniques connues sous le nom de *mantrasaṃskāra*, «perfectionnements des mantras». Le *Śāradātilaka* énumère dix de ces actes, censés assurer d'avance le succès des mantras, en particulier en guérissant de leurs maladies ceux qui en sont affectés[62]. S'agit-il de mantras, ou de Mantras? Le texte cité semble clair: ces manipulations concernent les mantras-formules, dits ou écrits: «La naissance, c'est l'extraction du mantra à partir de l'alphabet (*mātṛkā*); l'animation consiste à réciter ce mantra en intercalant des *praṇava* entre ses lettres; le frapper se fait en écrivant toutes ses lettres, puis en les frappant avec de l'eau de santal, tout en disant [le *bīja*] de Vāyu; etc.». Mais si la technique porte sur les lettres, s'ensuit-il que le résultat des actions se situe au même niveau? Lorsque Somaśambhu par exemple, au cours d'un rituel des plus nobles, enjoint quelques-unes de ces mêmes actions[63], il ne fait aucun doute qu'elles

[61] *mantrāṇāṃ yajanaṃ kāryaṃ nityaṃ sannidhihetave / anyathā na prayacchanti siddhiṃ vighnaṃ prakurvate* (KKD, p. 95). Il s'agit là de justifier des *nyāsa* quotidiens des Divinités du trône, alors que toutes sont déjà présentes depuis l'installation de l'image divine; mais peu importe, la remarque vaut pour tous les contextes.

[62] Voici cette liste (ŚT 2.112-113): *janana* (naissance), *jīvana* (animation), *tāḍana* (frapper), *bodhana* (éveil), *abhiṣeka* (aspersion), *vimalīkaraṇa* (purification), *āpyāyana* (rassasiement), *tarpaṇa* (ici, libations d'eau), *dīpana* (illumination, excitation), *gupti* (protection). Pour les maladies, ou défauts, voir n. 65.

[63] Par exemple le *tarpaṇa* en SP2, p. 140, le *tarpaṇa* et le *dīpana* en SP3, p. 62, etc. Voir les Index des SP, sous le nom de tel ou tel acte – en particulier les index de SP3 et SP4, où les différents emplois d'un terme sont distingués.

portent sur des Mantras-Divinités, non sur des sons ou des lettres, en dépit de ce que nous avons pu dire parfois[64]. A notre avis, il en va de même pour tous les actes cités comme *mantrasaṃskāra*, et plus généralement pour toutes les opérations magiques qui impliquent des mantras. Ce sont des êtres conscients qu'il faut éveiller, activer, etc.; ce sont eux, les Mantras, qui peuvent avoir les «défauts» (*doṣa* – nous avons plus haut parlé de «maladies») qui les rendent inefficaces[65], et que ces *saṃskāra* guérissent. Ce sont eux surtout qui accomplissent pour l'officiant, en particulier pour le *sādhaka*, les actions désirées.

Insistons sur ce dernier point. Lorsqu'un officiant invoque un Mantra pour accomplir une action, quelle qu'elle soit, il ne suffit pas de dire qu'il doit, pour obtenir le succès escompté, s'approprier la puissance du Mantra en question. Car l'officiant n'est pas l'agent de cet acte: c'est le Mantra (l'être conscient, pas le mantra!) qui l'accomplit pour lui[66]. C'est pour cela que l'adorateur doit se le représenter – représentation qui est plutôt une construction mentale – avec une forme, une expression de visage, une couleur qui soient en accord avec l'acte requis et que les textes indiquent[67]. Et cela pour toute action, que ce soit le tranchage des liens du disciple par l'*ācārya* pendant la *dīkṣā*[68] ou, dans un autre registre, les actions intéressées (*kāmyakarman*), bénéfiques ou maléfiques, qu'entreprend le *sādhaka*, pour son bénéfice ou celui d'autres personnes. Les Tantras envisagent ces dernières avec le plus grand naturel, sans les assortir de

[64] Par ex. en SP3, p. 62, n. 164. Il faut traduire le texte de Somaśambhu par: «rassasiement des Mantras», et comprendre que la ligne 78ab donne des précisions sur les instructions de 75ab. Le mot mantra ne doit pas nous égarer: il s'agit ici de Śiva et de ses Membres, en tant que Divinités. La *paddhati* d'Aghoraśiva annonce d'ailleurs parfois le même rite par les mots: «*śivādīn mantrān* [...] *santarpya*» (KKD, par ex. p. 239, dern. ligne).

[65] Longue liste de *doṣa* en ŚT 2.64-70, leurs définitions en 2.71-111. Ces défauts peuvent être le résultat de pratiques malignes d'un *sādhaka* ennemi.

[66] Parfois la chose est très claire, la formule récitée contenant les ordres «apaise», «tue», «éloigne», etc. (voir SP4, pp. 439-51 et App. III). D'autres fois c'est implicite, par ex. lorsqu'on se contente d'indiquer l'apparence que doit prendre, selon l'action qu'on attend d'elle, la Divinité concernée (voir par ex. Mṛg kp 3.49 et son comm.).

[67] Ces instructions devraient être données, et le sont souvent, pour n'importe laquelle des Divinités invoquées au cours d'un culte, quel qu'il soit. Pour les cultes obligatoires, la forme de ces Divinités est constante et bien connue. Pour les actes intéressés, auxquels nous pensons ici, elle varie en fonction de l'acte, et il est impératif que le *sādhaka* en soit informé avec précision. L'enseignement sur ce point devait être essentiellement oral, ou faire l'objet de traités spéciaux; mais les textes les plus classiques donnent cependant quelques indications: voir n. préc. et SP3, p. 59, [1a].

[68] Voir l'Index de SP3 s.v. *pāśaccheda*.

conditions spéciales[69], et donnent au *sādhaka* tous les détails voulus, en tout cas pour les plus courantes. L'aspect de la Divinité à invoquer, la forme de la fosse à oblation, l'aspect du feu, la nature des oblations qu'il faut y faire, la bouche du Dieu dans laquelle il faut les verser – tout cela dépend en effet de l'intention du rite: apaiser ou nourrir, mais aussi susciter la haine, attirer quelqu'un à soi, tuer, etc.[70].

On peut se demander si toutes les catégories de Mantras sont concernées par ces défauts et impliquées dans les actes maléfiques. Très certainement, les Mantras purs sont exempts de «maladies»; mais ils ne s'abstiennent pas d'actes mauvais, puisqu'on nous indique la couleur sous laquelle il faut se représenter Sadāśiva, le Mantra le plus pur d'entre les purs, si l'on attend de lui une action de ce type[71].

Il faut reconnaître que la clarté ne règne pas dans ce domaine où interfèrent deux traditions: celle représentée par les Tantras, qui insiste sur l'importance et la prééminence des sujets conscients; et celle du *mantraśāstra*, certainement plus ancienne mais assurément présente à l'esprit des auteurs, et qui met l'accent sur les formules, dites ou écrites. A l'intérieur de la tradition śivaïte elle-même, des tendances opposées se font jour. Mais nous reviendrons sur ces problèmes après avoir considéré l'aspect sonore des Mantras.

III. Les Mantras comme sons

Oubliant pour un instant ce que nous avons dit des Mantras-Puissances, entrons directement dans le monde des mantras prononcés ou écrits. La première observation à faire est que le terme «mantra» s'applique à des éléments phoniques de formes très diverses, que l'on peut répartir d'abord en deux grandes catégories: celle des monosyllabes, et celle des formules à plusieurs syllabes, souvent à plusieurs mots.

Parmi les monosyllabes, nous distinguerons deux groupes: les «graines» (*bīja*), dont chacune, théoriquement du moins, correspond à un Mantra-

[69] Excepté dans quelques passages isolés et pas très convaincants, où ils recommandent au *sādhaka* de s'en tenir à des actes bénéfiques (ou «purs»). Voir par ex. Mṛg kp 4.1b et comm., en contradiction avec 3.46-49b.

[70] Voir dans n'importe quel texte, dans le chapitre intitulé *agnikārya*, les passages qui décrivent les *kuṇḍa* et les *homa* qu'on y fait (par ex. Mṛg kp 6.45-49; 60c-68b), et tous les chapitres traitant de rites *kāmya*.

[71] Voir le passage du Mṛg cité n. 66.

Puissance dont elle est le *vācaka* – c'est la catégorie qui va spécialement nous retenir – et d'autres interjections inclassables, douées chacune d'un pouvoir spécifique, mais qu'on ne relie à aucun *vācya*. De ces dernières, nous indiquerons seulement que quatre constituent, avec les mots *namaḥ* et *svāhā*, la famille des *jāti*, c'est-à-dire des terminaisons possibles des mantras[72]: *namaḥ*, *svāhā*, *vaṣaṭ*, *huṃ*, *vauṣaṭ* et *phaṭ*. Ces terminaisons peuvent se rencontrer à la fin d'un mantra quelconque, mais elles ont un lien particulier avec les mantras des Membres (*aṅgamantra*), chacune étant traditionnellement affectée à l'un d'eux, dans cet ordre selon la plupart des ouvrages[73].

Les formules comportant plusieurs syllabes ou plusieurs mots ont une longueur très variable. Plusieurs textes en distinguent trois catégories. Selon l'*Agnipurāṇa*[74]: les *bīja* ont moins de dix phonèmes, les *mantra* en ont plus de dix et moins de vingt, les «guirlandes» (*mālā*) en ont plus de vingt. Cette classification est reprise par l'*Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, qui modifie cependant le nom de la première catégorie en *bījamantra*, et réserve *bīja* pour une coalescence de plusieurs phonèmes[75]. On devrait donc, selon ce texte, comme selon la pratique actuelle, appeler *bīja* un vocable comme *hrūṃ*, *kṣauṃ*, etc., *mantra* ou *bījamantra* une formule comme *oṃ śivāya namaḥ*, et *mālā* ou *mālāmantra* une longue formule. En fait, dans les sections rituelles de nos textes, le mot «mantra» sert un peu à n'importe quoi, ce qui crée quelques difficultés de lecture; et l'habitude de laisser le mot générique sous-entendu et d'appeler la formule par son nom propre ne les résout pas toujours. Le cas est simple pour les *bīja*, car leur nom est celui du *vācya*: «on fera ceci avec Śiva (*śivena*)», ou «avec Astra» (*astreṇa*, *asinā*, etc.) signifie qu'il faut, en faisant le geste voulu, prononcer le *bīja* de Śiva,

[72] Le mot *jāti*, comme on le sait, signifie «famille», «caste», etc. Ici le vocable s'applique à chacun des éléments de cette liste, fixée dès le Veda.

[73] Par ex. Mṛg kp 1.9. Voir pour l'usage de ces *jāti* les notes 1 et 2 de notre traduction de ce Tantra (Brunner 1985: 13-14), où le mot *svāhā* est accidentellement tombé.

Nous reviendrons plus loin sur la fin de la *vṛtti* sur ce verset, où Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha cite TS 45 pour expliquer que c'est Śiva qui a fait les mantras (les *vācaka*), parce qu'il connaît les particularités des Vidyās (Mantras) et des Vidyeśas: voir n. 92. La remarque n'a rien à voir avec les *jāti*, mais elle illustre l'opinion des Siddhāntins selon lesquels le *vācya* précède le *vācaka*.

[74] AgPur, ch. 293.

[75] Vol. I, p. 2, 18b-20b. Classification de même type mais différente (sauf en ce qui concerne *mantra* et *mālā*) dans le *Tantrarāja*, cité par Padoux (1963: 296, n. 3). Autre version encore dans le NT 16.7ab: *bīja*, *kūṭa*, *piṇḍa*, *mālāmantra*, que le commentateur explique à sa façon (pour lui, par ex., les *bīja* sont des voyelles) et associe à trois seulement (il omet le plus bas) des quatre niveaux de la parole.

ou celui d'Astra. La chose est plus compliquée quand il s'agit de formules développées, car leurs noms traditionnels ne nous instruisent le plus souvent en rien sur leur énoncé[76]. Lorsqu'il lit par exemple qu'il faut «faire ceci avec *mṛtyuñjit*», un lecteur non prévenu ne peut pas savoir que la formule enjointe est *oṃ juṃ saḥ*[77]. Même si le nom, comme ici, indique la vertu du mantra (ce qui est aussi le cas pour *svapnamānava*, *pāpabhakṣaṇa* et d'autres), ou révèle le nombre de ses syllabes ou de ses lettres (*aṣṭākṣara*, *daśākṣara*, *navātman*), de tels éclaircissements n'en donnent pas la clé à celui qui ne la possède pas par ailleurs.

Ce sont les formules développées qui font l'objet du *japa*, dont nous dirons quelques mots plus loin. La question est beaucoup trop vaste pour être traitée en quelques pages, et par ailleurs, elle a été largement étudiée[78]. Au demeurant, ces formules ne rentrent pas exactement dans notre sujet, parce que leur lien avec les Mantras-Puissances est trop indirect; ce ne sont pas, à proprement parler, des *vācaka* de ces derniers. Rappelons seulement que les plus courantes dans le Siddhānta se présentent suivant une structure fixe que l'on peut résumer ainsi: «oṃ + le *bīja* de la divinité considérée + son nom au datif + une terminaison (*jāti*)» – cette dernière étant généralement *namaḥ* pour l'adoration et *svāhā* pour les offrandes dans le feu. Le *bīja*, on le verra, est essentiel parce qu'il fait venir le Dieu. Le ou les mots qui suivent témoignent des dispositions de l'adorateur envers la Divinité, ou de son action la concernant (il lui rend hommage, ou lui offre une nourriture); ils sont peut-être psychologiquement utiles, et même nécessaires pour les débutants, mais ils ne sont pas absolument indispensables au succès du rituel et n'auraient d'ailleurs aucun sens si le *bīja* n'avait pas produit son effet. Nous renvoyons aux études d'André Padoux pour les noms techniques par lesquels on désigne les différentes parties d'une telle formule (et sur lesquels les auteurs ne s'accordent pas)[79], car le rituel que nous connaissons les ignore en général. Quant aux «guirlandes», nous les laisserons totalement de côté, en notant seulement qu'elles servent essentiellement aux rites *kāmya*, qu'on y trouve alors

[76] Ces noms sont très nombreux (citons *upahṛdaya*, *bījamukhya*, *kṣurikā*, *pratyaṅgiras*, *vidyārāja*), et aucun dictionnaire systématique n'en existe, à notre connaissance. Pour les interpréter si l'on n'en possède pas la clé, il faut trouver le chapitre où les formules correspondantes ont été expliquées, en code évidemment.

[77] Voir SP4, p. 41, śl. 178c. On a ici, si l'on se rapporte à la classification donnée dans l'ĪśgP, un cas de *bījamantra*. En SP3, p. 59, śl. 71d, le texte enjoignait la forme longue de ce mantra: elle comporte une phrase qui précise le but du rite, et une *jāti* à la fin.

[78] Voir Padoux 1987.

[79] Voir Padoux 1980: 82-4 et notes, et 98, sous 11.

toujours l'indication de l'action à accomplir, et qu'elles ne se présentent généralement pas comme des morceaux de prose sanskrite[80].

Revenons donc aux *bīja*. Quelle est la liste, l'origine, le statut de ces éléments sonores? Et en quoi consiste leur puissance?

Un mot d'abord sur les plus courants. Pour la grande majorité des textes du Siddhānta tardif et pour la pratique actuelle, *h* est la lettre de Śiva[81]; et Śiva (ou Śadāśiva) est représenté par *hauṃ;* les Brahmans par *h* suivi des voyelles brèves (*a*, *i*, *u*, *e* et *o*)[82]; les Membres par *h* suivi des voyelles longues (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ai* et *au*, le *au* étant habituellement pour Netra, tandis qu' Astra a un *bīja* spécial, *haḥ*) – tous ces *bīja*, sauf celui d'Astra, étant nasalisés ou, comme on dit, terminés par le *bindu*. Dans les Bhairavatantras, comme le *Svacchanda* et le *Netra*, la lettre de Bhairava (qui joue le même rôle que Sādaśiva dans le Siddhānta) est *kṣ*, et les *bīja* des Brahmans et des Membres sont construits selon la règle donnée plus haut. La Śakti de Śiva est représentée le plus souvent par *hrīṃ*[83]. Quant aux Divinités secondaires, elles seront représentées, selon le *Mṛgendra*, les unes par le seul *praṇava* – le texte cite ici les Divinités du trône[84] –, d'autres par leur nom[85].

[80] Quelques exemples en SP4, p. 203, p. 349 et App. III; ĪśgP *pūrvārdha* 19.40-41; PKām, p. 16. Il faudrait faire une distinction entre ces *mālāmantra*s, caractéristiques des actes *kāmya*, et ceux qui, tout en se présentant comme des «guirlandes», sont utilisés comme *mūlamantra*s dans le rituel normal. Nous pensons au mantra de Bhairava à 32 syllabes (SvT 1.41-43); à celui nommé *vyomavyāpin*, qui est d'une énorme importance dans le kp du MatP (voir vol. II, Intr. pp. lxxxvi sq.) et fournit pour toute une tradition les *pada* de la «voie des mots» (voir SP3, p. 240, n. 192); au *samayamantra* de la Déesse Kubjikā (Goudriaan 1986: 143 ou 150), et à d'autres encore, qui au demeurant ne sont pas dénommés *mālāmantra* lorsqu'on les enjoint, et que l'on pourrait sans doute considérer comme des *vācaka* au sens strict.

[81] Mais voir Mṛg kp 1.3 (et les notes de notre traduction, pp. 6-8), qui exprime un autre avis. Il en va de même de Kir 12 et, selon D. Goodall que nous remercions pour ce renseignement, du *Parākhya*, encore inédit.

[82] Pour *e* et *o*, voir Mṛg kp 1.4ab et comm.: le texte prescrivant des voyelles courtes pour les mantras (= *bīja*) des cinq Brahmans, le commentateur les donne: *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* et *o*. Voir aussi Vāt 2.12-13c, qui ne s'intéresse pas là aux Brahmans, mais donne la liste des voyelles «naturelles» (*prakṛti*), dites «courtes» (*hrasva*) au śl. 34: *a*, *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*, *e* et *o*.

[83] En SP4, p. 166, Somaśambhu donne le choix entre *hūṃ*, *sūṃ* et *hrīṃ*, mais préfère ce dernier aux pp. 168 et 280. ĪśgP, *pūrvārdha*, 1.38c-39 donne aussi *hrīṃ*, mais on trouve *śrīṃ* là-même en 20.6, et dans quelques autres textes.

[84] Mṛg kp 1.4c-5. On sait que *oṃ* rentre dans la liste des mantras «communs»: voir SP4, pp. 232-34, n. 127, où cependant nous avons pris «communs» dans un sens différent.

[85] Mṛg kp 1.6, 7ab, 8c.

Ces dernières instructions du *Mṛgendra* nous laissent rêveuse. Qu'on ait le choix entre plusieurs *bīja* pour une même Divinité (*hauṃ* ou *kṣauṃ* pour Śiva par exemple) n'est pas très gênant, car on peut admettre qu'un Dieu ait plusieurs désignations, comme il a plusieurs formes. En revanche, l'attribution du même *vācaka* (*oṃ* dans notre exemple) à plusieurs Divinités distinctes, aussi spécifiques que les Divinités du trône, pose un problème sérieux. Dans ce cas, en effet, comment peut-on dire que le *bīja* est le corps sonore du Dieu concerné, et que c'est tel Dieu et non tel autre qui répondra à ce son? Il est vrai qu'on peut faire suivre le *bīja* du nom propre, et que ce dernier est parfois, et dans ce texte même, conçu comme le *vācaka*[86]; mais cela ne fait que poser une nouvelle question, car cette importance donnée au «nom» à côté du *bīja* crée une double représentation, parfaitement illogique, et ressemble fort à une conception tardive. En règle générale, chaque fois qu'un texte annonce qu'il va décrire les mantras de telles ou telles Divinités à partir des phonèmes de l'alphabet (c'est ce que l'on nomme *mantroddhāra*), groupés en huit ou neuf sections (*varga*) ou disposés d'avance sur un diagramme, il ne s'occupe que des *bīja*; et ceux-ci sont alors souvent clairement désignés comme les *vācaka*, chacune des Puissances concernées ayant le sien[87].

Nous venons de mettre en évidence une faille dans le système, apparemment si bien conçu, que décrit le *Mṛgendra* pour relier les Mantras aux mantras. On en trouverait aisément d'autres, là ou dans d'autres ouvrages. Certes, on ne pouvait attendre des textes une liste complète des *bīja* des millions de Mantras qui, selon eux, habitent les mondes purs; mais on pouvait espérer au moins un tableau complet des *bīja* correspondant aux Mantras utilisés dans le culte quotidien. On eût aimé qu'il y ait une correspondance univoque entre les *bīja* et leurs *vācya* – autrement dit, toujours et partout le même *bīja* pour le même Dieu –, et surtout que ceux-

[86] Voir ibid. et le comm. d'Aghoraśiva à TS 44cd. Mais le Mṛg ne donne pas cette instruction (de prononcer le nom) pour les Divinités auxquelles il attribue le *praṇava* comme *vācaka*; il ne la donne que pour d'autres Puissances.

[87] Voir le chapitre 12 du *Kiraṇa*, qui donne, en code – parfois clair, parfois énigmatique (en tout cas dans l'édition indienne de ce traité) – les «mantras», c.-à-d. les *bīja*, des Divinités que l'on dispose en cinq cercles concentriques autour de Śiva pendant le culte: Aṅgas, Brahmans, Vidyeśvaras (présentés en dernier lieu, mais adorés avant les trois autres), Gaṇeśvaras, Lokapālas et Armes de ces derniers: il n'y est question que de *bīja*, clairement désignés comme *vācaka* au śl. 11b. On notera que ce même texte ne décrit que dans son dernier chapitre (paṭ. 62) les formes longues des *brahmamantra* (ce sont leurs formes védiques) utilisées dans certains cas; et qu'il ne parle pas là de *vācaka*. Pour les techniques de *mantroddhāra*, voir Padoux 1978: 67-74.

ci soient tous caractéristiques. Tel n'est pas le cas. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'insister sur ces imperfections; il faut simplement se rappeler qu'elles existent[88].

Reprenons notre enquête en nous intéressant à l'origine et au statut de ces *bīja*. Pour le Siddhānta, toutes les expressions sonores appartiennent au domaine de l'inerte (*jaḍa*, *acit*). En effet, le son, et même le son «inaudible», le *nāda*, est né de cette Śakti matérielle que l'école appelle Bindu ou Mahāmāyā, et qui n'est pas la Śakti «de Śiva», celle qui lui est indissolublement liée (la *samāvetaśakti*) et qui est comme lui de nature spirituelle, mais une Śakti qu'il a «empruntée» ou «épousée» (c'est sa *parigrahaśakti*)[89] afin de faire naître le monde. Matière inerte des mondes purs, elle permée également les mondes impurs par l'intermédiaire de ses produits, en particulier du son. Que le son premier, puis toutes les manifestation sonores, soient nés d'elle est dit et répété à satiété par les maîtres du Siddhānta, qui s'appuient presque tous sur le verset suivant du *Mṛgendra*: *śakter nādo 'bhavad bindur akṣaraṃ mātṛkā tataḥ / mūrtir ādyā maheśasya sarvavācyānuyāyinī //*: «De la Śakti est issu le *nāda*, puis le *bindu*, puis l'Inaltérable, enfin la Mère, cette première expression concrète du Grand Seigneur, qui peut se conformer à (ou représenter) tous les exprimables»[90]. La Śakti, explique le commentateur, est ici Kuṇḍalinī[91], sous son aspect de Parole suprême (*paravāc*); le *nāda* est le son non-frappé; il s'épaissit en cette «goutte» sonore qu'est le *bindu* (à ne pas confondre avec Bindu); l'*akṣara* est *oṃ*, d'où découlent tous les phonèmes qui constituent la *mātṛkā* et avec lesquels les «exprimables» (*vācya*, glosé

[88] En particulier, il faut être très prudent dans l'utilisation des listes que donnent les dictionnaires spécialisés, et éviter à tout prix de déchiffrer le code fourni par un certain ouvrage en s'appuyant sur un résultat donné en langage clair par un texte différent.

[89] Le terme, très courant dans le Siddhānta tardif, est déjà utilisé par Rāmakaṇṭha II dans son comm. du MatP (voir par ex. vp 3.35ab, 4.22cd, 7.31ab). Souvent il insiste, par ex. ad 3.35ab qui lit: *dhātur vīryātmakaṃ syād* [...] *yoniḥ syād akṣarāṇāṃ*, il commente le début ainsi: *dhātur parameśvarasya vīryātmakaṃ parigrahaśaktirūpaṃ* [...] *na tu samāvetaśaktyātmakam.*

[90] Mṛg kp 1.2. Voir notre traduction et celle du commentaire en Brunner 1985: 5-6, ainsi que les notes ad loc., qui renvoient à d'autres ouvrages. La première ligne de ce *śloka* est souvent citée seule. Les passages équivalents du MatP (voir n. préc.) sont moins souvent avancés.

[91] Rencontrée plus haut sous le nom de Bindu et de Mahāmāyā. On la nomme aussi Vāgbrahman, Śabdabrahman, Paranāda, etc. (RTP 22c et 72, NāK 16-17). Présentation de la série de ses produits légèrement différente en RTP 22, où l'on voit le *nāda*, le *bindu* et les phonèmes sortir de ce même Bindu ou Paranāda - sans mention du *praṇava* avant les phonèmes.

par *abhidheya*) sont exprimés. On ne peut plus clairement marquer l'opposition entre les Mantras, êtres spirituels, et les mantras, matériels parce que consistant en son, par lesquels on les désigne. Elle n'est jamais contestée par les maîtres du Siddhānta.

Comment s'établit alors la correspondance entre les deux domaines? Et, pour commencer, qui décide de la forme des mantras-sons? Il faut évidemment répondre que c'est Śiva lui-même. Différents textes l'affirment, par exemple le *Tattvasaṅgraha* de Sadyojyoti: *vidyāvidyeśā-nāṃ sāmānyaviśeṣadharmavic chambhuḥ / mantrān akarod yasmād artha-vid abhidhānakṛd dṛṣṭaḥ //* (Śambhu, qui connaît les caractères communs et particuliers des Vidyās et des Vidyeśvaras, fait les mantras; on sait en effet que c'est celui qui connaît un objet qui le nomme[92]). La même conclusion découle d'ailleurs du fait que nous sommes dans la Voie pure, et qu'à ce niveau, c'est Śiva qui agit directement. Il donne donc lui-même un «corps sonore» aux Mantras – qui sont logés là comme l'âme dans un corps, nous dit Rāmakaṇṭha II en commentant le *Mataṅgapārameśvara* – si bien que lorsque le *sādhaka* prononcera ces mantras, et à condition qu'ils soient [bien] «dits» (*japtāḥ*) et satisfaits (*tarpitāḥ* – comprendre: par des offrandes convenables)[93], ils lui donneront jouissance parfaite et libération[94], et même, avant cela, tous les biens qu'il peut désirer – ce qui inclut les actes divers qu'il peut leur demander d'accomplir.

On peut alors se figurer leur intervention de la façon suivante: un *sādhaka* prononce correctement (nous dirons comment) un mantra, autrement dit commande en quelque sorte à son corps, fait de son et, par ce biais, atteint, dans le monde où il réside, l'être qu'est le Mantra lui-même. Celui-ci, animé par la Śakti de Śiva, répond à l'invite (*āvāhana*) du *sādhaka*: il descend dans son coeur, puis dans l'image matérielle qu'il utilise pour son culte; une fois présent, il accomplit les actions que le *sādhaka* désire. C'est le cas de figure le plus simple. Maintenant, que se passe-t-il exactement lorsqu'un *bīja* «auxiliaire», pourrait-on dire, est inclus dans un mantra à d'autres fins que l'*āvāhana* du Dieu central du rite qui l'utilise? On enjoint par exemple d'exciter ou d'illuminer les Mantras

[92] TS 45, déjà cité n. 73.

[93] MatP vp 7.38c-40b. Pour *japtāḥ*, voir plus loin: le mot ici peut signifier «prononcés» ou «répétés». Le passage est un bon exemple de glissement d'une signification à l'autre du mot «mantra»; car le *japa* concerne des sons, le *tarpaṇa*, des Êtres conscients.

[94] MatP vp 7.44, comm. Voir toute la discussion à propos de l'action des mantras qui couvre le passage 7.24-72.

(c'est le *dīpana*) avec le *bīja hūṃ*, ou, ce qui revient au même, avec Śikhā; et pour cela, on introduit d'une façon ou d'une autre ce *bīja* dans la formule à réciter[95]. Or Śikhā, troisième «Membre» (Aṅga) de n'importe quelle Divinité, est la Touffe, ou la Flamme. Nous interprétons le rite comme un appel à la Puissance (l'Être conscient) nommée «Flamme» pour qu'elle manifeste son pouvoir naturel afin que le but visé soit atteint. Aucun texte, à notre connaissance, ne dit précisément qu'il faut faire l'Invite (*āvāhana*) de Śikhā et appuyer sur elle sa méditation, mais cela paraît évident. C'est avec cette même Śikhā qu'on fraiera la voie à l'*ātman* que l'on doit faire monter dans Suṣumnā lors d'une certaine phase de la *dīkṣā*: sans doute la Flamme brûle-t-elle les obstacles qui s'opposeraient à l'ascension[96]. Sans multiplier les exemples, signalons encore l'usage très fréquent de l'Arme (Astra, soit *haḥ*) pour couper, chasser, interdire, et du Coeur (Hṛd, soit *hāṃ*) pour honorer, protéger, etc.[97]. Mettre un *bīja* quelconque entre deux *hāṃ*, c'est installer la Puissance concernée dans l'écrin du cœur, ce qui peut au demeurant servir à faire se mouvoir une entité naturellement omniprésente, à qui on donne ainsi un «corps» pour la limiter momentanément[98].

L'action principale de l'initié qui s'adresse à un Mantra consiste donc à prononcer correctement l'élément (*bīja*) qui constitue le corps sonore de ce dernier. L'exercice, nommé *mantroccāra*, *nādoccāra*, ou simplement *uccāra*, est longuement décrit par nombre de Tantras et de manuels, et nous l'avons nous-même expliqué à la suite de Somaśambhu pour l'*uccāra* du *bīja hauṃ*, qui représente Śiva[99]. Il s'agit de faire monter le son, décomposé en un certain nombre (cinq à seize) de «parties» (*kalā*) de plus en plus subtiles, depuis le bas de la colonne vertébrale jusqu'au sommet du crâne et au-delà, en suivant le conduit subtil (*nāḍī*) nommé Suṣumnā. On franchit ce faisant différents domaines, chacun régi par une Divinité particulière[100], pour

[95] Voir par ex. SP3, p. 62 ou 162 et notes ad loc.

[96] Voir SP3, p. 120 et n. 11. Nous faisons remarquer là que *hūṃ* et *huṃ* sont souvent confondus, et sans doute réellement interchangeables: l'Aṅga est une Flamme, et le Brahman Aghora (*huṃ*) possède également une nature ignée, ce que montre son rapport à l'élément «feu» (il correspond à la *kalā* Vidyā, elle-même identifiée à l'élément «feu»: voir SP3, Pl. III et IV et Intr. p. xv, citant SārK 8.6).

[97] Voir nos Index s.v. ASTRA et HṚD.

[98] Voir SP3, p. 124, śl. 5. C'est le *mantrasaṃskāra* nommé «écrin» (*sampuṭa*).

[99] Voir SP3, pp. 380-396 (mais déjà depuis p. 344) et Pl. XI; SP1, p. 186, n. 1; Padoux 1987: 141-147.

[100] Les cinq (ou six) principales sont nommées Causes (Kāraṇa) dans le Siddhānta, et l'on évoque l'ensemble du procès par la formule «dépassement des Kāraṇa».

aboutir, avec la dernière *kalā*, au niveau où réside la Divinité considérée: le niveau suprême si c'est Śiva. Un tel exercice, qui implique un entraînement au *yoga* et dont nous n'avons ici donné que le squelette, constitue l'acte principal de l'Invite (*āvāhana*) d'une Divinité quelconque: le dévot initié la rejoint au niveau où elle réside, avant de l'amener là où il désire qu'elle soit présente, soit dans son cœur, soit sur une image matérielle.

Peut-on dire que, par cet exercice, il s'identifie à la Divinité en question? Cela semble évident lorsque l'Invite porte sur le Dieu auquel s'adresse le culte[101], à condition de préciser que cette identification n'est que provisoire, et ne sera jamais une fusion. Lorsque la Puissance «appelée» l'est dans un autre but, par un *bīja* auxiliaire comme *hūṃ*, *haṃ* ou *haḥ* dans les cas que nous avons cités plus haut, on ne peut parler d'identification, et aucun texte ne le suggère. Le vocabulaire utilisé est tout autre, même d'ailleurs pour le premier cas: on dit de celui qui est capable de faire venir à soi un Mantra pour que celui-ci le serve qu'il a «maîtrisé» ce Mantra (il est *siddhamantra*), ou qu'il le «connaît» ou le «possède» (c'est un *mantrajña*, ou plus communément, un *mantrin*); et ce résultat ne s'atteint qu'à la suite d'une ascèse de très longue durée, le *mantrasādhana*[102]. Comme l'*uccāra* est essentiel aux *dīkṣā* et aux *pratiṣṭhā*[103], et accompli au début de chaque culte[104], il faut que l'*ācārya* lui-même (et pas seulement le *sādhaka*) soit un *mantrin*, nom dont on le désigne d'ailleurs parfois lorsqu'on décrit son activité[105].

On voit que l'*uccāra*, présenté comme nous l'avons fait, en nous fondant sur des textes qui traitent des cultes personnels, ne se confond pas

[101] En fait, cette identification (qui s'exprime pour un initié śivaïte par *śivo'haṃ*) a été faite auparavant, par un *āvāhana* du Dieu dans le cœur de l'officiant et la série de rites identificateurs (*śivīkaraṇa*) qui le suit.

[102] Voir Brunner 1975: 427-32. On trouvera mentionnées p. 432 différentes interprétations de ce «succès» (*siddhi*).

[103] Pendant la *dīkṣā*, il s'agit pour le *guru* de conduire à Śiva l'*ātman* du disciple (voir SP3, pp. 344-96); pour la *pratiṣṭhā*, d'accomplir le premier *āvāhana*, qui amène Śiva dans l'image que l'on vient d'installer et où il restera si elle est de nature permanente (voir SP4, pp. 162-164 et n. 465). Si l'*uccāra* est imparfait, la *dīkṣā* ne vaut rien, et l'image cultuelle restera vide.

[104] Même si le culte utilise une image où le Dieu est présent depuis sa *pratiṣṭhā*: voir SP1, pp. 184-188.

[105] Voir les Index de SP2, SP3 et SP4, s.v. *mantrin*. Pour atteindre ce but, il faudrait logiquement que l'*ācārya* s'entraîne à l'*uccāra*, comme doit le faire le *sādhaka*. En fait, les textes qui lui demandent de s'engager pour quelque temps dans cette pratique n'ont en vue que les rites *kāmya* qu'il pourra, en tant qu'*ācārya*, être amené à accomplir: voir Mṛg kp 4.7-8 et 8.238c-240b.

avec le *japa*, bien qu'il arrive que les commentateurs glosent un terme par l'autre[106]. D'ailleurs, la description de cet exercice implique une action corporelle, montrant que l'*uccāra*, au contraire du *japa*, ne peut être un acte mental: il est nécessaire qu'au départ le son soit audible, sans quoi l'on ne pourrait l'amener progressivement à l'inaudible. Nous croyons donc que les instructions concernant les diverses formes de *japa*, avec leurs valeurs respectives[107], ne sont en aucune façon applicables à l'*uccāra*.

Lorsque nos textes traitent du *japa*, ils adoptent une tout autre perspective que celle ou nous nous sommes placée. Il n'est plus là question de Mantras, ni de *bīja* dans un rôle de *vācaka*, mais de formules plus développées, qu'il faut répéter un certain nombre de fois, en utilisant, selon le cas, la seule pensée, la parole murmurée ou la parole audible. Une question se pose alors tout naturellement: comme ces formules comportent toujours, pour les initiés au moins, un *bīja* au début, faut-il comprendre qu'on doive prononcer celui-ci comme on vient de le dire? S'il n'en est rien, et puisque les mots en eux-mêmes n'ont aucun pouvoir[108], comment la formule pourrait-elle être efficace? Si au contraire l'on doit, à chaque récitation, faire l'*uccāra* correct du *bīja*, qui exige, non seulement une extrême concentration, mais un certain temps, combien de mois ou d'années faudra-t-il pour répéter des millions, ou même des milliers de millions de fois telle formule donnée? On peut balayer cette dernière objection en disant que le *japa* concerne surtout le *sādhaka*, et que celui-ci a tout son temps devant lui, qu'il a pris les dispositions pour cela[109]. Nous ajouterons alors une autre remarque, c'est que dans les passages en question, ceux qui expliquent les conditions dans lesquelles doit se faire le *japa*, le texte ne rappelle pas ce qu'il a pu dire ailleurs de la prononciation des *bīja*, et que les commentateurs n'essaient pas de combler cette lacune. On parle là des types de récitation, de la confection et de l'usage du rosaire, et autres choses de ce genre, mais jamais du rôle des *bīja*. Il semblerait cependant possible de concilier ces enseignements:

[106] Comme en Mṛg kp 6.8d. Voir aussi le fragment du MatP cité n. 94.

[107] Voir par ex. Mṛg kp 4.5 et comm.

[108] Voir une longue discussion à ce sujet en MatP vp 7.40b sq. Le texte réfute la position des Jaiminīya selon laquelle les mots sont efficaces par eux-mêmes. C'est Śiva qui, agissant par sa Śakti propre, anime les Mantras.

Sur les différences entre les positions des Grammairiens et des Siddhāntins au sujet de la parole, voir Sferra 1992.

[109] Voir Brunner 1975: 426-34; Mṛg cp 1.75-105.

on dirait par exemple qu'il suffit d'un seul véritable *uccāra*, qui provoque la présence réelle du Mantra, pour que la suite (*japa*, mais aussi oblations dans le feu et souvent ablutions[110]) ait une efficacité réelle – mais nous n'avons pas trouvé d'indice témoignant de ces préoccupations. Apparemment, lorsqu'on parle du *japa*, on oublie le rôle des Mantras, on traite d'autre chose. Expliquer cette anomalie en disant que plusieurs traditions différentes ont trouvé place dans nos Tantras sans être harmonisées est peut-être une solution paresseuse, mais c'est la seule que nous voyions. Elle explique en même temps un certain flou dans l'utilisation du mot *japa*, qui est parfois, nous l'avons dit, utilisé comme l'équivalent d'*uccāra*.

Une chose en tout cas semble claire, c'est qu'il n'est pas possible, dans l'optique du Siddhānta, d'expliquer l'efficacité des mantras par la Puissance de la parole, comme le font les maîtres du Trika[111]. On ne peut pas non plus lier de façon précise les considérations que nous avons présentées aux conceptions relatives aux différents niveaux de la parole, que les maîtres du Siddhānta connaissent pourtant[112]. Même Rāmakaṇṭha II dans ses *Nādakārikā* n'y fait aucune allusion[113]. L'auteur sans doute oppose naturellement au son grossier un son subtil – ce son inaudible, ou résonance, que l'on nomme *nāda*, et qui est communément identifié avec *paravāc*, dernier des quatres niveaux de la Parole acceptés par les Tantras; mais il ne s'intéresse pas aux niveaux intermédiaires, et prend la question sous un angle tout différent. Nous touchons là sans doute à une nouvelle opposition entre le Siddhānta et le Trika à propos du problème qui nous occupe[114]. Et dans la foulée indiquons-en une autre, essentielle: pour le Siddhānta, le *vācya*, d'essence spirituelle, précède le *vācaka*, de nature

[110] Les oblations sont toujours associées au *japa* du *sādhaka*, selon une règle précise: pour n récitations, n/10 oblations (voir Mṛg cp 1.77a et comm.). Instructions plus variables pour les ablutions.

[111] Voir Padoux, passim, par ex. en 1963: 305, citant Abhinavagupta. Le mot *paravāc* n'a pas le même sens dans les deux écoles.

[112] Voir RTP 72-77b; ĪśgP *pūrvārdha* 32c-38b; et pour le Trika, Padoux 1963: 141 sq. Les quatre niveaux sont, à partir du plus bas, ceux de *vaikharī*, *madhyamā*, *paśyantī* et *parā* (ces mots étant des épithètes de *vāc*, sous-entendu, et *parā* étant parfois remplacée par *sūkṣmā*). Pour *paravāc*, voir plus haut.

[113] Voir Filliozat 1984. Nous n'avons pas trouvé de passage, dans les textes pris ici en considération, où la série qui décrit la naissance du son à partir du Bindu (*śakti*, *nāda*, *bindu*, *akṣara*, selon le Mṛg kp 1.2; ou RTP 22, un peu différent: voir plus haut et n. 91), est mise en correspondance avec les quatre niveaux de la parole, à partir de *paravāc*; ce qui se comprend, car le parallélisme n'est bon que pour le premier et le dernier de ces degrés.

[114] Voir à nouveau Padoux 1963: 312.

inerte – qui, nous l'avons vu, est fabriqué à partir de lui; pour le Trika, nous dit André Padoux, c'est le *vācya* qui «découle» du *vācaka*[115].

IV. Conclusion

L'exposé qui précède a été fait en suivant fidèlement un ensemble de textes représentatifs de l'école du Śaiva-Siddhānta. Nous avons parlé au nom de leurs auteurs, en essayant de présenter la vision qu'ils avaient des mantras et de leur fonctionnement, sans trop nous attarder à la critiquer. Nous avons cependant attiré l'attention sur quelques-unes des faiblesses de leur système, en suggérant qu'elles pouvaient s'expliquer par le poids d'une tradition plus ancienne où l'accent était mis sur les sons en tant que tels. Il nous faut revenir sur ce point.

Notre hypothèse est qu'une pratique de la récitation de mantras a existé en Inde depuis une époque reculée et a marqué d'une forte empreinte la civilisation de ce pays. On s'est d'abord essentiellement intéressé aux sons, s'attachant à découvrir la meilleure façon de réciter des mots et des formules (plus tard seulement, de les écrire), pour obtenir des résultats précis, observables, dans notre monde. Ces pratiques, que l'on peut appeler magiques, ne constituent certes pas une spécificité indienne, elles existent dans toutes les cultures; mais en Inde, où le son a toujours eu l'importance que l'on sait, elles ont fait l'objet d'une réflexion systématique, aboutissant à ce qu'on peut appeler la «science des mantras» (*mantraśāstra*). Il n'est sûrement pas faux de dire que cette science a trouvé une expression raffinée dans la religion védique, et a très vite suscité une réflexion approfondie de la part des grammairiens et des philosophes, tout en poursuivant parallèlement un cours «populaire», qui est loin d'être tari de nos jours. Nous voyons dans le tantrisme un effort de réinterprétation de cette pratique ancienne, visant à l'intégrer dans un cadre nouveau, où l'on ne pouvait plus accepter qu'une quelconque réalité – le son en l'occurrence – échappe à l'omnipotence d'un Dieu ou de ses représentants autorisés. C'est sans doute ce que veut dire notre ami André Padoux quand, à la suite de réflexions sur les Mantras et Mantreśvaras dans l'optique du Trika, il explique leur présence par la tendance de cette école à «hypostasier un

[115] Padoux 1963: 298. Voir aussi ibid., p. 318, n. 4. Les points sur lesquels le Siddhānta s'oppose au Kaula sont probablement les mêmes, si l'on en juge par les études que Teun Goudriaan a consacrées à l'école Kubjikā, qui en fait partie.

moyen de délivrance» (Padoux 1963: 317-18 et 318, n. 4). Nous ne nions pas que les choses aient pu se passer ainsi. Dès l'époque védique, semble-t-il, on imaginait derrière les formules une divinité symbolisant leur pouvoir; et le tantrisme n'aurait fait que systématiser cette vision. N'est-ce pas d'ailleurs ce que suggérait le professeur Raniero Gnoli, auquel notre étude est dédiée, lorsque il écrivait, dans son Introduction à sa traduction du *Tantrāloka*: «Questo nome di Mantra dato a dei soggetti conoscenti non ci deve stupire. Nella misura infatti che una formula rituale, un mantra è meditato con successo dal discepolo, esso determina un piano di coscienza e quindi un 'soggetto conoscente' particolare, che l'immaginazione religiosa ha dopo ipostatizzato nella figura di questa o di quella entità» (Gnoli 1972: 50)? Notre intention n'a jamais été de réfuter cette explication, mais d'une part de montrer comment le système fonctionne aux yeux des maîtres du Siddhānta, même si c'est avec quelques à-coups, et d'autre part d'insister sur la nécessité de tenir compte de cette vision dans la lecture des ouvrages de l'école.

ABRÉVIATIONS

c.-à-d.	c'est-à-dire.
comm.	commentaire.
gr.	caractères *grantha*.
kp, cp, vp, yp	*kriyāpāda*, *caryāpāda*, *vidyāpāda*, *yogapāda*.
n. préc.	note précédente.
paṭ.	*paṭala*.
śl.	*śloka*.

OUVRAGES CITÉS: SOURCES SANSKRITES

AgPur — *Agnipurāṇa*, Kashi Sanskrit Series 174, Varanasi, 1966.

ĪśgP — *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, 4 vol., Delhi 1988.

Kir — *Kiraṇāgama*[116], Devakoṭṭai 1932; gr.
Id. In: *Bhaṭṭarāmakaṇṭhaviracitā Kiraṇavṛtti*, vol. I, critical edition and annotated translation par Dominic Goodall, vol. I, Pondichéry 1998.

KKD — *Kriyākramadyotikā*, d'Aghoraśiva, avec le comm. (*Prabhā*) de Nirmalamaṇi, Cidambaram 1927; gr.

TĀ — *Tantrāloka*, par Abhinavagupta, avec le comm. de Jayaratha, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, 12 vol., Bombay 1918-1938.
Id., trad. it.: voir Gnoli 1972.

[116] Cité selon l'édition-traduction de Goodall pour les chapitres 1 à 6; selon l'édition de Devakoṭṭai pour le reste.

TTN	*Tattvatrayanirṇaya*[117], de Sadyojyoti: voir Filliozat 1991.
TPr	*Tattvaprakāśa*, de Bhojadeva: voir Filliozat 1971 et Gengnagel 1996.
TS	*Tattvasaṅgraha*, de Sadyojyoti: voir Filliozat 1988.
NāK	*Nādakārikā*, de Rāmakaṇṭha: voir Filliozat 1984.
NT	*Netra Tantra*, avec le comm. (*Uddyota*) de Kṣemarāja, 2 vol., Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies 46 et 61, 1926 and 1939.
PKām	*Pūrva-Kāmikāgama* (*Kāmikāgama, Pūrvabhāga*), nouv. éd. par Svāminātha-śivācārya, Madras 1975.
MatP I	*Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama*, avec le comm. de Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, éd. crit. par N. R. Bhatt (Vol. I): vp, Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 56, Pondichéry 1977.
MatP II	*Id.* (Vol. II), kp, yp et cp, Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 65, Pondichéry 1982.
Mṛg I	*Mṛgendrāgama*, vp et yp, avec la *vṛtti* de Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha et la *dīpikā* d'Aghoraśivācārya, Devakoṭṭai 1928.
	Id., trad., intr. et notes par Michel Hulin, Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 63, Pondichéry 1980.
Mṛg II	*Mṛgendrāgama*, kp et cp, avec la *vṛtti* de Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, éd. crit. par N. R. Bhatt, Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 23, Pondichéry 1962.
	Id., trad., intr. et notes par Hélène Brunner-Lachaux, Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 69, Pondichéry 1985.
MK	*Mokṣakārikā*, par Sadyojyoti, comm. de Rāmakaṇṭha. In: *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa*, vol. 2, Devakoṭṭai 1925.
MVT	*Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies 37, Bombay 1922.
RTP	*Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*, par Śrīkaṇṭha, comm. d'Aghoraśiva. In: *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa*, vol. 2, Devakoṭṭai 1925.
Rau	*Rauravāgama*[118], éd. crit. par N. R. Bhatt, Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 18, 3 Vol., Pondichéry 1961, 1972, 1988.
Vāt	*Āgamarahasya* (*Vātulaśuddhākhya*), Śrī Manonmanigranthamālā 6, Bangalore 1958.
ŚT:	*Śāradātilakam*, by Lakṣmaṇadeśikendra, with the *Padārthādarśa* commentary by Rāghavabhaṭṭa, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi 1963.
(sans)	*Śaivasannyāsapaddhati*, par Jñānaśivācārya, Kumbhakonam 1932, gr.
SārK:	*Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama*, avec le comm. de Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, éd. crit. par N.R. Bhatt, Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 61, Pondichéry 1979.

[117] Cet ouvrage et les trois suivants sont cités dans nos notes en suivant la numérotation des śl. que donne P.-S. Filliozat (v. s.v.) dans ses éditions critiques, et qui pour le TS diffère d'une à deux unités de celle de l'édition de Devakoṭṭai. Les traductions des passages cités sont de nous.

[118] Cette édition donne sous le nom de *vidyāpāda* un texte qui est en fait un ouvrage indépendant, le *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*, plus ancien que le *kriyāpāda* qui le suit: voir Goodall 1998: xi, n. 92. Nous l'avons cependant cité dans nos notes conformément à la présentation qu'en fait N.R. Bhatt, puisque il n'en existe pas d'autre édition pour le moment.

SiSār *Siddhāntasārāvali*, par Trilocanaśiva, avec le comm. d'Anantaśambhu, Government Oriental Manuscript Library Bulletin XVII à XX, Madras 1965-1972.

SP1, 2, 3, 4 *Somaśambhupaddhati*, éd. et trad. par Hélène Brunner- Lachaux, Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 25, 4 Vol., Pondichéry 1963, 1968, 1977, 1998.

SvT *Svacchandatantra*, avec le comm. (*Uddyota*) de Kṣemarāja, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, 6 Vol., 1921 à 1943.

SvāSS *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, trad. partielle: voir sous Filliozat.

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IL CAPITOLO XXX DEL *SAṂVARODAYATANTRA**

La pubblicazione del trentesimo capitolo del *Saṃvarodayatantra* è stata realizzata seguendo un'indicazione fornita da Giuseppe Tucci il quale accennò, in alcune righe di *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*[1], alla fondamentale trattazione di temi relativi all'iconografia tantrica e delle regole che governano la costruzione delle immagini sacre contenuta in questo capitolo e nella parte del commento (*Pañjikā*) di Ratnarakṣita ad esso relativa.

Il trentesimo capitolo del *Saṃvarodayatantra* è assai complesso a causa di un linguaggio volutamente criptico e dell'abbondante uso della *saṃdhābhāṣā*. Il commento di Ratnarakṣita risulta essere di particolare importanza per la comprensione del testo *mūla*: il manoscritto nepalese della *Pañjikā* che Giuseppe Tucci portò a Roma – e che è ora conservato presso la biblioteca dell'IsIAO – si è rivelato assai utile per la scelta di alcune lezioni discordanti[2]. Un secondo manoscritto del commento è conservato presso gli archivi nazionali di Kathmandu[3] e, grazie alla cortesia di Christoph Cüppers, ho avuto recentemente la possibilità di consultarne una copia: ad una prima e non esaustiva analisi i due codici appaiono differenti. L'edizione critica, da me curata, della parte dell'opera esegetica di Ratnarakṣita relativa al solo XXX

* Numerosi sono gli insegnamenti e i doni che nel corso degli anni Raniero Gnoli mi ha offerto: con questo lavoro desidero specialmente esprimere la mia gratitudine e la mia riconoscenza per quanto da lui ho appreso sulla comprensione della "bellezza" e sulla possibilità/necessità di godere delle varie forme d'espressione artistica.

1 Tucci 1949: 293.

2 *Śrīsaṃvarodayamahātantrarājasya padminīnāmapañjikā* di Ratnarakṣita, manoscritto della collezione di Giuseppe Tucci, Biblioteca IsIAO, Roma (non catalogato); *Dpal sdom-pa ḥbyuṅ-baḥi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-poḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel padma can shes-bya-ba*, The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition, edited by T.S. Suzuki, vol. 51, No. 2137 (71-119); *Dpal sdom-pa ḥbyuṅ-baḥi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-poḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel padma can shes-bya-ba*, sDe dge edition, Tōhoku Imperial University Collection No. 1420, vol. WA 1v-101v.

3 *Saṃvarodayatantrapañjikāvyākhyā*, National Archives, Kathmandu, Nepal, tṛ 716-1, vi 158. Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Mf. A48/11.

capitolo vedrà presto la luce nella rivista dell'International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies di Tokyo e le eventuali differenze fra i due manoscritti saranno messe in luce e analizzate con precisione in questo lavoro.

Notizie approfondite sul ciclo tantrico del Saṃvarodaya furono date da Shinichi Tsuda nell'Introduzione alla sua edizione e traduzione in inglese di una gran parte dei capitoli del *Saṃvarodayatantra*[4]: a questo fondamentale studio si rimanda per ogni spiegazione delle caratteristiche dottrinali del tantra. L'indologo nipponico, nel suo lavoro, non prese in esame il XXX capitolo proprio perché non era in possesso del testo sanscrito del commento di Ratnarakṣita che, soprattutto in questo caso, risulta essere fondamentale per la comprensione dell'opera.

Shinichi Tsuda, con grande gentilezza e disponibilità, mi ha dapprima procurato una copia dei manoscritti da lui utilizzati nell'edizione e traduzione del *Saṃvarodayatantra*, e successivamente, durante un mio recente soggiorno a Tokyo, mi ha più volte offerto suggerimenti nella lettura del difficile testo. La denominazione dei manoscritti usati per la presente edizione coincide con quella usata da Tsuda nella sua edizione alla quale si rimanda anche per la loro descrizione[5].

Al termine del testo sanscrito è stata inserita un'edizione provvisoria della traduzione tibetana sulla base delle sole due edizioni di Pechino e sDe dge[6]: si è cercato, in questo modo, di fornire al lettore un aiuto per la comprensione delle stanze.

Il sandhi è stato normalizzato. L'incontro delle vocali in alcuni casi è stato mantenuto come appare nei manoscritti, per esempio in 19b, 21b, 22b, 24a[7]. La vocale iniziale *ū* appare spesso scritta breve (*u*) nella maggior parte dei codici: ogni caso particolare è stato indicato nell'apparato critico non essendoci uniformità nelle varie occorrenze all'interno dei manoscritti. Nel *pāda* 19b è stata preferita la *ū*° alla *u*° sebbene non appaia in nessun manoscritto. Spesso viene inserita una nasale labiale (*m*) o un *anusvāra* fra due vocali: su tutto questo si leggano i paragrafi che Franklin Edgerton ha dedicato al sandhi nel suo *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*[8] e l'Introduzione di Shinichi Tsuda al

[4] Si veda Tsuda 1974: 27-72.

[5] Si veda Tsuda 1974: 1-6.

[6] *Dpal bde mchog ḥbyuṅ ba shes bya baḥi rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po* (*Śrī-mahāsaṃbarodaya-tantrarāja-nāma*), The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition, edited by T.S. Suzuki, vol. 2, No. 20 (202-221); *Dpal bde mchog ḥbyuṅ ba shes bya baḥi rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po* (*Śrī-mahāsambarodaya-tantrarāja-nāma*), sDe dge edition, Tōhoku Imperial University Collection No. 373, vol. KHA 265r-311r.

[7] Si veda Edgerton (vol. I: Grammar) 1985[5]: 35 (§§ 4.51-4.56).

[8] Edgerton (vol. I: Grammar) 1985[5]: 35-36 (§§ 4.57-4.60).

Saṃvarodayatantra[9]. Come già fu fatto notare da Tsuda[10], il numero e il genere dei termini nonché il metro delle stanze (per esempio in 16b, 17d) sono talvolta irregolari: si è cercato il più delle volte di non modificare il testo e, quando è stato possibile, di inserire nelle note con esponente alfabetico una lettura alternativa o la lezione presente nel commento.

Legenda

[----[1, 2, ecc.]]	=	Apparato critico.
[----[(a), (b), ecc.]]	=	Annotazioni al testo. La parentesi tonda è stata inserita per evitare ogni possibile confusione fra il rimando alla nota, indicato con una lettera, e la lettera in prossimità della quale è inserito.
<...>	=	Le parentesi uncinate includono la ricostruzione di lettere, sillabe, parole.
[...]	=	Nel testo le parentesi quadre racchiudono la paginazione dei manoscritti mentre, nelle note, indicano parti di testo non leggibili.
•	=	Il punto separa il commento critico a parole diverse accomunate all'interno di un unico composto.
a, b, c, d	=	primo *pāda*, secondo *pāda*, ecc.
r	=	*recto*.
v	=	*verso*.
l.	=	linea.
Cong.	=	Congettura.
P	=	Traduzione tibetana (Edizione di Pechino)
D	=	Traduzione tibetana (Edizione sDe dge)

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[9] Tsuda 1974: 17 e sgg.

[10] Si veda Tsuda 1974: 19.

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Testo sanscrito[a]

athānyatamaṃ[b] vakṣye[11] śṛṇute guhyakādhipaḥ |
citritaṃ devarūpasya[12]-ākrāntarūpalakṣaṇam[13] || 1 ||

brahmarekhādirūpasya[14] pañcabhāgaṃ[15, (c)] tu-m[(d)]-āsanam[16] |

[a] Inizio del XXX capitolo nei vari manoscritti: A: 89r, l. 1; B: 113v, l. 3; C: 40v, l. 1; D: 94r, l. 2; E: 79r, l. 1; I: 85r, l. 2; L: 82v, l. 1; P: 70r, l. 4.

[b] *Contra metrum*: preferibile *atha anyatamaṃ*.

[c] Il commento prende in esame una diversa lezione: *pañcabhāgās*.

[d] Sull'inserimento della consonante *m* fra due vocali, riscontrabile nell'intera opera manoscritta, si veda Tsuda 1974: 17 e sgg. ed Edgerton (vol. I: Grammar) 1985[5]: 35-36 (§§ 4.57-60).

[11] *vakṣye*: A (correzione di *kṣye*), B, D, E, I; *vakṣya*: C; *saṃvakṣye*: L; *vakṣyai*: P.

[12] *citritaṃ deva°*: B, C, I, L, P; *vicitraṃ deva°*: D, E; *tritaṃn devatā°*: A.

[13] *ākrāntarūpa°*: B, C, D, I, P; *ākrāntaṃ rūpa°*: A; *ākrāṃntarūpa*: E; *ākrāntadeva°*: L.

[14] *°rekhādirūpasya*: A, E, L; *°rekhāvirūpasya*: B, C, I; *°lekhāvirūpasya*: D (foto non chiara in questo punto); *°lekhāviru°*: P.

[15] *pañcabhāgan*: A, D, E, L; *pañcabhāgam*: B, C, I; *pañcayasya bhāgan*: P.

[16] *tu māsanaṃ*: A, D, E, L, P; *āgan tu māsanaṃ*: I; *āgan tu mānasaṃ*: B; *āman tu mānasaṃ*: C.

tribhiḥ khaṇḍitam[17] aṅgasya vadano[18, (e)] sama-m-aṃśakaiḥ[19, (f)] || 2 ||

mukha<ṃ>[20] dvādaśabhāgaṃ tu caturaṅgu[P 70v]ligrīva[(g)] ca[21] |
śiravālādi[22, (h)] [B 114r] tasyaiva[(i)] karṇadvau[23] suvicakṣaṇam[24] || 3 ||

vadano tribhi[25, (j)] bhāgasya lalāṭamukhanāsikaiḥ[26] |
bhrumantāmukha-ūrdhvasya[27, (k)] dvibhir aṅgulicakṣuṣaiḥ[28] || 4 ||

catu[D 94v]raṅgu[I 85v]licchinnasya[29, (l)] tasyāpi suprasāritaḥ[30] |

[e] Sul nominativo in *-o* si veda Edgerton (vol. I: Grammar) 1985[5]: 34 (§ 4.38).
[f] Cfr. il commento: *samaṅgikaiḥ*.
[g] La sibilante palatale *ś* non compare probabilmente per ragioni metriche. Cfr. il commento: *caturaṅguligrīvo bhagavān*.
[h] Sui temi in *-as* in composizione si veda Edgerton (vol. I: Grammar) 1985[5]: 96 (§ 16.10).
[i] Cfr. il commento: *śiravālādi tasyeveti*.
[j] La lezione preferibile (*tribhir*), *contra metrum*, compare nel commento: *vadanatribhir bhāgasyeti*.
[k] Cfr. il commento: *bhrumantāmukham ūrdhvam asyeti*.
[l] Cfr. il commento: *caturaṅgulacchinnasyeti*.

[17] *tribhiḥ khaṇḍitam*: A, D (correzione di *tribhikhaṇḍitam*); *tribhikhaṇḍitam*: P; *tṛbhiḥ khaṇḍitam*: L; *trībhīḥ khaṇḍitam*: E; *bhṛibhikhaṇḍatam*: C, I; *bhṛitikhaṇḍatam*: B.
[18] *vadano*: B, C, D, E, I, L, P; *vadanaiḥ*: A.
[19] Cong. basata sul manoscritto E. *samam ansakaiḥ*: E; *samamānsikaiḥ*: L, P; *samam atsikaiḥ*: B, C, I; *samam atsakaiḥ*: D (correzione di *samam atsikaiḥ*); *maṃśakaiḥ*: A.
[20] *mukha°*: A, B, C, D, E, I, P; *mukhe*: L.
[21] *caturaṅguligrīva ca*: P; *caturaṅguligrīvacaḥ*: I; *raṅguligrīva ca*: C; *caturagaṃlivacā*: B; *caturaṅgulagrīva ca*: D (correzione di *caturaṅguligrīva ca*); *caturaṅgulayagrīva ca*: L; *caturaṅgulagrivacaḥ*: E; *caturaṅgulagrīvakaḥ*: A.
[22] *śiravālādi*: D, P; *śiracālādi*: I; *śīravālādi*: C; *śirāvārādi*: L; *silavālādi*: E; *śiravārādi*: A; *śiracārādi*: B.
[23] *karṇadvau*: A, B, C, D, I, P, L; *karṇaśca dvau*: E.
[24] *suvicakṣaṇam*: A, P (correzione di *suvikṣaṇam*); *suvicakṣaṇaḥ*: D, E, L; *suvikṣaṇam*: I; *vicakṣaṇam*: B; *suvikṣaṇam*: C.
[25] *tribhi*: D, P; *tṛbhi*: L; *bhṛti*: B; *bhṛbhi*: A, C, I, E.
[26] *lalāṭa°*: B, C, D; *lalāṭe*: A, E, I, L; *lalāṭaḥ*: P • *°mukhanāsikaiḥ*: B, C, D, E, I, L, P; *°mukharīnāśikaiḥ*: A.
[27] *bhrumantāmukha*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto), I; *bhruvo netrāmukho*: E; *bhrūnetrāmukha*: D (correzione di *drāmakāmukha*); *bhrāmantāmukha*: C; *bhrāmantrāmukha*: L, P; *bhramantrāmukha*: B • *ūrdhvasya*: C, D, I, L, P; *urdhvasya*: A, B; *dvasya*: E.
[28] *dvibhir aṅgulicakṣuṣaiḥ*: D, E; *dvibhir aṅgulicakṣukaiḥ*: A, L; *dvibhir aṅgulicakṣukeḥ*: B; *dvibhir aṅgulicakṣukhaiḥ*: I; *dviciragulicakṣukaiḥ*: C, *dvitrir aṅgulicakṣuṣaiḥ*: P.
[29] *caturaṅguli°*: C, D, E, I, P; *caturaṅgura°*: L; *catuṅguli°*: A; *cakṣuraṅguli°*: B.
[30] *tasyāpi suprasāritaḥ*: P, D; *tasya prasāritaḥ*: C, I; *tasya prasārataḥ*: A, E; *tasya prasāsito yadi*: L; *tasya pramāritaḥ*: B.

grīvāmadhye ti(m) madhyasya[31] krāntadve surabhāgataḥ[32, (n)] || 5 ||

hṛdisthāne[33] pi° nābhasya[34] krāntād e[A 89v]keti[35] sarvataḥ[36] |
stanam[37] antarakrāntasya[38] stanābhyām[39] urakrāntavat[40, (p)] || 6 ||

hastakrāntadvitīyaṃ[41] tu pāṇau dvau [L 83r] 'syeti[42, (q)] krānta[E 79v]kaiḥ[43] |
caturaṅgulayuktasya-ūrujaṃghāsamanvitam[44] || 7 ||

[m] Sull'elisione della *i* iniziale e sul mantenimento inalterato della vocale che la precede (come nelle lezioni dei manoscritti A, B, C e I) si veda Edgerton (vol. I: Grammar) 1985[5]: 32-33 (§§ 4.14, 4.18). La lezione è confermata dalla traduzione tibetana del commento di Ratnarakṣita: *dbus kyi mgrin pa zhes pa dbus kyi*.

[n] Il commento prende in esame due letture: 1. *subhāgata iti*; 2. *surabhāgata iti*.

[o] Si veda veda Edgerton (vol. I: Grammar) 1985[5]: 32 (§§ 4.2-3).

[p] La lezione corretta (*uraḥkrā°*), riportata nel commento, non è stata inserita per ragioni metriche.

[q] Si è preferito aggiungere l'*avagraha* prima di *syeti* per una maggiore chiarezza: sull'elisione della *a* iniziale si veda Edgerton (vol. I: Grammar) 1985[5]: 32 (§ 4.11).

[31] *grīvāmadhye ti madhyasya*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto), B, C; *grīvāmadhye tri madhyasya*: L; *grīvāmadhye ti madhyesya*: I; *grīvāmadhya ti madhyasya*: D (correzione di *grīvāmadhya ti madhya ti madhyasya*), P; *grīvāmadhye ta madhyasyāḥ*: E.

[32] *krāntadve surabhāgataḥ*: C, D, I, P; *krāntadvayam urabhāgataḥ*: E; *krāntadveva surabhāsataḥ*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto); *krāntadve sūlabhāgataḥ*: L; *krāntardvasurabhāgataḥ*: B.

[33] *hṛdisthāne*: A, B, C, D (correzione di *hṛdisthāna*), I, L; *hṛdisthāna*: P; *hadisthāne*: E.

[34] *nābhasya*: B, C, D, E, I, L; *lābhasya*: P.

[35] *krāntād eketi*: A; *krāntādveketi*: B, C, P; *krāntād eveti*: L; *krāntadveketi*: I; *krāṃskasyāntād ekeka*: E; *krāntād ekaika ti*: D (correzione di *krāntādveka ti*).

[36] *sarvataḥ*: A, B, C, D, I, L, P; *sarvadāḥ*: E.

[37] *stanam*: B, D (correzione di *statam*), E, L; *statam*: C, I, P; *stanaḥ*: A.

[38] *antarakrāntasya*: B, C (foto non chiara in questo punto), D, E, I; *santarakrāntasya*: A; *antacakrāntasya*: L, P.

[39] *stanātyām*: A, B, C, D (correzione di *stanābhyāṃ*), E, I, P; *stanābhyāṃ*: L.

[40] *urakrāntavat*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto), I (correzione di *urakrāntavavat*), B, D (correzione di *uratāntat*); *ūlakrāntavat*: E; *uratāntat*: P, *uratrāntavat*: C; *murukrāntataḥ*: L.

[41] *hastakrāntadvitīyaṃ*: B, C, D, E (correzione di *hastakrāntadvitī*), I, P; *hastakāntaradvetīyaṃ*: A; *hastakrāntadvitīyāṃ*: L.

[42] *pāṇau dvau syeti*: E (correzione di *yathaivaca dvādaśatā*), I, L; *pāṇau dvau sya ti*: B; *pāṇau dvī sya ti*: C; *pāṇau dau syanti*: P; *pāṇau dvau syanti*: D; *ṣāṇau dvau syai*: A.

[43] *krāntakaiḥ*: A, B, D, P; *kāntakaiḥ*: C; *kyantakyaiḥ*: I; *nta[--]kaiḥ*: E (foto non chiara in questo punto); *cāntakaiḥ*: L.

[44] *ūrujaṃghāsamanvitam*: L; *urujaṃghāsamanvitam*: D, E, I; *urddhajaṃghāsamanvitam*: A; *urujaṃghāṃ samanvitam*: C; *ūrūjaṃghāsamanvitam*: B; *urūjaṃghāsamanvitaḥ*: P.

caturaṅgulam <aṃśaḥ syāt>[45, (r)] pādakrāntas [B 114v] tathaiva ca[46] |
dvādaśatālakrāntasya[47] devatārūpacitritam[48] || 8 ||

[49]caturaṅgulaśeṣaṃ[50] tu-m[(s)]-āsanām[51] aṣṭadeśakaiḥ[52] |
āsanāsanabhir[53] baddhaiḥ[54] dvibhir[55] aṅgulam aṅgulam[56] || 9 ||

candramaṇḍalagarbhaṃ tu[57]-antrav[58] antrādikārayet |
gambhīro[59] vajradevasya[60] dvā[P 71r]daśatālala[D 95r]kṣaṇam[61] || 10 ||

nimnabhāgādibhāgasya[62]-upaśobhāvicitritam[63] |

[r] Cfr. il commento: *caturaṅgulam aṃśaḥ syād iti*.
[s] Si veda nota *d*.

[45] Cong. basata sul commento. *caturaṅgulam aṇḍasyāt*: A; *caturaṅgaśrusyās*: B; *caturāṅgumaṇḍasyāt*: C; *caturaṅgulamaṇḍusyāt*: D; *caturaṅgulahaṇḍusyā*: E; *caturāṅgulamaśrusyāt*: I; *caturāṅgulamaṃ kṣutyāṃ*: L; *caturaṅgulamaśrusyāt*: P.

[46] *pādakrāntas tathaivacaḥ*: P; *pādākrāntas tathaivacaḥ*: D; *pādākrānta tathaivaca*: A, L; *pādakrānta tathaiva ca*: I; *pādakrānta thaiva ca*: C; *pādakrānta tathaiva ca*: E; *pādakānta tathaivata*: B.

[47] *dvādaśatāla*°: B, C, D, I, L, P; *dvādaśatāra*°: A; *dvādaśatālā*°: E.

[48] °*rūpacitritam*: A, B, D, E, I, L; °*rūpacitrinam*: C; °*rūpaṃ viritritam*: P.

[49] In questo punto il manoscritto L inserisce i seguenti versi: *nirmalājhādibhāgasya-m-upasobhavicitrakam | so pi m-ākrāntatālasya bāhudvau saṃyamena tu | varjjantribhi-m-aṅgulyā saumya devaṃ tu citritam* |.

[50] °*raṅgulaśeṣaṃ*: A, D, E, L; °*rāṅgulaśeṣaṃ*: C, I; °*rāṅgulaseṣaṃ*: B; °*laṅguraśeṣaṃ*: P.

[51] *tu-m-āsanām*: A, E; *tu-m-āsanā*: L; *tu-m-āṣaṇām*: P; *tu-m-āṣanām*: B, C, I, D (correzione di *tu-m-āṣaṇām*).

[52] *aṣṭadeśakaiḥ*: B, C (correzione di *aṣṭakadeśakaiḥ*), D, I; *aṣṭadeśakai*: P; *ṣṭaśvadeśakaiḥ*: L; *aṣṭaśekaiḥ*: E; *astanārakaḥ*: A.

[53] *āsanāsanabhir*: P; *āsanāsanabhi*: B, D, I; *āsannāsanabhi*: A, E; *āsaṃnāsahri*: L; *ānāsanabhi*: C.

[54] *baddhaiḥ*: B, C, D, E, I, P; *baddhai*:A; *buddhaiḥ*: L.

[55] *dvibhir*: L; *tribhir*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto), B, C, D, E, I, P.

[56] *aṅgulam aṅgulam*: C, E, L; *aṅgula[---]ṅgulam*: I; *aṅgulam*: B, D (a margine c'è un'emendazione illegibile); *aṅgulaḥ*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto); *aṅgulaṃ bhavet*: P.

[57] *candramaṇḍalagarhaṃ tu*: A, B, C, D, E, P; *candramaṇḍalagarbbhān tu*: I; *caṇḍamaṇḍalagarbhan tu*: L.

[58] *antrav*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto), C, D, E, I, P; *atrav*: L. *Deest* in B.

[59] *gambhīro*: A, B, C, D, I, L; *gambhiro*: E, P;

[60] *vajradevasya*: A, B, C, D, E, I, L, P (correzione di *vadevasya*).

[61] °*lakṣaṇam*: A, B, C, D, E, I, P; °*rakṣaṇam*: L.

[62] °*bhāgasya*: A, D, C, E, I, L, P; °*bhagasya*: B.

[63] *m-upaśobhāvicitritam*: P; *upaśobhāvicitritam*: D (correzione di *m-upaśobhāvicitritam*); *upaśobho 'śobhacitritam*: A; *m-ukhasobhāsobhacitritam*: B; *m-upasobhāsobhacitritam*: C; *m-upasobhanacitritam*: L; *upaśobhā[---]śobhacitritam*: E; *m-upasobhāsobhavitritam*: I.

[I 86r] so pi-m-ākrāntatālasya[64] bāhudvau[65] saṃyamena[66] tu ‖ 11 ‖

varjayed[67] dvibhim[68, (t)] aṅgulyāṃ[69] saumyadevaṃ tu citritam[70] |
so [A 90r] pi[71] tālamukhaṃ [L 83v] kṛtvā udarāt[72] prīṇayet[73] sadā ‖ 12 ‖[(u)]

varjayed[74] dvibhim[(v)] aṅgulyāṃ[75] sandhisandhiṃ[76] tu[77] sarvasaḥ[78] |
krodhakrodheśvarī devī[79] ceṭiceṭiṃ[80] tu kiṃkarī[81] ‖ 13 ‖

[t] Ci saremmo aspettati *dvibhir* come in 4d e 9d. Si veda tuttavia Edgerton (vol. I: Grammar) 1985[5]: 106 (§ 19.4). Il commento non prende in esame questo *pāda*.

[u] In alcuni manoscritti (B, C, D, I, P) troviamo la ripetizione della stanza 12 con qualche variante che qui di seguito viene data: il testo della stanza è stato segnato in grassetto per distinguerlo dall'apparato critico. Nell'edizione si segue la lezione dei manoscritti A, E, L, del commento e della traduzione tibetana che non presentano tale ripetizione.

varjayed [*varjjayed*: D, P; *vajayed*: I; *varja*: C; *vaja*°: B] **dvibhim aṅgulyā** [*aṅgulyā*: C, D, P; *aṅgalyā*: I; *aṅgalyo*: B] **saumyade**[B 115r]**vaṃ tu citritam | so pi tālamukhaṃ** [*tālamukhaṃ*: B, C, D, P; *tālamukha*°: I] **kṛtvā udarāt** [*udarāt*: B, D, P; *udarā*: C (correzione di *udararā*); *udara*°: I] **prīṇayet** [*prīṇayet*: B, D, I, P; *prīṇat*: C] **sadā**.

[v] Si veda nota *t*.

[64] *m-ākrāntatālasya*: B, C, E, I, P; *m-ākrāntatārasya*: A; *sākrāntatālasya*: D, L.
[65] *bāhudvau*: A, B, C, E, I, L; *bāhau dvau*: D, P.
[66] *saṃyamena*: C, D, E, I, L; *saṃyam eva*: A; *saṃyemena*: B; *samayena*: P.
[67] *varjayet*: L; *varjjayed*: A, C, D (correzione di *marjjaye*), E, I, P; *varjjaya*: B.
[68] *dvibhim*: B, C, D, I, P; *tṛbhim*: A, E (foto non chiara in questo punto); *tribhim*: L.
[69] *aṅgulyāṃ*: A; *aṅgulyā*: B, C, D, I, L, P; *āṅgulyāṃ*: E.
[70] *saumyadevaṃ tu citritam*: A, B, D, I, L, P; *somyadevaṃ tu citritam*: C; *saunyadevaṃ tu cetritam*: E.
[71] *so pi*: A, C, D, E, L, P; *svapi*: B, I.
[72] *udarāt*: D, P; *udarā*°: A, B, C, L; *udalā*: E; *udara*°: I.
[73] *prīṇayet*: B, D, E, I, L, P; *praṇayet*: C; *prīṇayan*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto).
[74] *varjayed*: A, B, D, E, P; *varjayet*: L; *varjaye*: C; *vajayed*: I.
[75] *dvibhim aṅgulyāṃ*: E; *dvibhim aṅgulyaṃ*: D, I; *dibhim aṅgulyaṃ*: C; *dvibhim aṅgalya*: B; *dvībhim aṅgalyaṃ*: P; *tribhir aṅgulyā*: L; *tṛbhim aṅgulyām*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto).
[76] *sandhisandhiṃ*: A, P, D, L; *sandhisaṃdhi*: C; *siddhi2*: B; *saddhisandhiṃ*: I; *sandhi*: E.
[77] *deest* in B e in C.
[78] *sarvasaḥ*: B, C, D, E, I, P; *sarvaśaḥ*: A, L.
[79] *krodhakodheśvarī devī*: C, L; *krodhakodheśvarā devā*: A; *krodhakrodhaśvari devi*: E, P; *krodhakodheśvarīdevīś*: D; *krodhakotheśvarī devīś*: I; *krodhevedidevīś*: B.
[80] *ceṭiceṭiṃ*: A, C, D, E, L, P; *caiṭicaṭiṃ*: I; *ceṭiṃ*: B.
[81] *kiṃkarī*: A, C, D, I, L, P; *kiṃkari*: E; *kiṃkarā*: B.

ghorabībhatsa[C 41r]rūpaṃ[82] tu daśatālābhicitritam[83] |
manomayasvarūpaṃ[84] tu navatālābhicitri[E 80r]tam[85, (w)] || 14 ||

kramakrameṇa yoktavyaṃ maṇḍalacakradevatā<ḥ>[86] |
madhye[87] vajra[D 95v]rājasya[88] etā lakṣaṇavicitritam[89] || 15 ||

trīṇi[90] dīrghamahādoṣaṃ cibukagrīvasya jaṃghayoḥ[91] |
uccāṭāsthānabhraṣṭaṃ[92] tu[93] mantrī[I 86v]ṇāṃ[(x)] niyatā[B 115v]tmanaḥ[94] || 16 ||

trīṇi hrasvamahādoṣa<ṃ> nāsākarṇādi[P 71v]m[95] aṅguliḥ[96] |

[w] I *pāda* "*manomayasvarūpaṃ tu navatālābhicitritam*" sono ripetuti due volte in B.

[x] Sull'uso irregolare del genitivo plurale dei temi in *-in* si veda Edgerton (vol. I: Grammar) 1985[5]: 82-83 (§§ 10.200-10.201).

[82] *ghorabībhatsa°*: A, C, L; *ghorabhībhatsa°*: D, P; *ghorabhibhatsa°*: E; *ghorabhūtsa°*: I; *ghorābhitsa°*: B.

[83] *daśatālābhicitritam*: C, D, I, P; *dasatālābhicitritam*: E; *daśatārāvicitritam*: A; *daśatārābhicitrītam*: B; *daśatālavicitritam*: L.

[84] *manomayasvarūpaṃ*: A, B, C, D, I, L, P; *manomadvāṣadviṃśadbhi tu sarvasayasvarūpaṃ*: E.

[85] *navatālābhicitritam*: B, D, E, I, P; *navatārābhicitritam*: C; *navatālabhicitritam*: L; *navatārābhicita*: A.

[86] Cong. basata sul tibetano. *maṇḍalacakradevatā*: B; *maṇḍalacakradevatī*: C, D; *maṇḍanacakradevatī*: I; *maṇḍalācakradevatī*: A, P; *maṇḍalācakradevatā*: L; *maṇḍalācakradevati*: E.

[87] *madhye*: A, C, E, I, L; *madhye tu*: D, P; *madhya*: B.

[88] *vajrarājasya*: L; *vajarājasya*: A, C, D (correzione di *vajarāsya*), E, I, P (inserisce un *daṇḍa* dopo *vajarājasya*); *vajarāsva*: B.

[89] *lakṣaṇavicitritam*: B, I; *lakṣabhicitritam*: C; *lakṣaṇabhicitritam*: D; *rakṣaṇabhicitritam*: P; *lakṣalaṇacitritam*: A, L; *lakṣanacitritam*: E.

[90] *trīṇi*: B, C, D, E, I, L, P; *triṇi*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto).

[91] *dīrghamahādoṣaṃ cibukagrīvasya jaṃghayoḥ*: D (correzione, poco chiara, di *vipūladīrghasya*); *dīrghamahādoṣaṃ cibukagrīvasya jaghayoḥ*: E; *dīrghamahādoṣavipūladīrghasya jaṃghayoḥ*: C; *dīrghamahādoṣaṃ [---]vasya jaṃghayoḥ*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto); *dīrghamahādoṣacipūradirghasya jaṃghayoḥ*: P; *dīrghamahādoṣavibulagrīvasya jaghayoḥ*: I; *dīrghamahādoṣavirulatrīvasya jaghayoḥ*: B; *dīrghamahādevacimbujaṃghasyadevayoḥ*: L.

[92] *uccāṭāsthānabhraṣṭaṃ*: B, C, E, I; *uccāṭasthanabhṛṣṭam*: A; *uccāṭāsthānabhraṃṣṭaṃ*: D (correzione di *uccāṭāsthāma°*); *uccātasthānabhraṃṣṭaṃ*: P; *uccāvasthānabhraṣṭasya*: L.

[93] tu *deest* in L.

[94] *niyatātmanaḥ*: A, C, D, E, L; *niyatānmanaḥ*: B; *niyatāṃmanaḥ*: I, P.

[95] *nāsākarṇādim*: A, B, C, D, E, I, P; *nābhākarṇādim*: L.

[96] *aṅguliḥ*: L; *aṅgulī*: A, B, C, D, I, P; *aṅguli*: E.

niyataṃ[97] siddhihāniṃ[98] tu[99] śriyāhāniṃ[y] tu tathaiva ca[100] || 17 ||

trīṇi[101] sthalamahādoṣa<ṃ>[102] jaṃghāpādādigaṇḍayoḥ[103] |
[A 90v] māravighnaśriyā[104] dūraṃ[105] sādhakā[106] niyatātmanaḥ[107] || 18 ||

trīṇi[108] nimnamahādoṣaṃ[109] kapāla-ūrupañjaram[110, (z)] [L 84r] |
bhavate-arthahāniṃ[111] tu śīghraṃ[112] nānyatra[113] śaṃsayaḥ[114] || 19 ||

trīṇi[115] vaṃkamahādoṣaṃ[116] stanakarṇalalāṭayoḥ[117] |

y Possibile emendazione: *śrīhāniṃ*. Cfr. sotto 26a.
z Il solo manoscritto L conferma la lezione del tibetano.

97 *niyataṃ*: A, B, C, D, E, L, P; *niyutaṃ*: I.

98 *siddhihāniṃ*: A, C, D, E, I, L, P; *siddhihāni°*: B.

99 *deest* in B.

100 *śriyāhāniṃ tu tathaiva ca*: A; *śriyānaṃ tu tathaiva ca*: B, C, D, E, P; *sriyānāṃ tu tathaiva ca*: L; *tathaiva ca*: I.

101 *trīṇi*: A, D, E, I, P; *triṇi*: B, C, L.

102 *sthala°*: A, B, C, D, E, L, P; *sthana°*: I.

103 *°dādigaṇḍayoḥ*: C, D, E, L, P; *°dādigaṇḍayoḥ*: I; *°dādijaṃghayoḥ*: A; *°daditaṇḍayo*: B.

104 *māravighnaśriyā*: C, E, I; *māravighnaśriyāṃ*: D; *māmāravighnaśriyā*: A; *maravighnaśiyā*: B; *nāravighnaśriyā*: P; *māravighnāsrayā*: L.

105 *dūraṃ*: A, L; *dūra*: B, D, E, I, P (foto non chiara in questo punto); *dūpa*: C.

106 *sādhakā*: C, D, E, I, L, P (foto non chiara in questo punto); *sārakā*: A; *sādharakāḥ*: B.

107 *°manaḥ*: C, D, I, P; *°manāḥ*: A, E, L; *°mana*: B.

108 *trīṇi*: A, C, D, E, I; *triṇi*: B; *trīṇin*: P; *triṇī*: L.

109 *nimnamahādoṣaṃ*: D; *nimnamahādoṣa*: A, B, C, E (foto non chiara in questo punto), I, P; *visvamahādoṣaṃ*: L.

110 *kapāla-urupañjaram*: I; *kapāra-urupañjalam*: B; *kapāla-urūpañjalam* C; *kapāla-ulupañjaram*: D, P; *kaporaṃ* (sic!) *urūpañjaram*: E; *kapāla-urapañjaram*: A; *kapola-urapañjalam*: L.

111 *arthahāniṃ*: B, C, D, E, I, L; *'rthahāniṃ*: A; *artharhaniṃ*: P.

112 *śīghra*: D, I, P; *śīghraṃ*: L; *śrīghra*: A, B, C; *śrīghaṃ*: E.

113 *nānyatra*: C; *tānyatra*: L; *nānyaṃtra*: I, B; *nānetra*: E; *nātra*: D, P. La foto del manoscritto A è illegibile in questo punto.

114 *śaṃsayaḥ*: D, I, P; *śaṃśayaḥ*: E; *śasaya*: B; *saśayaḥ*: C (foto non chiara in questo punto); *saṃśayaḥ*: L. La foto del manoscritto A è illegibile in questo punto.

115 *trīṇi*: A, C, D, E, I, P; *triṇi*: B; *triṇī*: L.

116 *vaṃkamahādoṣaṃ*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto); *vakrīmahādoṣa*: P; *vakrīṇimahādoṣa*: C; *vaṃkāmahādoṣa*: D (correzione di *vakrīmahādoṣa*), L; *vaṃkīmahādoṣa*: I; *vaṃkāramahādoṣa*: E; *ṣadvīmahādoṣa*: B.

117 *stanakarṇalalāṭayoḥ*: A, C, D, E, I, P; *stanaṃ karṇalalāṭayoḥ*: L; *stanakaṇalalāṭayo*: B.

kalahaśatrupīḍaṃ[118, (aa)] tu[119] -acireṇaiva sādhakāḥ[120] || 20 ||

trīṇi hīnamahādoṣa<m>[121] ū[D 96r]rukāya-uradvayam[122] |
bhayaṃ cāpi[123] caurāṇāṃ mṛtyūnā[B 116r]ṃ[124] tu na[125] saṃśayaḥ[126] || 21 ||

kekaraṃ bhinnanāsasya[127] karṇa-oṣṭalalāṭayoḥ[128] |
nānāvighnaṃ ca [E 80v] maraṇaṃ[129] ca mantrīṇāṃ[(bb)] niyatātmanām[130] || 22 ||

ūrdhvadṛṣṭiśvāsasya[131] calam āsanasabhi[I 87r]nnakaiḥ[132] |
bhavate-arthahāniṃ[133] tu svāsanaṃ[134] calate[135] sadā || 23 ||

[aa] Così in tutti i manoscritti: ci saremmo aspettati °*pīḍāṃ*.
[bb] Cfr. nota *x*.

[118] *kalahaṃ śatrupīḍaṃ*: D, P; *kalahaśatrupītaṃ*: B, C, I; *kalahaśatrapītraṃ*: L; *karahaḥ śakrapītraṃ*: A; *kalahaḥ śatutrupīdaṃ*: E.

[119] In D *tu* è aggiunto in nota.

[120] *sādhakāḥ*: L; *sādhakā*: B, C, D, I, P; *sādhakaḥ*: A, E.

[121] *hīnamahādoṣa*: D, E, I, L; *hinamahodoṣa*: P; *hīṇamahādyoṣa*: B. La foto del manoscritto A è illegibile in questo punto.

[122] *ūrukāya*: A, D (correzione di *ūrukāyar*), E, L; *ūrukāyar*: C, P; *ūruvāyar*: I, B • *uradvayam*: L; *udvayam*: B; *ūrodvayam*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto); *urudvayam*: C, D, E, I, P.

[123] *bhayaṃ cāpi*: B, C, D (correzione di *bhayāṃ cāpi*), E, I, P; *bhayaścopa*: L; *sayaṃ cāpi*: A.

[124] *mṛtyūnāṃ*: A, B, C, D (correzione di *mṛtyānāṃ*), E, I; *mṛtyānāṃ*: P; *mṛtyoṃ*: L.

[125] *tu na*: C, D, E, I, L, P; *tu nan*: B; *naya*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto).

[126] *saṃśayaḥ*: E; *saṃsayaḥ*: A, C, I; *śaṃsayaḥ*: P, D; *saṃsrayaḥ*: L; *nsaye*: B.

[127] *kekaraṃ bhinnanāsasya*: E; *kekarabhinnanāśasya*: B, P; *kekaraṃ bhinnanāśasya*: C; *kekalabhinnanāśasya*: D; *kevalaṃ bhinnanāsasya*: L; *kekarabhinnanāgasya*: I; *kekalabhinnanāgasya*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto).

[128] *oṣṭalalāṭayoḥ* D (correzione di *uṣṭalalāṭayoḥ*), I; *oṣṭhalalāṭayoḥ*: A, E; *oṣṭhalalāṭayo*: B; *uṣṭalalāṭayoḥ*: C, P; *oṣṭalalāṭake*: L.

[129] *maraṇaṃ*: A, E, L; *manaṃ*: B, I; *malaṃ*: C, P; *maṇaṃ*: D (correzione di *malaṃ*).

[130] *matrīṇāṃ niyatātmanām*: A; *matrīṇāṃ niyatātmanaḥ*: L; *matrīṇā nniyatāmanāḥ*: E; *matrīṇā niyātātmanāḥ*: I; *matrīṇā niyatātmanā*: B, D, P; *matrīṇā niyatātmanāḥ* C;.

[131] *ūrdhvadṛṣṭisvāsya*: E; *urdhvadṛṣṭiśvāśasya*: A; *urdhvadṛṣṭisvāsasya*: I, L; *uccadṛṣṭisvāsasya*: C; *udhvadṛṣṭisvāsasya*: B; *urdhvadṛṣṭīṃ tu svāsasya*: D; *uccadṛṣṭīṃ tu svāsasya*: P.

[132] *calam āsanasabhinnakaiḥ*: D (correzione di *calam ānasabhinnakaiḥ*); *calam āsanabhinnakaiḥ*: C, E; *caram āsanabhinnakaiḥ*: A; *caram āṃsanabhinnakaiḥ*: L; *calam ānasabhinnakaiḥ*: I; *calam ānasabhīnnakaiḥ*: P; *calam ānasannikaiḥ*: B.

[133] *arthahāniṃ*: B, C, D, E, I, L, P; *'rthahāniṃ*: A.

[134] *svāsanaṃ*: A, B, C, I, L; *svāśanaṃ*: D, P; *śvāsanaṃ*: E.

[135] °*late*: B, C, I; °*rate*: D, E, P; °*larate*: A; °*labhate*: L.

uragrīvādi[136]-aṅgasya-asaṃkhyadoṣa[A 91r]kīrtitam[137] |
cakṣubhinnādimātrasya[138] viparyācihnamūdravān[139, (cc)] || 24 ||

[P 72r] śokasaṃtāpaduḥkhasya[140] viśvadoṣādilakṣaṇam[141] |
tribhiḥ[142] saṃkaṭadoṣasya[143]-apāśrayachatram āsanam[144, (dd)] || 25 ||

mṛtyur[145] bhavati[146] śriyābhra[L 84v]ṣṭa[(ee)]-apriyāpriyavā[B 116v]cakaiḥ[147, (ff)] |
edad[148] doṣamahādoṣaṃ[149] nirīkṣyā su[D 96v]vicāriṇām[150] || 26 ||

[cc] *viparyā°* è da intendere come *viparyaya* o *viparyāsa* (lezione *contra metrum* del manoscritto A confermata dalla traduzione tibetana).

[dd] È stata corretta la metatesi (*°ānasam* per *°āsanam*) sulla base del manoscritto L e della lezione del commento (*°chatrāsan°*). Il *pāda* d è ipermetro.

[ee] Come in 17d, l'emendazione possibile è *śrībhraṣṭa*.

[ff] L'esito irregolare dell'incontro tra *śriyābhraṣṭa* e *apriyā°* (*śriyābhraṣṭa apriyā°* in luogo del corretto *śriyābhraṣṭo 'priya°*) è stato lasciato invariato.

[136] *uragrīvādi*: A, B, C, E, I, L; *uragīvādi*: D, P.

[137] *asaṃkhyadoṣakīrtitam*: B, I; *asaṃkhyādokhakirtitam*: E; *asaṃkhyādoṣakīrtitam*: D, P, L; *saṃkhyādoṣakīrtitam*: A; *asaṃkhyāṃ doṣakīrtitam*: D.

[138] *cakṣubhinnādimātrasya*: A, B, C, D, E, I; *cakṣubhiṃnādimātrasya*: P; *cakṣurbhinnādimātrasya*: L.

[139] *viparyācihnamū°*: B (correzione di *viparyāniṣṭamū*), C, L; *viparyāsacihnamū°*: A; *viparyyācihnasū°*: B; *viparyyāciṃmū°*: E; *diparyyācihnasū°*: I; *diparyyāniṣṭamū°*: P.

[140] *sokasaṃtāpa°*: E; *śokasantāpa°*: D, P; *sokasantāpa°*: L; *sokasannāpa°*: B, C, I; *sokasaṃvāya°*: A.

[141] *viśvadoṣādilakṣaṇam*: B, C; *vimvadoṣādilakṣaṇam*: D, E, I, L, P; *vivadoṣādilakṣanam*: A.

[142] *tribhiḥ*: D (correzione di *tribhi*), E; *tṛbhi*: L; *tribhi*: P; *bhṛti*: A, B; *bhṛbhi*: C, I.

[143] *saṃkaṭadoṣasya*: A, B, C, D, E, I, P; *saṃkaṭakoyasya*: L.

[144] *apāśrayachatram ānasam*: C, D (correzione di *apāśramachatram ānasam*); *aprāśrayachatram ānasam*: A; *apāśreyachatram ānasam*: E; *apāśraryyachatram ānasam*: I; *apāśramachatram ānasam*: P; *āpāśraryyachatram āganasam*: B; *āpāṇḍmachatram āsanam*: L.

[145] *mṛtyur*: A, D, P; *mṛtyuṃ* : B, I; *mṛtyu*: C, E, L.

[146] *bhavati*: A, B, C, D, I, P; *bhaveti*: L; *bhāvata*: E (foto non chiara in questo punto).

[147] *śriyābhraṣṭa*: A, C, D, I, L, P; *sriyābhraṣṭa*: B; *śriyāvraṣṭa*: E • Cong. basata sui manoscritti L e C. *apriyāpricavācakaiḥ*: L; *apriyavācakaiḥ | mṛtyu bhavati śriyābhraṣṭa apriyāpriyavācakaiḥ*: C; *apriyāpriyavālakraiḥ*: E; *apriyātapriyavājakaiḥ*: A; *apriyavācakaiḥ*: I; *apriyo priyavācakaiḥ*: D (correzione di *apriyo privācakaiḥ*), P; *apriyāpriyavācakrai*: B.

[148] *etad*: A, D, P; *etat*: I; *etaṃ*: C; *evaṃ*: E, L; *eta*: B.

[149] *doṣamahādoṣaṃ*: A, B, C, D, E, I, P; *doṣamahādoṣa*: L.

[150] *nirīkṣyā suvicāriṇām*: E; *nirīkṣyā suvicārinām*: P; *nirikṣyā suvicārinām*: C; *nīrīkṣā suvicārinām*: B; *nirīkṣyo suvicāraṇām*: L; *nirakṣā suvicāriṇām*: I; *nirīkṣyā suvicāriṇā*: A, D (correzione di *nirīkṣyā suvicāriṇām*).

vinītasarvaśilpeṣu[151] citritaṃ[152] susamāhitam[153] |
sarvalakṣaṇasaṃpūrṇaṃ[154] surūpāvidhidarśanam[155] || 27 ||

saumyasaumyaṃ[156] tu rūpasya raudraraudrabhayānakam[157] |
vīravīrāṅgahaṃ[C 41v]kāraṃ[158, (gg)] śṛṅgārahasitānanam[159] || 28 ||

evaṃ lakṣaṇalakṣasya[160] mantrīṇāṃ[161, (hh)] paṭacitritam[162] |
ādikarmikamantrīṇāṃ[163] pratibi[I 87v]mbādi[A 91v]kā[E 81r]rayet[164] ||
siddhim āpūryate[165] śīghraṃ[166] paṭaṃ vistārya[167] sādhayet || 29 ||

iti citrādirūpalakṣaṇanirdeśapaṭalas[168] triṃśati[B 117r]tamaḥ[169] ||

[gg] La lezione corretta sarebbe stata *vīravīrāṅgāhaṃkāraṃ*. La lezione *vīravīrāṅgam ahaṃkāraṃ*, che appare in nota nel manoscritto D, è stata successivamente cancellata con una linea orizzontale.

[hh] Cfr. nota *x*

[151] *vinītasarvaśilpeṣu*: C, D, E, I, L, P; *vinītaḥ sarvaśilpeṣu*: A; *vinite sarvaśilpaṣu*: B.

[152] *citritaṃ*: A, B, C, D, E, I, P; *vicitraṃ*: L.

[153] *susamāhitam*: A, C (foto non chiara in questo punto), D, E, I, L, P; *susamāditam*: B.

[154] °*pūrṇaṃ*: L; °*pūrṇā*: A, B, C, D, E, I, P.

[155] *surūpāvidhidarśanam*: A, C, D, E, I, L; *sulūpāvidhidarśanam*: P; *surūpāvividar-śanam*: B.

[156] *saumyasaumyan*: L; *saumyāsaumyan*: A, E; *saumyasaumyān*: B, D, I, P; *saumya-saumyāmn*: C.

[157] *raudraraudrabhayānakam*: A, B, C, D, E, I, P; *raudraraudrābhayānakam*: L.

[158] *vīravīrāṅgahaṃkāraṃ*: D (correzione di *vīravīrāṅgam ahaṃkāraṃ*), P; *viravirāṅgahaṃkāra*: E; *vīravīrāṅgahaṃkāra*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto), C, I; *vīravīrāṅgahaṃkāro*: L; *vīraṃ vīrāgahaṃkāra*: B.

[159] *śṛṅgāra*°: B, I; *śṛṅgāro*: D, E, L, P; *śṛṅgārā*°: A (foto non chiara in questo punto), C.

[160] *lakṣaṇalakṣasya*: B, C, D, E, I, L, P; *lakṣaṇalaṇalakṣasya*: A.

[161] *mantrīṇāṃ*: A, C, D, E, P; *mantrāṇāṃ*: B, I, L.

[162] *paṭacitritam*: A (foto non chiara in questo punto), B, C, D (correzione di *paṭacitriṭam*), I; *paṭacitriṭam*: P; *caṭacitritam*: L; *padacitam*: E.

[163] *ādikarmikamantrīṇāṃ*: A, C, D, L; *ādikarmīkamantrīṇāṃ*: E, P; *ādikarmikaman-trāṇāṃ*: B, I.

[164] *prativimvādikārayet*: B, C, D, I, L, P; *pravimvādikārayat*: A, E.

[165] *āpūryate*: A, C, L; *āpūryyate*: D; *āpūryata*: E; *āpūjyate*: B, I; *āpūrcyate*: P.

[166] *śīghraṃ*: A, E, I, L, P; *śrīghraṃ*: B, C, D.

[167] Cong. basata sui manoscritti. *paṭaṃ viṣṭārya*: E; *paṭaṃ vīstārya*: L; *paṭavistāryya*: B, C, I; *paṭaviṣṭārya*: A, D, P.

[168] *citrādi*°: A, B, C, D, E, I, P; *śrīsaṃvarodayamahātantre citrādi*°: L.

[169] °*laḥ triṃśatitamaḥ*: B, C, E, I; °*latriṃśatitamaḥ*: A; °*laḥ triṃśatistamaḥ*: L; °*lam triṃśati*: D; °*laḥ mtriṃśati*: P.

de nas yang dag bshad bya ba || ri mo'i lha yi gzugs rnams kyi ||
sku yi tshad kyi mtshan nyid ni || gsang ba po[170] yi bdag po nyon || 1 ||

tshangs pa'i ri mo sogs gzugs kyi || cha lnga yang ni gdan yin no ||
dum bu gsum can sku lus kyi || cha mnyam pas ni zhal byas te || 2 ||

zhal ni bcu gnyis cha yin no || mgrin par[171] [D 305r] sor ni bzhi pa ste ||
mkhas pas skra mtshams dbu[172] dang ni || snyan gnyis la yang de nyid sbyar || 3 ||

dpral ba zhal dang shangs kyi tshad || cha gsum zhal gyi dkyil 'khor ro ||
smin ma'i dbus dang zhal gyi steng || spyan gyi zheng yang sor gnyis so || 4 ||

de dag dkyus ni sor bzhi yi || tshad nyid du ni shes par bya ||
mgrin pa'i rtsa ba'i dbus kyi tshad || dpung pa gnyis kyi'ang cha yin no || 5 ||

thams cad du ni thugs kha[173] dang || lte ba'i gnas kyi tshad gcig go ||
nu ma'i bar kyi[174] tshad kyis ni || nu ma dpung pa'i bar gyi tshad || 6 ||

lag ngar gnyis kyi tshad kyis ni || dpung pa gnyis kyi'ang tshad de nyid ||
brla dang byin pa'i mtsham su ni || sor bzhi pa dang yang dag ldan || 7 ||

pus mo'i lha nga sor bzhi'i tshad || zhabs kyi bol gyi'ang de nyid do ||
cha ni bcu gnyis tshad kyi ni || lha yi sku gzugs[175] bri bar bya || 8 ||

lhag ma sar[176] ni bzhi pa ste || gdan ni gtso bo'i brgyad cha yin ||
gdan gyi dgu cha nyid kyis ni || sor ni gnyis gnyis bya ba ste || 9 ||

zla ba'i dkyil 'khor snying por ni || phyag mtshan na bza' la sogs bya ||
zab mo rdo rje can gyis lha || cha ni bcu gnyis mtshan nyid do || 10 ||

dman pa'i cha sogs cha rnams ni || nye bar mdzes bzhin legs par bri ||
der yang zhal gyi tshad mtshungs pa'i || phyag gnyis[177] [P 178a] cung zad bri bar bya || 11 ||

170 P: *po*; D: *pa*.
171 P: *par*; D: *pa*.
172 P: *dbu*; D: *dbus*.
173 P: *kha*; D: *ka*.
174 P: *kyi*; D: *gyi*.
175 D: *gzugs*; P: *gzug so*.
176 P: *sar*; D: *sor*.
177 D: *gnyis*; P: *nyis*.

sor gnyis dor bar byas nas ni || zhi ba'i lha ni bri bar bya ||
der yang zhal ni mtho gang tshad || byas te phyag ni rtag mdzes bri || 12 ||

yan lag nying[178] lag thams cad la || sor ni gnyis gnyis dor bar bya ||
khro bo khro mo'i dbang phyug ma || bran pho bran mo ci bgyid[179] ma || 13 ||

drag cing 'jigs pa'i gzugs rnams ni || cha bcu par ni rnam par bri ||
yid du 'ong ba'i rang gzugs ni || cha dgu bar ni mngon par bri || 14 ||

dkyil 'khor 'khor lo'i lha rnams ni || rim bzhin rim gyis sbyar bar bya ||
dbus kyi rdo rje rgyal po ni || mtshan nyid gcig tu rnam par bri || 15 ||

kos ko mgrin pa byin pa rnams || gsum po ring na skyon chen po ||
sngags pa bdag nyid nges par ni || gnas las nyams shing bskrad par 'gyur || 16 ||

shangs dang snyan dang phyag sor rnams || gsum po thung na skyon chen po || [D 305v]
dngos grub nges par 'joms pa dang || de bzhin dpal yang nyams par 'gyur || 17 ||

byin pa zhal dang mkhur[180] tshos te || gsum po sbom pa skyon chen mo ||
sgrub po bdag nyid nges par yang || dpal las ring zhing bdud bgegs 'byung || 18 ||

'gram pa brang dang rtsib logs te || gsum po zhom na skyon chen po ||
don ni nyams par 'gyur ba dang || 'dir ni bgegs 'byung the tshom med || 19 ||

nu ma snyan dang dpral[181] ba rnams || gsum po yo na skyon chen po ||
sgrub pa po nyid myur ba ni || dgra yi rtsod pas gdungs[182] par 'gyur || 20 ||

brla dang sku[183] dang nam tshong gnyis || gsum po nyams[184] na skyon chen po ||
chom rkun rnams kyis 'jigs pa dang || 'chi bar 'gyur bar the tshom med || 21 ||

[178] D: *nying*; P: *nyin*.
[179] P: *bgyid*; D: *bgyi*.
[180] D: *mkhur*; P: *khur*.
[181] D: *dpral*; P: *phral*.
[182] P: *gdungs*; D: *gdung*.
[183] P: *sku*; D: *kud*.
[184] D: *nyams*; P: *mnyam*.

snyan dang mchu dang dpral[185] ba dang || shangs nyams[186] spyan ni yo gyur na ||
sngags pa bdag nyid nges par yang || sna tshogs bgegs 'byung 'chi bar 'gyur || 22 ||

gyen du gzigs shing dbugs skyod tshul || gdan las yo zhing bskyod lta bus ||
[P 178b] rang gi gnas las rtag[187] 'pho zhing || don rnams 'joms pa nyid du 'gyur || 23 ||

mgrin pa nam tshong la sogs sku'i || skyon ni grangs med zhig[188] tu grags ||
'dir ni spyin tshogs yo ba 'am || phyag rgya phyag mtshan nor gyur na || 24 ||

mya ngan sdug bsngal gyis rab gdung || sna tshogs skyon sogs brtag par bya ||
rgyab yol gdugs dang gdan rnams te || gsum po chung zhing dog pa'i skyon || 25 ||

mdza' bos mi snyan brjod pa dang || dpal nyams 'chi bar gyur pa yin ||
skyon ni 'di dag skyon chen po || mkhas pas legs par blta bar bya || 26 ||

dul zhing bzo rnams kun shes la || cho ga mthong zhing mnyam gzhag pas ||
mtshan nyid thams cad yongs rdzogs shing || gzugs mdzes pas ni bri bar bya || 27 ||

zhi la zhi ba'i tshul gyi sku || drag la drag cing 'jigs byed pa ||
dpa' la dpa' zhing nga rgyal sku || sgeg pa la ni bzhad pa'i zhal || 28 ||

mtshan nyid 'di ltar mtshon nas ni || sngags pa rnams kyis bris[189] sku bri ||
sngags pa las ni dang po pas || gzugs [D 306r] brnyan la sogs bya ba ste ||
bris[190] sku sgrubs[191] na myur bar ni || dngos grub rgya chen thob par 'gyur || 29 ||

'di ni ri mo la sogs pa'i sku'i mtshan nyid nges par bstan pa'i rim par phye ba ste | sum cu[192] pa'o ||

[185] D: *dpral*; P: *dbral*.
[186] D: *nyams*; P: *mnyam*.
[187] D: *rtag*; P: *brtag*.
[188] D: *zhig*; P: *zhag*.
[189] D: *bris*; P: *bri*.
[190] P: *bris*; D: *pris*.
[191] P: *sgrubs*; D: *bsgrubs*.
[192] D: *cu*; P: *bcu*.

Jan Willem de Jong †

BUDDHA'S FIRST MEDITATION IN THE *LALITAVISTARA**

In 1962 Paul Horsch published an article on the first meditation of the Buddha in which he quotes a great number of Pāli and Sanskrit texts and translations of Chinese and Tibetan texts (Horsch 1962). He tried to discover a kernel of historical truth in the legends and to trace the development of the description of the first meditation in the different texts. According to Horsch the first mentioned recollection of this event by the Buddha in *Majjhima Nikāya* I, p. 246 must be considered as authentic. It is to be found with only minor differences from the archetype in the *Milindapañha, Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara* and *Divyāvadāna* (Horsch 1962: 153).

In 1974 André Bareau studied the youth of the Buddha in the ancient Sūtrapiṭakas and Vinayapiṭakas (Bareau 1974). Bareau concludes by stating that "l'histoire de la jeunesse du futur Buddha Gautama s'élabora dans le vide et n'est donc qu'une légende". Bareau's article is very useful because he translates or summarizes several Sūtra and Vinaya texts from the Chinese. It seems to me that Bareau's conclusion is fully justified although it is difficult to accept the many speculations in which his article abounds. His attempt to establish a chronology of the texts studied by him and to date them in the three centuries and a quarter between the Parinirvāṇa and the end of the reign of Puṣyamitra is likewise unacceptable.

Hubert Durt has examined many Chinese versions in his study of the first meditation of the Buddha (Durt 1982). Finally, Dieter Schlingloff has traced the development of the representation of the first meditation in Buddhist art (Schlingloff 1987).

It is not my intention to examine again the materials presented by previous authors but to consider more in detail the version found in the *Lalitavistara*, in the eleventh chapter, entitled *Kṛṣigrāmaparivarta* (ed.

* The proofs were not corrected by the Author.

Lefmann, pp. 128.15-136.9). In 1994 Hokazono Kōichi published an edition of the first fourteen chapters of the *Lalitavistara*. As this edition is probably not available in most European and American libraries, references are made to Lefmann's edition.

It will be helpful to the discussion to give a brief summary of this chapter and to divide it into several sections (A-G).

A. The prince (*kumāra*) sets out with other princes and sons of ministers to look at a farming village. After seeing it he enters a park. There, agitated (*saṃvignamanās*), he wanders alone and sees a beautiful Jambu tree under the shade of which he sits down and attains the four degrees of meditation (pp. 128.15-129.11).

B. Five seers, who were flying through the air from South to North are unable to continue their way above the grove. Agitated they pronounce a verse (1) in which they relate how they have been able to fly unhindered everywhere and wonder whose majesty destroys the force of their magic power (*kasya lakṣmī nivarteti ṛddher balaṃ*) (p. 129.12-22).

C. A goddess of the grove addresses a verse (2) to the seers in which she extols the glory of the son of the king of the Śākyas and explains that his majesty destroys the force of their magic power. Thereupon the seers look down and see the prince blazing in glory and splendour. They ask themselves whether he is Vaiśravaṇa, or Kubera, or Māra, or the King of the Serpents, or Indra, or Rudra, or the sun or a *cakravartin*. They repeat this same question in a verse (3). The goddess replies in a verse (4) that the majesty of Vaiśravaṇa, etc. does not attain a part of the majesty of the son of the Śākyas (p. 130.1-21).

D. Having heard these words of the goddess the seers descend to earth and see the bodhisattva plunged in meditation and with his unmoving body blazing, a mass of splendour. All five seers in turn praise the bodhisattva with one verse (5-9). Having praised him they circumambulate him three times and depart through the air (p. 131.1-20).

E. King Śuddhodana does not see the bodhisattva and asks where he has gone. Many people run to search. A minister sees him in meditation in the shade of the Jambu tree. At that time the shadows of all trees had turned but the shadow of the Jambu tree did not budge from the body of the bodhisattva (*sarvavṛkṣāṇāṃ ca tasmin samaye chāyā parivṛttābhūt / jambuchāyā ca bodhisattvasya kāyaṃ na vijahāti sma*). The minister, amazed and elated, hastens to relate this wonder to the king in two verses (10-11). The king goes to the Jambu tree and sees the bodhisattva whom he praises in a verse (12). He venerates the feet of the bodhisattva and speaks a verse (13) of praise (pp. 131.20-132.17).

F. Some boys dragging a *triphala* (?) are making noise. The ministers tell them not to. When they ask why, the ministers reply with a verse (14) that the disk of the sun has turned away but that the shadow of the tree has not budged from the son of the king Siddhārtha (p. 132.18-22).

G. The story told in A-F is repeated in eighteen *vasantatilaka* verses (15-32). (For a summary see Horsch 1962: 130).

There are two Chinese translations (C) of the *Lalitavistara*, one translated in 308 by Dharmarakṣa (T 186 = C 1), and the other by Divākara in 683 (T 187 = C 2). Many parts of the *Lalitavistara* are also found in an immense compilation of biographies of the Buddha, translated in 587-591 (or 592) by Jñānagupta (T 190 = C 3). A detailed comparison of these three Chinese versions of the first meditation would take up too much space and it is therefore necessary to consider only a few aspects. According to the *Lalitavistara* the bodhisattva after having seen the farming village enters a grove. Agitated he sits down under a Jambu tree. The text does not explain the reason for his agitation. However, in C 1 there is a passage (p. 497a27-b6) which is not found in the *Lalitavistara*, as pointed out by Okano Kiyoshi (Okano 1987: 99). According to this passage the bodhisattva sees how worms come out of the ground and are eaten by birds. The farmers tell him that they sow grain in order to pay tribute to the king. The bodhisattva laments the fact that one man makes people miserable and afraid to be beaten by officials. The bodhisattva feels fear in his heart because of the shortness of life and the immeasurable extent of suffering. The misery of the three evils (i.e. hell, *preta*, animal) cannot be described. The transmigration in the five states of being revolves without end. He decides to go to the mountains to obtain awakening (*tao*, the way) and to overcome coming into existence and destruction in the three worlds in the ten directions. The corresponding passage in C 2 is much shorter. Having seen the labour of the farmers the bodhisattva feels pity and bewails the fact that there is such misery in the world. He reflects: "Which place is unoccupied so that there I can meditate on the cessation of suffering" (p. 560b9-12). In C 3 there is a long passage (pp. 705c21-707a10) which tells about the toil of the naked farmers, the suffering of the oxen and the worms eaten by birds. The prince having seen this feels great pity. He descends from his horse and wanders round and reflects on the lot of the beings. He bewails their sufferings and exclaims: "How can one not think about escaping the cause of the sufferings of birth, old age, sickness and death? Where can I find an unoccupied place to meditate on these sufferings?". There are two points of agreement between C 2 and C 3. The prince feels pity and looks for an unoccupied place to meditate.

In other versions of the story of the first meditation one finds similar themes with regard to the causes of the agitation of the bodhisattva. Horsch quotes a passage of the *Saṃghabhedavastu* of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins translated from the Chinese by Waldschmidt (Horsch 1962: 132-133) and from the Tibetan by Rockhill (Horsch 1962: 138-139). The original Sanskrit text was published by Raniero Gnoli in 1977 (p. 76). This passage mentions the misery of the farmers and the oxen but does not mention the worms eaten by the birds. Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* mentions the worms and the misery of the ploughmen (5.5-6). A story from the Liu tu chi ching (T 152) translated by K'ang Seng-hui in the third quarter of the third century mentions the worms eaten by birds. Horsch summarizes Chavannes's translation (Horsch 1962: 137). Of special interest is the *Mahāvastu* which shares many verses with the *Lalitavistara*. Of the first fourteen verses in chapter eleven of the *Lalitavistara* seven occur also in the *Mahāvastu* in the following order: 1, 2, 6, 5, 7, 14 and 12 (*Mahāvastu*, ed. Senart, vol. II, pp. 45-47). In the *Mahāvastu* verse 7 is followed by two verses. The first is not found in the *Lalitavistara* whereas the second corresponds partly to verse 8 in the *Lalitavistara*. According to the *Mahāvastu* the bodhisattva becomes agitated when he sees a snake and a frog thrown up by the ploughs. This motif is found again in a biography translated into Chinese in 197 in which the bodhisattva sees a snake devouring a frog (Durt 1982: 104 and 109). This biography has been translated into Dutch by Erik Zürcher (Zürcher 1978). Zürcher uses the plural: snakes devouring frogs (1978: 79). In another passage of the *Mahāvastu* (vol. II, p. 130) the Buddha relates how he attains the first meditation in the shadow of the Jambu tree. Horsch points out that this passage agrees, in part literally, with two Pāli suttas (Horsch 1962: 122). It is obvious that the *Mahāvastu* has combined older and newer materials. From this comparison with other versions it is clear that usually one finds similar explanations for the agitation of the bodhisattva. It is therefore rather surprising to see that only a brief mention is made of the cause of the agitation in C 2 and that the agitation is not explained at all in the *Lalitavistara*.

In the second place one must draw attention to the so-called "miracle of the shadow". According to the *Lalitavistara* a minister sees the bodhisattva sitting in the shadow of the Jambu tree and that "at that time the shadow of all other trees had turned (*parivṛttā*) but the shadow of the Jambu tree did not leave the body of the bodhisattva" (p. 132.2-4). This miracle is mentioned in almost the same terms in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. II, p. 45.13-14; Horsch 1962: 124). In the *Saṃghabhedavastu* of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins the formulation is different (for instance *pariṇatā* instead of *parivṛttā*) and more detailed, but the idea is the same (ed. Gnoli,

p. 77.4-10). The wording is very similar to that found in a passage of the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 391.16-19) quoted by Horsch (Horsch 1962: 131, n. 61). Horsch wrongly states that the *Divyāvadāna* belongs to the Sarvāstivāda. As Huber and Lévi have shown already in 1906 and 1907 most of the stories in the *Divyāvadāna* are taken from the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. The *Divyāvadāna* also contains long extracts of the *Aśokāvadāna*. *Divyāvadāna* pp. 384-405 constitutes the Avadāna of king Aśoka (cf. Przyluski 1923: 245, n. 2; Lamotte 1958: 265). For a parallel to *Divyāvadāna* p. 391.16-19, see "L'arbre détournant son ombre, celle-ci ne s'écarta point du (bodhisattva)" in Przyluski 1923: 253-254. In the oldest translation of the *Lalitavistara*, C 1, one finds a different formulation of the miracle of the shade: "At that time the sun illuminated the tree which bent down and covered the body of the bodhisattva. All the trees bent themselves towards the Jambu tree and bowed down in veneration. The bodhisattva did not shift his position" (p. 499c15-17). C 2 has a different wording: "The light and shade of the trees had turned, following the sun. Only the shadow of the Jambu remained still without moving". C 2 is very close to the text of the *Lalitavistara*. C 3 also has almost the same wording. The minister "sees that the shadow of all trees had entirely moved. Only the shadow of the Jambu alone covered the prince" (p. 706c13-14). Likewise in the Pāli texts (*Nidānakathā*, p. 57.20 ff. and introduction to the *Vessantara-jātaka*) quoted by Horsch it is said that the shadow of the other trees has moved but the shadow of the Jambu tree remained in a circle (*parimaṇḍala*). Bareau has shown that in the Sūtrapiṭaka a single text relates the miracle of the shadow, i.e. the *Wei-ts'eng-yu-fa-ching* of which the first part corresponds to the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* (*Sutta* 123 of the *Majjhima Nikāya*). In the second part of this text it is told that "le Çākya Śuddhodana vit que les ombres de tous les autres arbres avaient tourné et s'étaient déplacées, et que seule l'ombre de cet arbre jambu ne s'était pas déplacée et ombrageait le corps du Bienheureux" (T 26, p. 470c23-25; Bareau 1974: 228). The same text relates two other miracles of non-moving shadows of trees. One takes place in a wood near Vaiśālī where the bodhisattva is sitting under a Tāla tree (p. 471a6-7). In the second case he is sitting under a Śāl tree in the wood of the hot spring in the land of the Bhargas (p. 471b7-9). In the oldest Pāli and Chinese texts the miracle of the shadow is not mentioned. In later texts it is said that the shadows of the other trees have moved but not that of the Jambu tree under which the bodhisattva was sitting. Of the texts mentioned so far only C 1 has a different version. Also different is the version in the Liu-tu-chi-ching according to which when the prince began his contemplation "le soleil sortit dans toute son ardeur et brilla sur le corps

du prince; mais l'arbre, à cause de cela, abaissa ses branches pour empêcher que le soleil ne le brûlât" (Chavannes 1910: 270; Horsch 1962: 137). Horsch refers to a biography written by the monk Pao-ch'eng during the Ming dynasty: "Das Schattenwunder selbst hat eine originelle Erweiterung erfahren. Der Stamm des grosses, dichtbelaubten Baumes – sein Name fehlt - senkt sich, um den meditierenden Prinzen vor der Sonnenglut zu schützen; dasselbe taten auch die benachbarten Bäume. Eine typische späte, der Tendenz zur Übertreibung entsprechende Zutat" (Horsch 1962: 138). It is possible to distinguish different variants of the miracle of the shadow. The first relates that the shadows of the other trees have moved but not that of the Jambu tree. This version is found in the *Lalitavistara*, the *Mahāvastu*, the *Saṃghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya, C 2, C 3 and the *Wei-ts'eng-yu-fa-ching*. The miracle is told in different wordings in C 1, the *Liu-tu-chi-ching* and Pao-ch'eng's compilation.

The miracle of the shadow is also told with regard to persons other than the Buddha. Horsch refers to two stories translated by Chavannes. In the first (Chavannes 1913: 173-174 [not Chavannes 1910, as in Horsch 1962: 140 note 1]) one of five brothers is found under a tree of which the shadow has not moved. He is made king. In the second story the same thing is told of a female beggar who becomes queen. In the story of Udrāyaṇa in the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 579) a boy named Śyāmaka is found under a tree of which the shadow has not moved and is made king (Horsch 1962: 140, n. 84). According to Horsch the Buddha legend served as exemplar. However, this fairy-tale motif is found in many stories. A Jain version has been translated by J.J. Meyer (Meyer 1909: 212), who gives many references (correct Tawney's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 161 to 16) to which one can add a story from the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya, translated by Anton von Schiefner (Schiefner 1882: 131), the story of Rūpavatī, translated by Jan Jaworski (Jaworski 1919-1930: 99-101) and Saṅgharakṣa's *Yogācārabhūmi* (Demiéville 1954: 432). In Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* 12, 21 Rāma lies under a tree whose shadow was arrested by his power (cf. Horsch 1962: 139).

According to the *Lalitavistara* during his meditation under the Jambu tree the bodhisattva attains the four *dhyāna*s whereas he attains only the first *dhyāna* in other texts (*Mahāvastu*, *Udrāyaṇāvadāna*, the *Saṃghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya [ed. Gnoli, p. 76] and the *Buddhacarita*). However, according to C 1 and C 3 he attained only the first *dhyāna* (pp. 499b9; 706a20). C 2, which agrees much more with the Sanskrit text than the two other translations, mentions the four *dhyāna*s (p. 560b14-17).

As mentioned above, seven of the first fourteen verses of the *Lalitavistara* do occur in the *Mahāvastu*. Verse 1 is found also in C 1 but in

a prose version (p. 499b12-15). Dharmarakṣa's version is often obscure and difficult to understand. It is usually assumed that Dharmarakṣa translated some verses as prose because he did not recognize the verses. However, the *Lalitavistara* underwent many changes in the course of its history and it is possible that prose passages were later put into verse. It would be necessary to study more in detail the verses found in prose in C 1 and, for instance, to examine whether the differences are limited to verses in certain metres. As one can see from Lefmann's conspectus of the metres in the second volume of his edition (pp. 227-232) many metres are used in the Sanskrit text. In C 1 verse 2 is missing but it does contain 3 and 4, although the wording is not the same. As to the five verses pronounced by the seers (5-9) C 1 has only three verses, the wording of which only vaguely resembles that of the Sanskrit verses. Verses 10 and 11 are missing but 12 and 13 are found in it, followed by a verse missing in all other versions. As to verse 14 there is a passage in prose which to some degree corresponds to verse 14 (p. 499c27-29). Almost all 14 verses are found in C 2 with the exception of 8, 13 and 14. C 3 contains a passage in prose corresponding to verse 1 (p. 706a25-b2). Verses 2 and 3 are missing but a passage in prose corresponds to verse 4 (p. 706b14-17). The remaining verses (5-14) are all found in C 3. Verses 15-32 are missing in all three Chinese versions and are clearly a later addition as was already pointed out by Horsch (1962: 130, n. 59).

In the prose introduction to verse 14 mention is made of boys who make noise. Although verse 14 occurs in C 1 it does not have this strange passage which is only found in C 3 and the *Lalitavistara*. In the *Mahāvastu* verse 14 is spoken by a chamberlain and thereupon verse 12 by the king. The *Mahāvastu* version seems to be closer to the original version.

Horsch pointed out that although in verse 2 the *devatā* had told the five seers that it was the son of the Śākya king whose power prevented them continuing their flight, they ask first in prose (p. 130.5-11) and then in verse 3 whether the person they see is Vaiśravaṇa, or Māra, etc. (Horsch 1962: 128). According to Horsch this contradiction shows that this passage in the *Lalitavistara* (p. 130.6-16) is secondary. However, verse 2 is missing in C 1 and C 3 and must be considered a later addition, probably taken from the same source which was used by the compiler of the *Mahāvastu*.

From the study of a single chapter it is not possible to draw any definite conclusions as to the development of the *Lalitavistara*. However, it is obvious that the relations between the three Chinese versions and the Sanskrit text are complicated and deserve to be studied carefully. The Tibetan version agrees almost entirely with the Sanskrit text but the Chinese versions are of essential importance for the study of the history of the *Lalitavistara*.

ABBREVIATIONS

T Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō: Takakusu, J. and Watanabe, K. (Eds.). Tōkyō 1924-1935.

TEXTS

Divyāvadāna, ed by E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil. Cambridge 1886.

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Schiefner, A. von (1882) *Tibetan Tales*. London.

Schlingloff, D. (1987) "Die Meditation unter dem Jambu-Baum". *Wiener Zeitschrift für des Kunde Sud-(und Öst)asien* 31: 111-130.

Zürcher, E. (1978) *Het leven van de Buddha. Vertaald uit de vroegste Chinese overlevering*. Amsterdam.

Elena De Rossi Filibeck, Roma

DUE FOGLI MANOSCRITTI DA TABO CONSERVATI NEL FONDO TUCCI

L'argomento che volentieri presento in onore del prof. Raniero Gnoli riguarda due fogli manoscritti conservati nel Fondo Tucci dell'IsIAO.

Per catalogare un esiguo numero di fogli singoli manoscritti, tra cui i due fogli in oggetto, e indicarne il contenuto, ho usato per tutti il termine di «foglio prefazione»[1].

Nel suo *Indo-Tibetica* G. Tucci (1935) pubblicava nelle Appendici insieme alla famosa iscrizione di Tabo ed altri passi di testi tibetani anche alcuni di questi fogli che aveva avuto modo di raccogliere durante i suoi viaggi nel Tibet Occidentale.

Si trattava di pagine dedicatorie da vari manoscritti e precisamente:

I da un manoscritto della Prajñāpāramitā,
II da un manoscritto del *Durgatipariśodhana*,
III da un manoscritto della *Lokaprajñapti*, e
IV da un manoscritto frammentario.

L'interesse che Tucci trovava in questi fogli dedicatori era soprattutto storico e filologico, avendo potuto rintracciare in questi una serie di nomi di prìncipi che regnarono nella regione di sPyi ti e di Gu ge e recuperare l'esatta grafia di alcuni toponimi della stessa area geografica (Tucci 1935: 7-10).

Anche Petech (1977: 32) nel suo *Ladakh* cita per lo stesso motivo proprio il foglio manoscritto da Tabo che qui presento in trascrizione completa.

Ho usato il termine di foglio prefazione per indicare questo particolare genere di fogli che nel loro contenuto celebrano la donazione o l'effettua-

[1] La catalogazione di questi fogli è inclusa in De Rossi Filibeck (in preparazione).

zione di copie di testi, poiché un esame comparativo con testi manoscritti completi[2] mostra chiaramente come questi fogli singoli dovessero precedere copie di testi oggi perdute, come nel caso dei fogli singoli pubblicati da Tucci[3].

L'esame della posizione di questi fogli mostra inoltre che essi sono attaccati nella parte interna della copertina o primo foglio, lungo il bordo orizzontale superiore e staccati lungo i restanti bordi. Questa posizione rende il foglio leggibile anche dal lato verso e fa sì che la prefazione venga a trovarsi materialmente divisa dal resto del volume.

Credo che l'uso di far precedere il testo effettivo della copia manoscritta di un'opera da uno di questi fogli sia stato diffuso in tutto il Tibet e non sia stato uso peculiare del Tibet Occidentale da dove questi fogli manoscritti provengono.

Ciò che è peculiare di questi fogli del Tibet Occidentale è la presenza di omogeneità tali nella forma e nel contenuto da non potersi considerare casuali, ma dovuti ad una prassi usuale da circoscrivere per il momento all'epoca a cui i fogli si riferiscono.

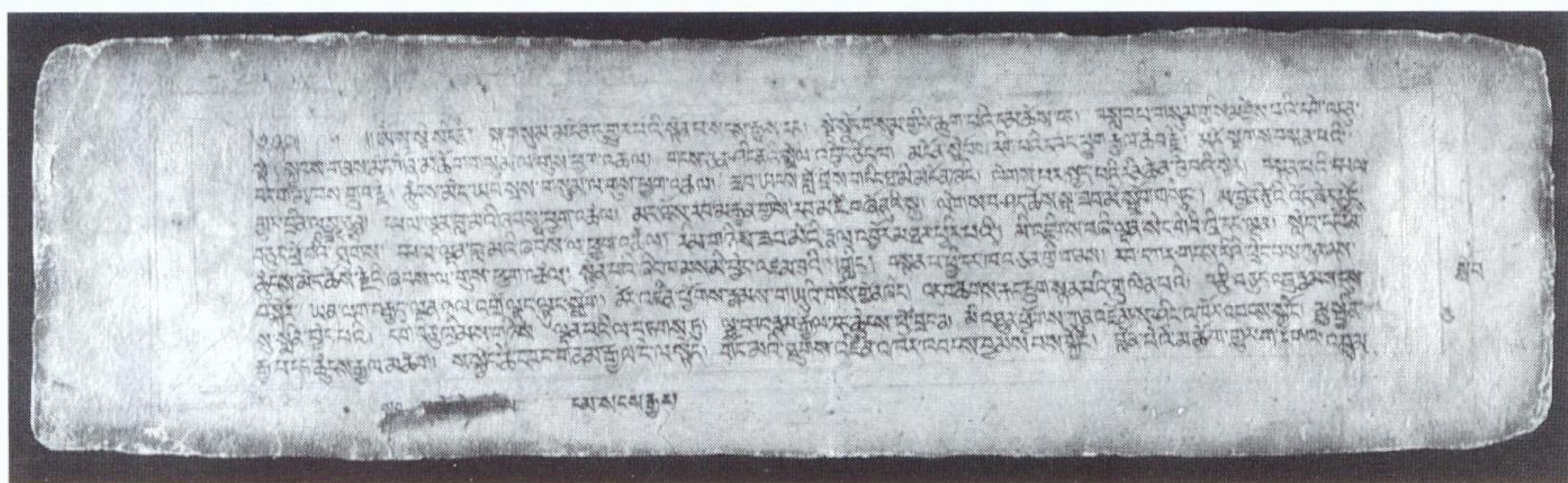
Per ciò che riguarda la forma, la descrizione sopra fatta della posizione del foglio prefazione riguarda anche i fogli qui presi in esame: i fori ben visibili sul bordo superiore fanno immaginare una rilegatura come nel foglio C, dove la posizione della prefazione è ben visibile[4].

Se esaminiamo i fogli dal punto di vista del contenuto notiamo le seguenti caratteristiche: i fogli prefazione iniziano (1) con l'atto di omaggio alla fede buddhista per passare alla (2) descrizione prima in generale, poi (3) in particolare, del luogo dove la copia viene effettuata, indicando (4) quale autorità governa il suddetto luogo. Per ultimo troviamo menzione (5) del donatore che ha commissionato l'opera, del (6) titolo dell'opera oltre (7) all'elenco delle offerte presentate.

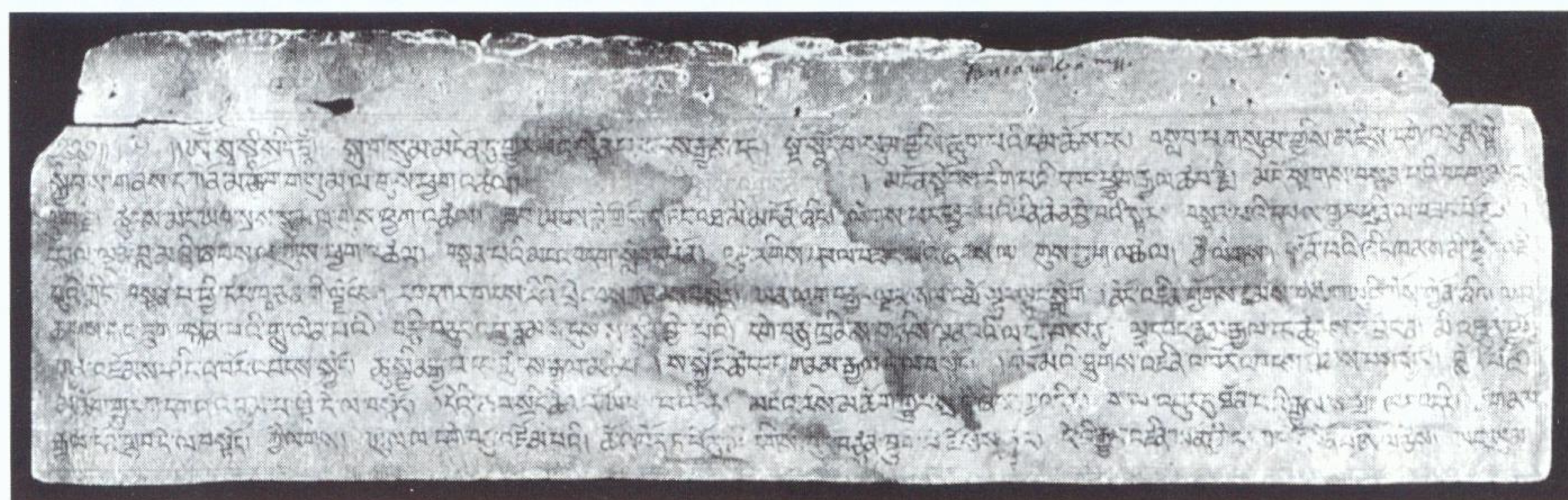
[2] Mi riferisco in particolare ad un manoscritto del Fondo Tucci da me descritto alla Conferenza di Graz (International Association for Tibetan Studies 1995); cfr. De Rossi Filibeck 1999a. Sullo stesso genere di fogli dedicatori vedi anche Tauscher 1999. In quanto all'andamento stilistico di questi fogli dedicatori è anche da notare la similarità con alcune delle iscrizioni su roccia studiate da A.H. Francke e risalenti allo stesso periodo; vedi Francke 1906, n. 38, n. 51. Su questa collezione vedi anche Walravens-Taube 1992: 58-61.

[3] Insieme alle immagini dei due fogli manoscritti da Tabo (A-B) presento anche quella del foglio prefazione pubblicato in Tucci 1935: 177 (D). Questi fogli sono stati restaurati dall'Istituto Centrale per la Patologia del Libro, che qui si ringrazia vivamente per la gentile e competente collaborazione.

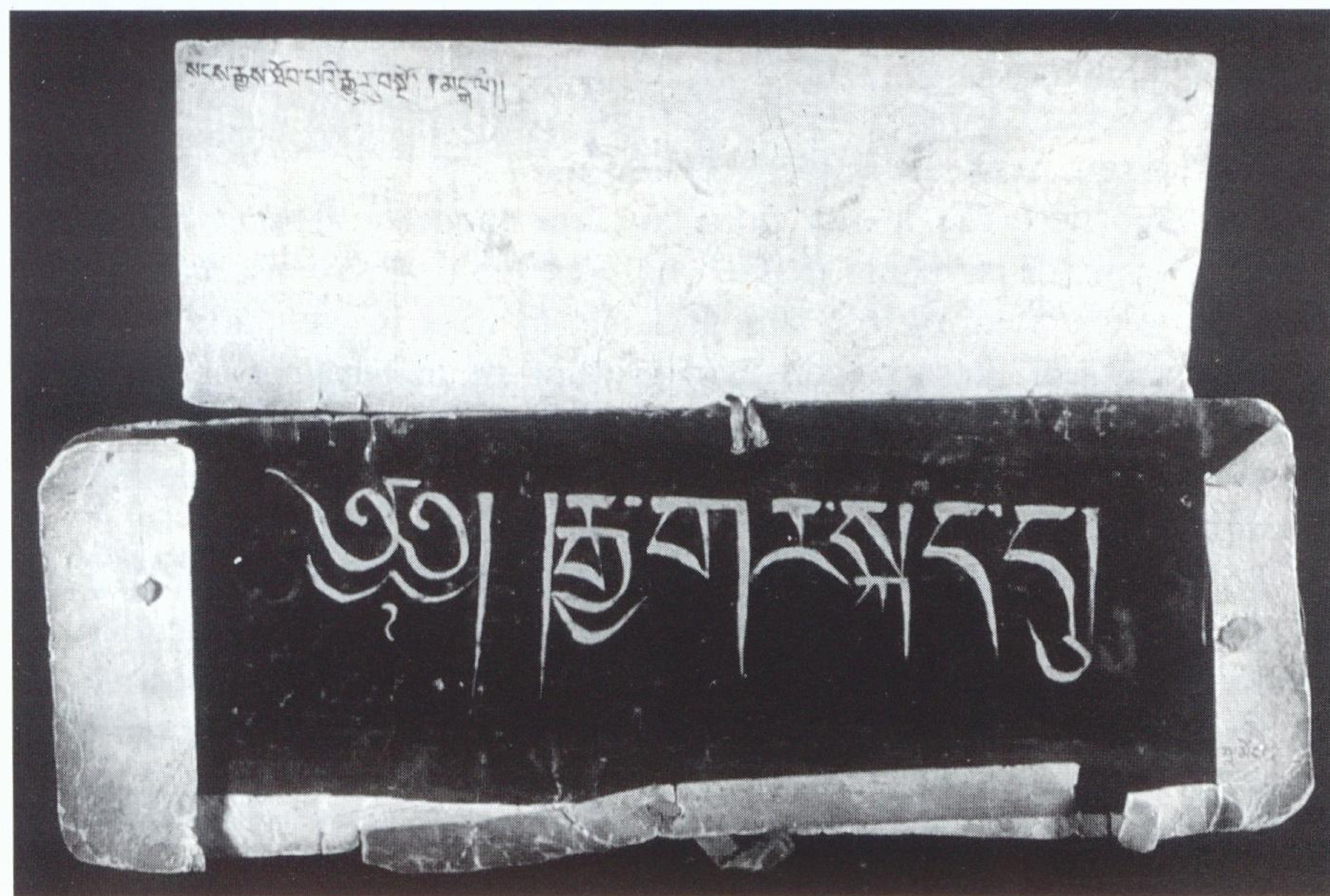
[4] Nel caso dei fogli A-B-C la copertina del volume è mancante.



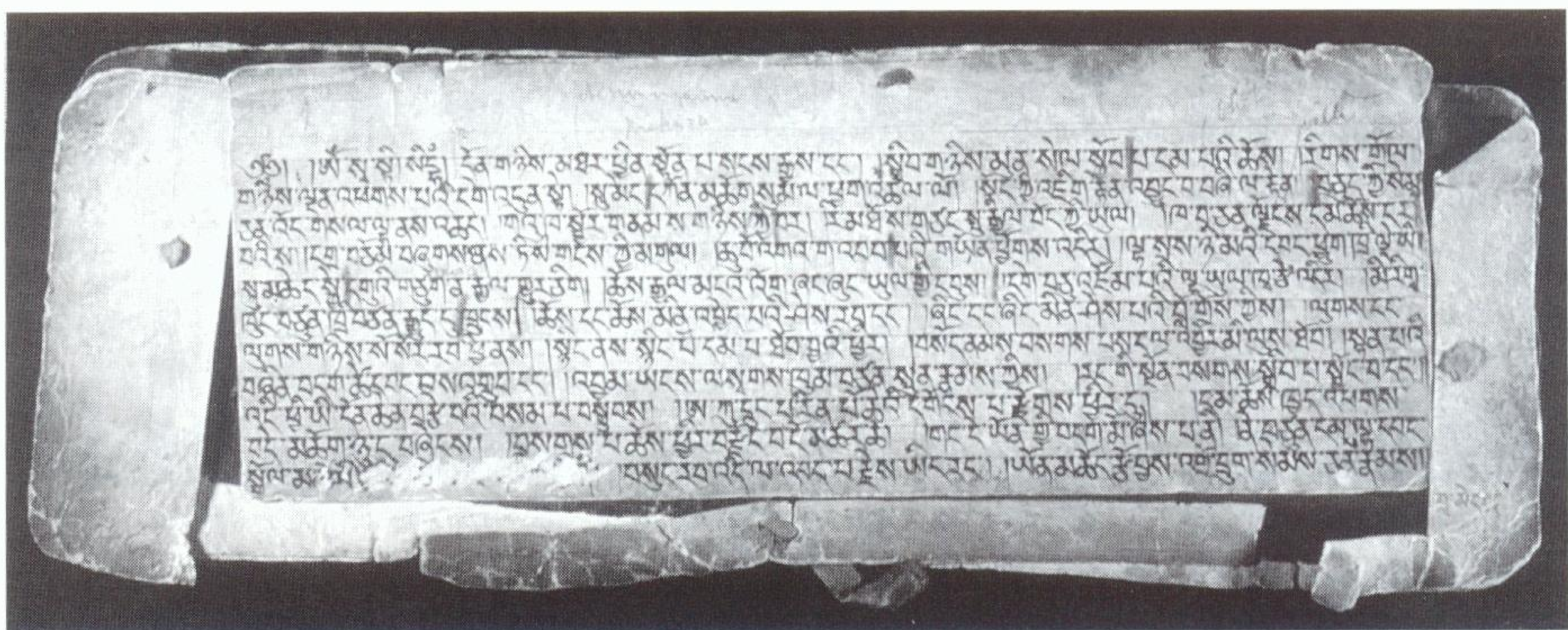
Foglio A



Foglio B



Foglio C



Foglio D

Ciò che è interessante notare è che questi fogli prefazione accompagnano generalmente copie di testi canonici e che, contenendo indicazioni storiche, permettono la datazione della copia stessa. Per restare nell'ambito dei fogli presi in esame[5], ci limitiamo a dire che nel Tibet Occidentale nell'arco di tempo che va da 'Jigs rten dbang 'phyug (r. 1540-1555) re di Guge a Seng ge rnam rgyal (1616-1642) re del Ladakh, questo sembra essere stato un uso ben consolidato e destinato a protrarsi nel tempo.

In particolare non può sfuggire ad un'analisi comparativa la somiglianza del contenuto dei fogli prefazioni qui presentati con una delle iscrizioni su carta rinvenute a Tabo, che è assai più tarda rispetto a quella dei fogli manoscritti (cfr. De Rossi Filibeck 1999).

Sappiamo però che le iscrizioni su carta attaccate al muro altro non sono che copie di iscrizioni murali che il tempo o altre cause hanno reso illeggibili e che mani pietose ripropongono di volta in volta alla memoria delle generazioni presenti con la riscrittura su materiale cartaceo (cfr. Klimburg Salter 1997: 46). Si potrebbe così ipotizzare l'esistenza di iscrizioni murarie in uno stile retorico dedicatorio comune sia per restauri al tempio sia per copie di testi.

Ho indicato con le lettere A e B i due fogli portati dalla regione di Tabo dal prof. Tucci. Il loro contenuto, tranne poche varianti, è identico. E questo indica naturalmente che la copia fu ripetuta più volte. Si tratta di due fogli prefazione che celebrano la donazione della copia del *Dam chos*

[5] Mi riferisco alle indicazioni storiche trovate in tutti i fogli prefazione che ho catalogato.

zab mo gzungs chen bral lnga e del *rDo rje gcod pa*[6] da parte di un membro della nobile famiglia Khyung po[7] avvenuta all'epoca del Sa skyong Tshe dbang rnam rgyal[8].

Trascrizione del testo A

Lato recto

1) // Om sva sti siddham sku gsum mngon du 'gyur pa'i ston pa sangs rgyas dang / sde snod gsum gyis chug pa'i dam chos dang / bslab pa gsum gyis mdzes pa'i dge 'dun
2) ste skyabs gnas ma[9] dkon mchog gsum la gus phyag 'tshal / gangs can shing rta'i sprol 'byed tsong kha[10] / mngon stobs rig pa'i dbang phyug rgyal tshab rje / mdo sngags bstan pa'i
3) bdag mkhas grub rje / tshungs med yab sras gsum[11] la gus phyag 'tshal / zab yangs blo gros gting tha[12] mi mngon zhing / legs par spyad pa'i rin chen bye ba'i ster / bstan pa'i dpal
4) gyur prin las[13] bzang po can / dpal ldan bla ma'i zhabs la[14] phyag 'tshal / mang thos rab ma rgyan gyis rab / mdzes gzhonu'i sku / legs bshad chos sgra zab mo sgrog gsung / mkhyen brtse'i 'od zer phyogs
5) bcur phro ba'i thugs / dpal ldan bla ma'i zhabs la phyag 'tshal / rim gnyis zab mo'i rnal 'byor mthar phyir pa'i / mi 'jigs bzhi ldan seng ge'i khri dang ldan / slob dpon
6) tshungs med chos rje'i zhabs la gus phyag 'tshal /[15] ston pa'i zhing khams mi phyed 'dzam bu'i gling / bstan pa phyi dar kha ba can gyi gnas[16] / rab dkar gangs ri'i phreng bas kun nas

[6] Si tratta di due testi: la *Pañcarakṣā* e la *Vajracchedikā* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa sum brgya pa'am rdo rje gcod pa*, Tōhoku 16 Ka, Sher phyin sna tshogs), su cui vedi Nakamura 1987: 317, 160.

[7] Sul nome di questo clan, tra i più noti del Tibet Occidentale, vedi Vitali 1996: 220 n. 318, 103 n. 16. La diffusione di questo clan nel Tibet Occidentale è attestata anche nelle biografie dei lHo rgyud kyi bla ma; cfr. Chandra e Namdak 1978: 81-116.

[8] Sul periodo storico di questo re vedi Petech 1977: 31 e il contributo di Petech in Klimburg Salter 1997: 246.

[9] B omette: *ma*

[10] B aggiunge: *pa*

[11] B scrive: *sum*

[12] B scrive: *'tha*

[13] B scrive: *la*

[14] B inserisce: *gus*

[15] B omette da *mang thos rab ma* e inserisce: *bstan pa'i mnga' bdag slob dpon / lung rigs dpal bzang po'i zhabs la gus phyag 'tshal / kye legs /*

[16] B sostituisce: *ljongs*

7) bskor / yan lag brgyad ldan nyal 'gro ltung ltung sgrog / nor 'dzin phyogs rnams[17] g.yu'i gos gyon zhing / 'dab chags rkang drug snyan pa'i glu len pa'i / brtsi bcud 'bru rnams dus
8) su smin byed pa'i / dge bcu khrims gnyis ldan pa'i la btags tu / lha dbang rnam rgyal dang tshungs pho brang na / mi 'thun phyogs kun 'joms shing 'khor 'bangs skyong / chu sbyin
9) rgya pa dang tshungs rgyal mchog / sa skyong tshe dbang gnam rgyal de la stod[18] / gong ma'i thugs 'dzin 'khor 'bangs byams pas skyong / blon po'i mchog gyur ga dga' 'bum

Lato verso

1) pa lde de la stod[19] / de'i chab srid chen po yangs pa 'dir / mnga' ris mchog gyur spyi ti zhes bya ba 'dir / sa la 'bur du thon pa'i rgyal sa brang khar 'dir / no gnam
2) rgyal don grub de la stod[20] / / kye legs/ yul la dge bcu 'dzom pa'i / ho 'khor ta spo[21] ru mi rigs khyung btsun khyung po jo sras rgyud / de[22] rgyud 'dzin
3) yon gyi bdag po dpon po ol tses / yab yum gnyis[23] dgongs pa rdzogs phyir dang / yab sras gnyis kyi sku tshe ring[24] phyir dang / rang gi 'gal rkyen bar chad zhi
4) ba[25] dang[26] phyi ma mthar pa thob phyir dang / sems can thams cad kyi don dang / khyad par du a ne dkon mchog mdzes kyi bsam pa rdzogs phyir du / dam chos zab mo
5) gzungs chen bral lnga dang rdo rje gcod pa bzhengs / bsags[27] don can khyed la kun kyang bstod / / o na dzo'i rgyun 'dzin[28] 'phrul gyi bu mo 'dra' / ltas na bzhin

[17] B inserisce: *gab*?
[18] B scrive: *bstod*
[19] B scrive: *bstod*
[20] B scrive: *bstod*
[21] B scrive: *po*
[22] B scrive: *de'i*
[23] B inserisce: *kyi*
[24] B scrive: *sring*?
[25] B omette: *ba*
[26] B inserisce: *sngon bsags las kyi sgrib pa dag phyir dang*
[27] B omette: *pa*
[28] B inserisce: *ne btsun*

6) legs[29] smra na ngag bsnyan pa'i[30] / yon gyi bdag mo a ne dkon mchog mdzes dang mchog 'dren ma 'u gnyis gyis / zas rnams bdud rtsi'i[31] sbyar nas
7) mchod gnas pa[32] mnyes par byed pa ngo tshar[33] che / ljon pa'i tshal nas 'dab chags ji bzhin du / sbrang rtsi'i rol bo[34] nga 'du ltar / khong gi gnyen drung yul mi khyim
8) mdzes rnams kyis kyang / dge si ka ru zhal dkar legs sbyar nas / dge ba'i mchog la 'bad pa ngo tshar[35] che / //dge'o / dge'o//

TRADUZIONE

Auguri e felicità! Onore e lode ai tre gioielli, luogo di rifugio quali il Buddha, maestro che si manifesta nei tre corpi, la santa legge, classificata dal Tripiṭaka e la comunità di monaci, che è resa bella dalle tre *śikṣā*[36]!
Onore e lode a Tsong kha pa, auriga del grande veicolo nel Paese delle nevi, a rGyal tshab rje signore della dottrina, della forza e della scienza, a mKhas grub rje maestro della dottrina dei *sūtra* e *mantra*, onore e lode a questi tre, padre e figli invincibili[37]!

Onore e lode ai gloriosi lama che possiedono l'attività gloriosa dell'insegnamento, dono di dieci milioni di gioielli ben fatti, che manifestano una mente incommensurabile per profondità e vastità!

Ci inchiniamo ai piedi dei gloriosi lama, il giovane corpo dei quali è reso bello dagli ornamenti del *mang thos rab ma* (*bahuśruta*), la profonda parola dei quali declama elegantemente la legge.

Ci inchiniamo ai piedi dell'invicibile maestro Chos rje detentore del trono del leone insieme ai quattro *vaiśāradya*[38], che raggiunge i limiti dello yoga dei due profondi *krama*[39].

[29] B inserisce: *bsdug* e omette: *legs*
[30] B inserisce: *'dzangs drung ldan pa'i*
[31] B scrive: *brtsi ra nas*
[32] B omette: *pa*
[33] B scrive: *mtshar*
[34] B scrive: *bong*
[35] B scrive: *mtshar*
[36] Cfr. l'inizio dell'iscrizione nel tempio di Tabo, De Rossi Filibeck 1999: 194, 197.
[37] Il riferimento a Tsong kha pa (1357-1419) e ai suoi due più famosi discepoli, mKhas grub rje (1385-1438) e Dar ma rin chen (1364-1432), ci indica un contesto dGe lugs pa.
[38] Il termine illustra una delle tante qualità del Buddha; vedi Rigzin 1993: 204.
[39] Tib. *bskyed rim*, *rdzogs rim*.

Il Jambūdvipa mi phyed[40], terra del maestro, Tibet, luogo della seconda diffusione della dottrina, completamente circondato da una catena di bianchissime montagne innevate risuona del rumore delle cascate dei fiumi che si dividono in otto rami adornando di una veste turchese tutta la terra[41].

In Ladakh sono in vigore le due leggi e le dieci virtù[42] che fanno maturare nel giusto tempo i semi e i succhi, dove gli uccelli e le api cantano una canzone di lode.

Nel palazzo simile a quello di lHa dbang rnam rgyal[43] sia onore e lode al sa skyong Tshe dbang gnam rgyal[44] che protegge il suo popolo sbaragliando tutti i nemici, miglior re simile a vasta nube.

Onore e lode al primo ministro Ga dga' Bum pa lde[45] che protegge in modo compassionevole il popolo mantenendo una mente superiore.

In questo loro vasto e grande dominio, in questo sPyi ti, il miglior luogo del mNga' ris, in questa Bran khar, sede reale che si eleva prominente sulla terra, onore e lode al No no gNam rgyal don grub[46]!

A Tabo chos 'khor[47], punto d'incontro delle dieci virtù, il lignaggio della nobile famiglia Khyung po jo sras, il *dānapati* (*yon gyi bdag po*) dpon po Ol tses che è sostenitore di quel lignaggio, per realizzare il desiderio dei genitori e augurare lunga vita alle presenti generazioni (*yab sras*), per rimuovere gli ostacoli di se stesso, per ottenere la vita futura e per il bene di tutti gli esseri viventi ed in particolare per realizzare la volontà di A ne dKon mchog skyes, ha commissionato la copia del *Dam chos zab mo gzungs chen bral lnga* e del *rDo rje gcod pa*. Lode a voi tutti che possedete il significato dell'accumulare meriti!

[40] La lezione corretta è *mi mjed*: vedi Rigzin 1993: 114.

[41] Per la descrizione del Tibet fatta in termini poetici convenzionali risalenti all'epoca dei manoscritti di Tun Huang, vedi Richardson 1962: 3.

[42] Le due leggi sono *chos khrims* e *rgyal khrims*; vedi Vitali 1996: 193. Per le dieci virtù vedi Rigzin 1993: 45.

[43] lHa dbang rnam rgyal è il padre di The dbang rnam rgyal (fl. 1575-1595); vedi Petech 1977: 28.

[44] Vedi note 8 e 43.

[45] Vedi Petech 1977: 32.

[46] Sul titolo e funzione del No no in sPyi ti e sulla grafia del capoluogo Bran kar, rinvio alla bibliografia relativa in De Rossi Filibeck 1999:189-206.

[47] Sul famoso tempio in sPyi ti visitato e studiato da Tucci, vedi ora la bellissima pubblicazione di Klimburg Salter, 1997.

Le due donatrici A ne dKon mchog mdzes e mChog 'dren ma'u che, simili alle figlie incarnate di On dzo'i rgyun 'dzin come segno prodigioso nel parlare usano espressioni poetiche, hanno predisposto come ambrosia il cibo; è meraviglioso come rendano lieto il *mchod gnas*[48].

Come uccelli dal giardino del paradiso, come un volo di api, anche i loro amici, parenti, contadini, persone della casa hanno preparato offerte ed è meraviglioso come essi si sforzino per la migliore delle virtù!

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[48] Si noti come in diversi contesti chiunque faccia doni in favore della Dottrina riceva la denominazione di *yon bdag*, speculare a *mchod gnas*: vedi la discussione su questi termini in Seyfort Ruegg 1991: 441-54.

VRAJ VALLABH DVIVEDI, Varanasi

तन्त्रेषु वैदिककर्मकाण्डस्य प्रभावः

उपक्रमः

[1]"आगम आणि तन्त्रशास्त्र" शीर्षके मराठीभाषानिबद्धे निबन्धे संहिता-आगम-तन्त्रशब्द-व्याख्यानावसरे साधितमस्माभिर्यदेते सर्वे शब्दास्तन्त्रशास्त्रेषु पर्यायतया प्रयुज्यन्त इति। अधुनैवास्माभिस्त्रिलोचनशिवाचार्यस्य सिद्धसारावलिनामको ग्रन्थोऽनन्तशम्भुकृतसंस्कृतटीका-साहाय्येन हिन्दीभाषायामनूद्य विस्तृतप्रस्तावनापुरस्सरं शैवभारतीशोधप्रतिष्ठानतः प्रकाशितः। तेन तन्त्रागमेषु वैदिककर्मकाण्डस्य प्रभाव इति विषयस्यैव न, प्रत्युत शैवागमेषु[2] संहिता-आगम-तन्त्रशब्दाः पर्यायतया प्रयुज्यन्त इत्यस्मदीयस्य मन्तव्यस्यापि पुष्टिर्भवति। तदनुरूपं निबन्धेऽस्मिन् वैष्णवसंहिता-शैवागम-शाक्त-बौद्धतन्त्राणां च कृते केवलं तन्त्रशब्द एव प्रयुक्तः। आगमशब्दोऽप्यत्र तस्मिन्नेवार्थे प्रयुक्त इति मन्तव्यम् ।

निगम(वेद)-आगम(तन्त्र)शास्त्रे, विशेषतो वैदिक-श्रमण(बौद्ध-जैन)शास्त्रे परस्परविपरीतां दृष्टिं धारयत इति मन्यते। वेदास्त्रैवर्णिकविषया आगमाश्च सर्ववर्णविषया इति तस्य तात्पर्यमवसीयते। वेदा ब्राह्मणानां तदितराणि बौद्ध-जैनादीनां शास्त्राणि च श्रमणानां परम्परा-मुपजीवन्ति। अनयोः शाश्वतिको[3] विरोध इति प्रायोवादः प्रचलदास्ते। अत्र विहाय जैनतन्त्राणि शैव-शाक्त-वैष्णव-बौद्धतन्त्रेषु कीदृशो वर्तते नाम वैदिककर्मकाण्डस्य प्रभाव इति विषयोऽयं प्रतन्यते। सम्पूर्णानन्द-संस्कृत-विश्वविद्यालयीयस्य विश्वविश्रुतस्य सरस्वतीभवनाख्यस्य

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१. पुण्यपत्तनस्थवेदशास्त्रोत्तेजकसभया १९७८ ई. वर्षे प्रकाशिते ग्रन्थे "प्राचीन भारतीय विद्ये चे पुनर्दर्शन" इत्याख्ये निबन्धोऽयं द्रष्टव्यः (पृ. १८१-१९६)।

२. सिद्धान्तशैवागमानां कृते सिद्धान्तसारावलिटीकायामुद्धृते कारणागमे—"किरणं वातुलं चैतास्त्वष्टाविंशतिसंहिताः" (पृ. २८३) इत्यत्र संहितापदम्, "प्रोद्गीताद्यष्टतन्त्राणि" (पृ. २८४) इत्यत्र च तन्त्रपदं प्रयुक्तम्। "तन्त्रेऽस्मिन् पारमेश्वरे" (१६.२०) इति मतङ्गपारमेश्वरवचने च स्वात्मार्थं तन्त्रपदं प्रयुक्तम्।

३. "येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः" (२.४.९) इत्यस्योदाहरणे "श्रमणब्राह्मणम्" इति प्रयोगो दृश्यते। पाणिनिसूत्रमेतत्, न कात्यायनवार्त्तिकमिति प्रथमममवधेयम्। अपि च, पातञ्जलमहाभाष्ये, काशिकावृत्तौ, सिद्धान्तकौमुद्यां वा नोदाहरणमेतद् वर्तते। केन वैयाकरणेन प्रदत्तमेतदिदम्प्रथमतये-त्यन्वेषणीयम्। काशिकावृत्तिपदमञ्जरीव्याख्यायां साम्प्रतमेतदुपलभ्यते।

ग्रन्थालयस्याध्यक्षचर-स्वर्गीय-पण्डितश्रीविभूतिभूषणभट्टाचार्यस्य[४] मन्तव्यमिदमासीद् यत् साम्प्रतं वैदिके बौद्धे च धर्मे या विपरीता दृष्टयो व्याख्यायन्ते, ता वस्तुतः पालिवाङ्मये स्वल्पा एव दृग्गोचरीभवन्ति, प्रत्युत नैकेषु स्थलेषु छान्दस्कानां प्रशंसापराणि वचनानि श्रूयन्ते। दिवंगताः पण्डितश्रीलक्ष्मणशास्त्रिजोशीमहोदया अपि प्रारम्भिके बौद्धदर्शने औपनिषद-सांख्य-योग-दर्शनानां स्पष्टं प्रभावं विवेचयन्त आसन्। विषयेऽस्मिन् तज्ज्ञा ऐतिहासिका एव प्रमाणमिति परित्यज्य तं तन्त्रागमविषय एवात्र चर्च्यते।

वैष्णवतन्त्रेषु वैखानसशाखा, शैवतन्त्रेषु सिद्धान्तशाखा च वैदिक्या वर्णव्यवस्थया साम्यमिव धत्ते। गौतमधर्मशास्त्रस्य (स्मृतेः) अष्टमेऽध्याये वर्णितेष्वष्टचत्वारिंशत्संख्याकेषु[५]संस्कारेष्वेकविंशतिसंस्काराः सार्वात्म्येन श्रौतसूत्रादिषु वर्णितान् सप्तपाकसंस्था-सप्तहविः-संस्था-सप्तसोमसंस्थाख्यान् संस्कारानेव समनुसरन्ति। एतेषां संस्काराणां शैवशाक्ततन्त्रेष्विव पुराणेष्वपि समुल्लेखो विद्यते। दीक्षा-पुरश्चरण-षट्कर्मसाधनेषु सर्वत्र होमोऽनिवार्यतया संपाद्यते। वीरशैवमतानुयायिनो बौद्धमतावलम्बिनश्च केचन मन्यन्ते यदीदृशानां त्रैवर्णिक-विषयाणां होमाद्यग्निकार्याणां समावेशस्तत्र तत्र नास्तीति। भ्रान्तेरस्याः परिहाराय किमप्यत्र प्रयत्यते।

सर्वप्रथमस्माभिरवधेयमेतद् यद् बुद्धमहावीराभ्यां वैदिक्या हिंसाया विरोधः कृतः, न सम्पूर्णस्य कर्मकाण्डस्य। वैदिककर्मकाण्डस्य निःसारतोपनिषत्सु, सांख्यदर्शने, भगवद्गीतासु च यत्र-तत्र प्रदर्श्यते। भगवता शङ्कराचार्येणापि चित्तशुद्ध्यर्थमेव कर्मणामुपयोगोऽङ्गीकृतः, ज्ञानमेव प्रधानं मोक्षसाधनमिति ते मन्वते, तथापि शङ्करपूर्ववर्तिनः परवर्तिनश्च बहव आचार्या ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयवादमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति। वैष्णवतन्त्रेषु श्रीमद्भागवतादिषु वैष्णवपुराणेषु च कर्मणामपि साक्षान्मोक्षसाधनत्वं स्वीक्रियते। इदमेव तत्कारणं यदागमतन्त्रशास्त्रस्य विभिन्नासु शाखासु दीक्षादिप्रसङ्गेषु[६] वैश्वानराराधनं वैदिकपद्धत्यैव समाचर्यते।

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४. श्रीविभूतिभूषणभट्टाचार्यः काशिकवंगीयविद्वत्कुलपरम्परायां स्वीयं विशिष्टं स्थानं बिभर्ति स्म। न्यायविद्याऽऽनुवंशिकरूपेण तेन लब्धा। संस्कृतभाषागीतलेखकः, संस्कृतनाट्यपरम्परासंरक्षकः, अभिनयप्रवीणश्च स दर्शकान् हठादावर्जयति स्म। प्राच्यपाश्चात्यगणितशास्त्रे संगीतशास्त्रे च प्रवीण एष महानुभावस्तादृशं वाद्ययन्त्रं निर्मितवान्, यत्र भारतीयसंगीतशास्त्रे निर्दिष्टा द्वाविंशतिप्रकाराः श्रुतयः पृथक्तया परिचीयन्ते स्म। समाजेन योग्यतानुरूपं तस्मै संमाननं नैवार्पितमिति शोचनीयोऽयं विषयोऽस्माभिः ''प्रादेशिकतापिशाचीग्रस्ता प्राच्यवाणी'' इति शीर्षके निबन्धे चर्चितः। दौर्भाग्यात् संस्कृतसमाजस्य नेतृत्वमाधुनिकभारतीयराजनीतिज्ञसहोदराणां पण्डितब्रुवां हस्ते पतितम् ।

५. अष्टचत्वारिंशत्संख्याकानां संस्काराणामेषां परिचयस्तन्त्रसारेऽभिनवगुप्तकृते (पृ. १४८-१५४) टिप्पण्यां विस्तरेण प्रदत्तः।

६. विमलप्रभायाम् (भा. २, पृ. ७५) अग्निपदस्थाने वैश्वानरशब्दः प्रयुक्तः। क्वचन लोकभाषासु बिसाँदरशब्दः प्रयुज्यते।

त्रिलोचनशिवाचार्यस्य सिद्धान्तसारावलिनामको ग्रन्थोऽधुनैव चर्चितः। टीकाकारः सूचयति यच्चोलदेशाद् गङ्गास्नानार्थमागतेन नृपतिना [7]राजेन्द्रचोलेन केचन शैवाचार्यवरा इतो नीताः, काञ्चीमध्ये चोलभूमौ च ते स्थापिताः। तेष्वेव शैवाचार्येष्वासीत् त्रिलोचन-शिवाचार्योऽपि। वाराणसीमधिवसता तेन कश्चन ग्रन्थो निबद्ध आसीत्। एतादृशानां शैवाचार्याणां मध्यदेशनिवासिनामङ्गुलिगण्या एव ग्रन्था अधुनावधि प्रकाशिता इति न तद्विषये वक्तुं किमपि शक्यते, किन्तु षष्ठशताब्दीतो द्वादशशताब्दीपर्यन्तं राजगुरूणामेषां शैवाचार्याणां शिलाशासनादिषु वर्ण्यते महद् वैशिष्ट्यम्। त्रिलोचनशिवाचार्यस्यास्मिन् ग्रन्थे दीक्षाप्रकरणेऽग्निकार्यविधीनां विस्तरेण वर्णनं विद्यते, व्याख्याताश्च नैके विषयाष्टीकाकारेण ग्रन्थान्तरप्रामाण्येनेति प्रथमतस्तदनुसारमेवात्र प्रधानाः केचन विषयाः कुण्डमण्डपादिनिर्माणसंबद्धाः प्रस्तूयन्ते।

शैवागमेषु

एते सर्वे विषयास्तेनात्र क्रियापादे २६-२९, ३३-४२ श्लोकेषु वर्णिताः। प्रथमतस्तेन १३७-१४७ पृष्ठेषु दीक्षाप्रसङ्गे समर्प्यमाणानामाहुतीनां पद्धतिं प्रदर्श्य कुण्डसंस्कारादीनां विधयो वर्णिताः। टीकाकारोऽत्र सर्वप्रथमं नेमि-नाभिप्रभृतीनां कुण्डावयवानां निर्माणपद्धतिं प्रदर्श्य कुण्डस्य निरीक्षण-प्रोक्षणादीनष्टादशसंस्कारान् निरूपयति। केचनाचार्या [8]अक्षपाटसंस्कारस्यापि समावेशमिच्छन्ति। तत्र मनुते टीकाकारः। मतमेतत् सयुक्तिकं खण्डयति सः, मण्डपस्यायं संस्कारो न तु कुण्डस्येति च स्थापयति सप्रमाणम्। कुण्डस्यैतान् संस्कारान् सम्पाद्य साधकस्तदनु वागीश्वरी-वागीश्वरयोरावाहनं विधाय सूर्यकान्तोद्भूतामरणि-काष्ठजां श्रोत्रियागारजां वा वह्निं मृत्पात्रे ताम्रपात्रे वा संस्थाप्य कुण्डे स्थापयति। अत्र कारणागमप्रामाण्येन—

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७. "राजेन्द्रचोल इत्याख्यश्चोलभूमौ महीमवन्। गङ्गास्नानार्थमागत्य दृष्ट्वा शैववरांस्तदा।। स्नात्वा प्रतिनिवृत्तः सन् तान् समादाय शैवकान्। स्वराज्ये स्थापयामास शैवाचार्यवरांस्ततः।। काञ्चीमध्ये चोलभूमौ सर्वत्रैव प्रविस्तरान्।।" सार्धश्लोकद्वयमेतत् "हिस्ट्री आफ शैव कल्ट्स इन नार्दर्न इण्डिया" (पृ. ३८, टि.२) इत्यस्य ग्रन्थस्य लेखकेन डॉ. वी. एस. पाठकमहोदयेन सिद्धान्तसारावलिनाम्ना समुद्धृतम्। सिद्धान्तसारात्रलिटीकास्थ(पृ.२५८)मेतदिति विभावनीयम्। डॉ. पाठकेन येन स्रोतसा टिप्पणी रचिता, तत्रापि टीकाया एवोल्लेखो वर्तते, न मूलग्रन्थस्य।

८. विषयोऽयं सिद्धान्तसारावलिटीकाकारेण विस्तरेण चर्चितः (पृ.१३९-१४०), नेत्रतन्त्रे (३.४५), स्वच्छन्दतन्त्रे (२.२०१) च वर्ण्यते। तत्र 'अक्षवाट'-शब्दः प्रयुक्तः, कुण्डसंस्कारेषु च परिगणितः। टीकाकारः क्षेमराजः 'यवनिका' इति तस्यार्थं विवृणोति। सिद्धान्तसारावलि-टीकाकारो मण्डपस्यायं संस्कारो न कुण्डस्येति वक्ति।

सूर्यकान्तोद्भवः श्रेष्ठः काष्ठजो मध्यमो भवेत् ।
श्रोत्रियागारजो वह्निः कन्यसस्त्विति कीर्तितः ।।

इत्येवं पूर्वपूर्वस्य श्रैष्ठ्यं प्रतिपाद्यते। अनुपलब्धेषु त्रिषु वह्निषु स्वगृहादग्नेरानयनमप्यत्रानुमतम्।

एवं सविधिकुण्डस्थापितवह्नेर्नाभिकुण्डस्थितवह्नेश्चाभेदं भावयित्वा वागीशीगर्भसंभूतत्वमपि तत्र भाव्यते। यद्यपि वैदिकविधानेषु पद्धतिरियं नाङ्गीकृता, तथापि वह्नेर्गर्भाधानादयः संस्कारा अनया सूचिता भवन्ति। टीकाकारेण सर्वे एते संस्कारा वैशद्येन निरूपिताः। संस्कृतस्य वह्नेः पञ्चवक्त्रशिवेनाभेदं भावयित्वा तत्रापि शिवस्याष्टात्रिंशत्कलानां न्यासो विधीयते, [९]शिवाग्निरिति च नाम्ना साम्प्रतं सोऽभिधीयते। पञ्चवक्त्रस्य शिवस्य विभिन्नेषु मुखेषु कामनाभेदेनाहुतयः प्रदीयन्ते। प्रसङ्गेऽस्मिन् वक्त्राभिघारण-वक्त्रसंधान-वक्त्रैकीकरणानां विधयो यद्यपि वैदिकानुष्ठानेनासम्बद्धा इव दृश्यन्ते, तथापि वैदिक [१०]व्याघारणविधिना साम्यं विशेषतोऽवलोकनार्ह-मत्र विद्यते ।

कुण्डस्याग्नेश्च संस्कारान् प्रदर्श्यात्र तदनु घृतस्याष्टादशसंस्काराः प्रदर्शिताः। स्रुचि शक्तेः स्रुवायां च शिवस्य न्यासं विधाय पूर्णाहुतिप्रक्रिया सविशेषं निरूपिता, काम्यहोमानां च विविधफलदानां स्वरूपमित्थं वर्णितम्—

स्वर्णाप्त्यै मधुना च गव्यपयसा गोसिद्धये सर्पिषा
लक्ष्म्यै शर्करया जुहोतु यशसे दध्ना च सर्वर्धये ।
अन्नैरन्नसमृद्धये च सतिलैर्द्रव्याप्तये तण्डुलै-
र्लाजैः सद्यशसे कुसुम्भकुसुमैः साश्वारिजैर्वाससे ।।

पद्मैर्भूपतिमुत्पलैर्नृपवधूस्तन्मन्त्रिणः कैरवै-
रश्वत्थादिसमिद्भिरग्रजमुखान् वर्णान् वधूः पिष्टजैः ।

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९. चन्द्रज्ञानागमे (१.११.४७-५७), मकुटागमे (१.२.२४-३३), पारमेश्वरागमे (४.१-४३) चानयैव पद्धत्या शिवाग्निसम्पादनं निर्दिष्टम्। शिवाग्नेः स्वरूपमेतच्छिवपुराणीयविद्येश्वरसंहितायां (१.१८.६२-६७) सुस्पष्टं वर्ण्यते।

१०. ''व्याघारणं नाम एकस्मात् कोणात् कोणान्तरं प्रति आज्यधाराक्षारणम्। तच्च व्याघारणं पञ्चगृहीतेनाज्येन क्रियते'' (१७.१२) इत्येवं माध्यन्दिनसंहिताया वेदार्थपारिजाताख्ये भाष्ये व्याघारणलक्षणं निर्दिष्टम्। व्याघारणशब्दोऽत्रत्योऽभिघारणपर्याय एव । प्रस्तुते स्थले वक्त्राभिघारणप्रक्रिया शिवस्य पञ्चमुखेष्वत्र प्रदर्शितपद्धत्यैव सम्पाद्यते। पञ्चगृहीतस्याज्यस्य सार्थक्यमपि शिवपञ्चवक्त्राधारेण सिद्ध्यति।

पुत्तल्यादिभिरन्वहं च वशयेज्जम्भं त्वनावृष्टये
लोणैर्वृष्टिसमृद्धये च जुहुयान्मन्त्री पुनर्वेतसैः ।। इति।

प्रायः सर्वेषु तन्त्रागमग्रन्थेषु विविधकामनानां सिद्धये एतादृशानामेव द्रव्याणामाहुतयः प्रदीयन्त इति प्रदर्शनार्थमेवात्रेमौ श्लोकौ समुद्धृतौ स्तः।

पूर्णाहुतिप्रयोगक्रमोऽत्रत्यो विशेषेणावधानार्हो विद्यते। अयं हि तस्य क्रमः—स्रुवपात्रसाहाय्येन स्रुचि घृतमापूर्य, ऊर्ध्वमुखे स्रुक्पात्रेऽधोमुखं स्रुवं निधाय, स्रुक्पात्रस्याग्रभागे पुष्पं संस्थाप्य, शङ्खमुद्रासदृशाभ्यां हस्ताभ्यां स्रुक्स्रुवयोर्मूलभागं तथा गृह्णीयात्, यथा हि दक्षिणहस्तस्योपरितनो भागो वामहस्तस्य पश्चात्तनो भागश्च गृहीतः स्यात्। तदनु पादावुभौ समीकृत्य समुत्तिष्ठेत, ऋजुकायशिरोग्रीवं च समं धारयन् नाभिस्थाने स्रुक्स्रुवयोर्मूलं किञ्चित् तिर्यक्कृत्य संयोजयेत्, स्रुक्पात्रस्याग्रभागे दृष्टिं स्थिरीकृत्य वौषडन्तं मूलमन्त्रं जपन् तारस्वरेण शनैः शनैः स्रुक्स्रुवयोर्मूलं स्वीयवामस्तनपर्यन्तमुत्थापयेत् । सर्वमेतत् क्रियाकलापं यथाशास्त्रं संपाद्य पतन्त्यां घृतधारायां बिन्दुस्थानतो निःसरन्तीममृतधारां भावयित्वा यवप्रमाणयाऽविच्छिन्नधारयाऽवशिष्टं सर्वं घृतमग्नावाहुतिरूपेण समर्पयेत्। पूर्णाहुतिरियमित्थं शास्त्रेषु वर्ण्यते—

घृतेन स्रुचमापूर्य निधायाधोमुखं स्रुवम् ।
तदग्रे पुष्पमारोप्य शङ्खसंनिभमुद्रया ।।

हस्ताभ्यां स्रुक्स्रुवौ धृत्वा तन्मूलं नाभिमध्यगम् ।
कृत्वा चोत्थाय संतिष्ठेदृजुकायः समाहितः ।।

मूलमन्त्रमतिस्पष्टं वौषडन्तं समुच्चरन् ।
बिन्दोरुद्गीर्णपीयूषैर्नासारन्ध्रविनिर्गतैः ।।

स्रुवमापूरयन् सर्पिः पूर्णां दद्याच्छिवानले ।

श्लोकेष्वेतेषु पूर्णाहुतिप्रक्रिया स्पष्टमुपरितनविधिमनुसरति ।

एवं सम्पूर्णं प्रकरणमेतद् वैदिकविधिं सर्वात्मनाऽनुसरति। स्थाने स्थानेऽत्र आगमीया पद्धतिरपि यथायथं संयोज्यते। अग्निकार्यसम्बद्धो विधिरयं बौद्धतन्त्रेष्वपि तथैव वर्ण्यते। तदेतदग्रे प्रतिपादयिष्यते।

अग्निकार्यप्रसङ्गे कुण्ड-मण्डपादिनिर्माणपद्धतिज्ञानमपि नितान्तमपेक्ष्यते। अतोऽत्र (पृ. १५७-२०२) दीक्षाविधिसम्पन्नतायै निर्मीयमाणानां मण्डपानां कुण्डानां मण्डलानां च लक्षणानि सम्यङ् निरूपितानि। प्रसङ्गवशादत्र वेदिकाया विस्तारलक्षणे, चतुष्कोणादिकुण्डानां सामान्यलक्षणानि च प्रदर्श्याष्टविधकुण्डानां स्वरूपं तेषु सम्पाद्यानि विविधानि काम्यकर्माणि च वर्णितानि। तदेतेषामष्टविधकुण्डानां नामानि बौद्धादितन्त्रेष्वपि समुपलभ्यन्ते, किन्तु निर्माणपद्धतिर्नान्यत्र

क्वापि वर्ण्यते। वर्ततेऽस्य ग्रन्थस्य वैशिष्ट्यं यत् सर्वेषामपि कुण्डानां स्वरूपं सम्यगत्र वर्णितम्। न केवलमेतावदेव स्रुक्-स्रुव-विष्टर-परिधि-इध्म-समिधा-ज्ञानखड्गसदृशानां यागोपकरणानामपि स्वरूपं सार्वात्म्येन वैदिकपद्धत्यैव समुन्मीलितम्। टीकाकारेण स्पष्टमत्र प्रतिपाद्यते यत् स्रुक्स्रुवपात्रयोर्निर्माणमेकेनैव काष्ठखण्डेन क्रियत इति।

यागधामपदेन यज्ञशालाऽत्र निर्दिष्टा। तदर्थं भूमिग्रहणानन्तरं शल्योद्धारादयः संस्कारा विधीयन्ते। चतुर्विंशत्यङ्गुलप्रमाणो हस्त इति तदर्थं चाचार्यस्यैवाङ्गुलिर्हस्तो वा गृह्यत इति वैदिकपद्धतिरत्राप्यनुक्रियते। सर्वे विषया एते टीकाकारेण नानाशैवागमसाहाय्येन वर्णिता इति विभावनीयं विपश्चिद्भिः। तदनेन शैवागमेषु दीक्षाप्रसङ्गेऽग्निकार्यप्रकरणे वैदिकविधिविधानानि सार्वात्म्येनानुसृतानीति स्पष्टं विज्ञायते।

बौद्धतन्त्रेषु

बौद्धतन्त्रेषु [११]कालचक्रतन्त्रस्य, तस्य विमलप्रभाख्यायाष्टीकायाश्च वर्तते किमपि नाम वैशिष्ट्यम्। अत्राप्यग्निकार्यप्रसङ्गे वैदिककर्मकाण्डस्य स्पष्टः प्रभावो दरीदृश्यते। त्रिविधः पञ्चविधश्च वह्निर्वैदिकवाङ्मये वर्ण्यते। अत्रापि दक्षिणाग्नि-गार्हपत्य-आहवनीयाख्यास्त्रिविधा वह्नयो निर्दिष्टाः, किन्तु तेषां व्याख्याने भिन्ना पद्धतिराश्रिता। द्वितीयस्याध्यात्मपटलस्य ३६ तमे श्लोके हृदय-कण्ठ-नाभिस्थानेषु स्थितिरेषां वर्णिता। हृदयस्थितोऽर्धचन्द्राकारो विद्युदग्निरेव दक्षिणाग्निः, कण्ठकमले स्थितो वृत्ताकारः सूर्याग्निरेव गार्हपत्याग्निः, नाभिस्थाने विद्यमानश्चतुरस्राकारः क्रव्यादाग्निरेवाऽऽहवनाग्निरिति वर्ण्यते। त्रयाणामपि वह्नीनामुपरि विद्यमानः सत्यनामा चतुर्थो ज्ञानाग्निरपि विद्यतेऽत्र। न तत्र चन्द्रसूर्ययोः कापि सत्ता। अभिषेकपटलेऽपि (३.७४-७५) होमविधिप्रसङ्गे त्रिविधवैश्वानररूपेण वह्नित्रयमेतदेव वर्णितम्। सहैव आनन्दस्वभावः सत्याख्यश्चतुर्थोऽग्निरपि चर्च्यते, अत्रैव सर्वविधो होमः संपादनीय इति च। अत्र ऋग्वेदीयः ''क्रव्यादाग्निम्'' (१०.१६.१) इत्यादिको मन्त्रः सम्पूर्णः समुद्धृतः, सत्याख्यो ज्ञानाग्निरत्र वर्ण्यत इति चोक्तम्। सप्तजिह्वः सूर्याग्निरप्यत्र (भा.II, पृ. ७५) स्मर्यते, किन्तु न [१२]लेलिहानादिजिह्वामयः, अपि तु सूर्यसोमादयः सप्तवारा एव जिह्वापदेनात्र निर्दिष्टाः।

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११. शैवतन्त्रशास्त्रस्य ग्रन्थेषु तन्त्रालोकस्याभिनवगुप्तस्य विवेकाख्यस्य तद्व्याख्यानस्य जयरथकृतस्येव बौद्धतन्त्रेषु कालचक्रतन्त्रस्य तद्व्याख्यानस्य च वर्तते किमपि वैशिष्ट्यम्। 'धीः' इत्याख्यायाः पत्रिकाया २२तमेऽङ्के प्रकाशिते ''कालचक्रतन्त्र-विमलप्रभा समीक्षा'' इत्याख्ये निबन्धेऽस्माभिरुभयोरेतयोर्ग्रन्थयोर्विशदः परिचयः प्रस्तुतः। बौद्धतन्त्रेषु वर्णिताः प्रायः सर्वे विषया अत्र विवृताः सन्ति। इदं विशेषेणावधेयं यत् तन्त्रालोकस्य षष्ठसप्तमाह्निकयोः प्राणचारप्रसङ्गे क्षणादिमहाकल्पपर्यन्तं कालचक्रस्य यादृशमाध्यात्मिकं स्वरूपं कालोदय-चक्रोदयवेलायां निर्दिष्टम्, न तद् दृश्यते कालचक्रे विमलप्रभायां वा।

१२. अत्रैव विभिन्नतन्त्रागमग्रन्थवर्णितानि वह्नेः सप्तजिह्वानामानि द्रष्टव्यानि। अमरकोश (१.१.५६)-टीकायामाप्टेरचितशब्दकोशेऽपि च तानि परिगणितानि। सर्वत्र वैभिन्न्यमेव दृश्यते।

विमलप्रभाकार आहवनीयाग्निमेव क्रव्यादाग्निं मनुते। अधुनैव स्मृत ऋग्वेदीयो मन्त्रः शुक्लयजुर्वेदेऽपि (३५.१९) वर्तते। पितृमेधप्रकरणीयः स मन्त्रः। तत्र क्रव्यादाग्निपदेन श्मशानाग्निर्गृह्यते। अत्रत्या भाष्यकाराः क्रव्यादाग्नितो भिन्नं ज्ञानाग्निं स्मरन्ति। अग्निहोत्रिणः शरीरं ज्ञानाग्नये समर्प्यते, न सामान्याग्नये क्रव्यादायेति तदभिप्रायो वक्तुं शक्यते। विवरणेनानेन स्पष्टीभवति यदग्निचतुष्टयव्याख्यानमेतत् सार्वात्म्येन वैदिकवाङ्मयमनुसृत्यैव विहितमिति। तथापि प्रश्नोऽयमनुत्तरित एव विद्यते यदाहवनीयाग्नेः क्रव्यादाग्निना कः सम्बन्ध इति।

सिद्धान्तसारावलिवर्णितं कुण्डाष्टकमधुनैव चर्चितम्। अत्राप्यध्यात्मपटलसमाप्तौ (श्लो. १५७-१५८) शान्तिककुण्डहोमादीनि संक्षेपेण संचर्च्य तदनु (भा. २, पृ. ११,७०; भा. ३, पृ. ६५) अष्टविधकुण्डानि वर्णितानि। एतदतिरिक्तं सार्वकर्मिकाख्यं नवमं कुण्डमपि तत्र (भा. २, पृ. ७०-७२) चर्च्यते। कुण्डानामेषां नामानि वर्तुल (वृत्त)-चतुरस्र-धनुषाकार (अर्धचन्द्र)-पञ्चकोण-सप्तकोण-त्रिकोण-षट्कोण-[१३]अष्टकोणाख्यानि तत्र (भा. २, पृ. १२; भा. ३, पृ. ६५) निर्दिष्टानि। अभिषेकपटले (३.६-१८) भूपरीक्षा-दिग्विभाग-कुण्ड-वेदिप्रमाण-समित्-क्षीर-दूर्वादिद्रव्याणां देवतासनादीनां च निरूपणं वैदिकपद्धतिमनुसरति। अयमेव विषयः पुनस्तत्रैव (भा. २, पृ. ७०-७६; भा. ३, पृ. ६५) वर्ण्यते। अष्टविधकुण्डानां लक्षणानि, स्वभावः, होमविधिः, अग्न्याहरणम्, श्रुवक-पात्रीलक्षणमित्यादयो विषया अपि चर्चिताः। [१४]वरदहस्तेनाप्याहुतिप्रदानमत्र विहितम्। साम्प्रतमाहुतिप्रदानस्यायमेव विधिर्विशेषरूपेण प्रचलितोऽस्ति। अत्र (भा. २, पृ. १६) पात्रीस्रुवकयोः पर्यायता निर्दिष्टा, स्रुक्स्रुवकयोर्लक्षणे च प्रदर्शिते स्तः। सर्वेषामेषां वैदिककर्मकाण्डसंबद्धानां सम्पूर्णपरिचयजिज्ञासा नोपशाम्यति विवरणेनानेन, सा च सिद्धान्तसारावलिपठनेन समाहिताऽवश्यं भवेदित्यागमतन्त्रवादिनां वैदिककर्मकाण्डपरिचयोपादानसरणावस्य ग्रन्थस्य वर्तते स्वीयं वैशिष्ट्यम् ।

मन्त्रपुरश्चरण(पूर्वसेवा)प्रसङ्गे दशांशो होमः सर्वत्र विधीयते। अत्राप्यभिषेकपटले (भा. २, पृ. ४३) कोटिजापानन्तरं दशलक्षहोमो निर्दिष्टः। चक्री, कुण्डलम्, कण्ठिका, रुचकम्, मेखला, [१५]भस्म-यज्ञोपवीतमिति षण्णां मुद्राणां विधानं कापालिकेषु बौद्धेषु च तन्त्रेषु

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१३. अत्र चाधस्ताच्च कुण्डानां नामानि भिन्नभिन्नान्यवलोक्यन्ते।

१४. दक्षिणहस्ताङ्गुलीनां सविशेषया स्थित्या शुष्कद्रव्य-क्षीरादीनामाहुतयः प्रदातुं शक्यन्ते। घृताहुतिदानावसरे साम्प्रतं यज्ञीयवृक्षपुटैश्चमसाकारीकृतैस्ताः प्रदीयन्ते।

१५. अत्र निर्दिष्टां चक्रिमुद्रां परित्यज्य भस्म-यज्ञोपवीते च पृथक् परिगणय्य मुद्राणां संख्या कापालिक-बौद्धमतयोः षट् स्वीकृता। हेवज्रतन्त्रे (१.३.१४) तु चक्रिमुद्रामङ्गीकृत्य भस्मयज्ञोपवीते च परिहृत्य पञ्चमुद्रापक्षः स्वीकृतः। विमलप्रभाकारो नैनं पक्षमङ्गीकृतवानित्यनेन स्पष्टीभवति। 'धीः'-पत्रिकायाः प्रथमोऽङ्कोऽस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे दर्शनार्हः।

वर्तते। अत्र भस्म-यज्ञोपवीताख्याया मुद्राया: समावेश: कापालिके मते भवतु नाम, किन्तु बौद्धमतेऽपि तस्या: स्थितिराश्चर्यकरीव प्रतीयते। यतो हि साम्प्रतिका बौद्धा भस्मधारणं पाशुपतादिशैवानां यज्ञोपवीतधारणं च त्रैवर्णिकानां विधिष्वन्तर्भूतमिति मन्वते। त्रिकाल-सन्ध्योपासनं वैदिकविधानाङ्गमिति जानीमो वयम्। किन्तु मध्यरात्रिसमावेशपुरस्सरं चतुर्णां सन्ध्यानामङ्गीकृति: सर्वेषु योगतन्त्रागमशास्त्रेषु प्रायो वर्तते। आसां चतुर्विधसन्ध्यानामुल्लेखो विविधेषु स्थलेषु (भा.१, पृ.७४, १०५,१८२, २१०; भा.२, पृ. २७,७५; भा.३, पृ.१७,२०,३४,१०४,१०६,११२,११७), अन्यत्र च वसन्ततिलकादिषु दृश्यते। तेन सन्ध्यावन्दनस्यापि सद्भावो बौद्धतन्त्रेषु वर्तत इति न केनाप्यपलपितुं शक्यते। पञ्चमे ज्ञानपटले निरूपितं चतुर्थसन्ध्याया आन्तरं स्वरूपं सविशेषं दर्शनार्हमास्ते। अनेन स्पष्टीभवति यद् बौद्धतान्त्रिकाणां दृष्टिर्नैवासीत् तावती संकीर्णा, यावती हि श्रीलङ्कात: प्रसृते साम्प्रतिके बौद्ध-धर्मे पाश्चात्त्यैराधुनिकैश्च भारतीयैर्विद्वद्भिरुद्घोष्यते।

वैष्णवागमेषु

"वैदिकस्तान्त्रिको मिश्र इति ते त्रिविधो मख:" इत्यभिप्रायं व्यक्तीकुर्वन्ति वाक्यानि वैष्णवागमेषु पुराणेषु च समुपलभ्यन्ते। एषु वैखानसा वैदिकम्, पाञ्चरात्रास्तान्त्रिकम्, भागवताश्च मिश्रं मार्गमाश्रित्य भगवदाराधनं कुर्वन्तीति तदभिप्रायो व्यज्यते। मखशब्दोऽत्र यागपर्यायतया प्रयुक्त:। सात्वतसंहिताभाष्यकारोऽलशिङ्गभट्ट:—"यागो बिम्बादिषु भगवदर्चनम्, होमो वह्निसन्तर्पणम्" (पृ. १९-२०) इत्येवं यागहोमयो: परिभाषामातनोति। अनेन स्पष्टीभवति यद् वैष्णवागमेषु वह्निसन्तर्पणमप्युपदिश्यते। अधुनैव प्रकाशितेऽस्मदीये "वैष्णवागमविमर्श:" इति नामधेये ग्रन्थे (पृ. १०-११, १३-१५) सप्रमाणमुपस्थापितमेतत्—वैखानसागमेषु वैदिककर्मकाण्डस्य साक्षात्, किञ्चित्परिवर्तितं वा स्वरूपमङ्गीक्रियत इति। पाञ्चरात्रागमेषु भगवदर्चाप्रसङ्गे मन्त्रैरागमिकै: सह वैदिकमन्त्रा अपि पठ्यन्त इति पर:शतं तादृशा मन्त्रा विविधासु संहितासु प्रतीकरूपेण पठिता इति तेषां संग्रह: केनचिदनुसन्धित्सुना कृतो वर्तते। भागवतसम्प्रदायस्तु मिश्रविभागान्तर्गत इति तत्र स्पष्टमेव वैदिकीं तन्त्रागमीयां स्मार्तपौराणिकीं च पद्धतिमनुसृत्य भगवदर्चा विधीयत इति स्पष्टमेव। श्रीमद्भागवतपुराणान्तर्गता भगवदर्चापद्धतिर्विभागेऽस्मिन् समावेशमर्हति। श्रीमता वल्लभाचार्येण श्रीमद्भागवतं चतुर्थप्रस्थानत्वेन स्वीक्रियते। भागवतेऽस्मिन् सम्प्रदाये भक्तिमार्गस्य श्रेष्ठत्वं प्रतिपाद्यते। "भक्तिरेव परां काष्ठां प्राप्ता मोक्षोऽभिधीयते" इत्येतादृशानि वचनानि प्रमाणतयोपस्थापयितुं शक्यन्ते। विहाय भक्तिमार्गचर्चां सात्वतसंहितावर्णितो होमविधिरेव प्रसङ्गप्राप्तोऽत्र संक्षेपेण प्रस्तूयते।

अग्निसन्तर्पणविधिरत्र षष्ठे परिच्छेदे (श्लो.७५-१६२) वर्ण्यते। कुण्डलक्षणम्, कुण्डसंस्काराः, कुण्डस्याष्टदिक्षु कलशाष्टकस्थापनम्, विदिक्षु चतुर्मूर्तिसमाराधनम्, [१६]आरण्यादि-भेदभिन्नस्य वह्नेरानयनम्, कालवैश्वानररूपस्य विष्वक्सेनमूर्तेर्ध्यानम्, अग्नेः परिसमूहनादयः संस्काराः, पात्रासादनम्, आज्यसंस्काराः, स्रुक्स्रुवपात्रसंस्कारः, पवित्रधारणम्, होमः, [१७]आहवनीय-सभ्य-गार्हपत्य-ओदनम्पचनाख्याश्चत्वारो वह्नयः, तेषां चतुर्षु दिक्षु स्थापनम्, तेषु भगवदावाहनम्, इध्मसमिधादीनां विधानम्, [१८]सप्तविधसमित्सु अन्ननामकसमित्प्रदानस्य विशिष्टः प्रकारः, यज्ञीयकुण्डस्थभस्मना [१९]तिलकधारणमित्यादयो विषया वैदिक्या विशिष्टप्रक्रिययैव सम्पादनीया इति प्रतिपादयन्ती संहितेयं सर्वां वह्निसन्तर्पणप्रक्रियां प्रदर्शयामास। जयाख्यायामपि १५ तमे पटले सम्पूर्णे सोऽयमग्निकार्यविधिर्विस्तरेण वर्ण्यते।

प्रत्यभिज्ञाशास्त्रेषु

शैवप्रत्यभिज्ञाशास्त्रेषु नेत्रतन्त्र-स्वच्छन्दतन्त्रयोर्वर्तते विशिष्टं स्थानम्। नेत्रतन्त्रं मृत्युञ्जयभट्टा-रकनाम्नाऽपि प्रथते। द्वाविमौ ग्रन्थौ क्षेमराजकृतयोद्योतनाम्न्या टीकया सह कश्मीरग्रन्थमालायां प्रकाशितचरौ। दिल्लीनगरीतः पुनः प्रकाशनमेतयोः सम्पन्नम्। अनयोरपि तन्त्रयोर्दीक्षाप्रकरणे वह्निसमाराधनविधिर्वर्ण्यते। नेत्रतन्त्रस्य तृतीयेऽधिकारे (श्लो. ३८-८२), स्वच्छन्दतन्त्रस्य द्वितीये पटले (श्लो.१८३-२८९) च वह्निसन्तर्पणसंबद्धास्ते सर्वे विषया वर्णिताः, ये ह्युपरिष्टाच्चर्चिताः सन्ति।

नेत्रतन्त्रे (३.४५), स्वच्छन्दतन्त्रे (२.२०१) चाक्षवाटाख्यः कुण्डसंस्कारो वर्ण्यते, यो हि [२०]अक्षपाटनाम्ना पूर्वमत्र चर्चितः। स्वच्छन्दोद्योते यवनिकार्थकतया स व्याख्यातः। कुण्डप्रकरणेऽस्य निर्देशात् तस्यैवायं संस्कारोऽनयोस्तन्त्रयोरभिमतः। सिद्धान्तसारावलि-तट्टीकाकारयोर्मते मण्डपस्यायं संस्कारो न कुण्डस्येति पूर्वं चर्चितमेव। वागीशीसमावाहनप्रक्रिया सिद्धान्तसारावलिसमानाऽनयोरुभयोस्तन्त्रयोर्वर्तते। नेत्रतन्त्रे स्रुक्स्रुववेदिकाकण्ठादीनां निर्माणविधिरपि

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१६. आरण्यपदेनात्रारणिजस्तन्मन्थनोद्भूतो वह्निरभिप्रेतः, न तु दावानलोऽरण्योद्भूतः।

१७. दक्षिणाग्नि-गार्हपत्य-आहवनीयाख्यास्त्रयोऽग्नयः, सभ्य-आवसथ्यौ च द्वावित्याहत्य पञ्च वह्नयो वर्ण्यन्ते वैदिके वाङ्मये। प्रस्तुते ग्रन्थे विहाय दक्षिणाग्निं चत्वारो वह्नयो वर्णिताः। ओदनम्पचनशब्दोऽत्र आवसथ्य(गृह्याग्नि)पर्यायः।

१८. सप्तप्रकारासु समित्सु ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् (पृ.९९) प्रधानभूतया समिधया सह पुष्प-धूप-मधुपर्क-बीज-चरु-घृतानामपि समित्सु समावेशोऽभिमतः।

१९. यज्ञीयभस्मना तिलकधारणं स्वस्वसम्प्रदायानुरूपमथवा भ्रूमध्ये बिन्दुरूपेण कर्तुं शक्यते।

२०. उपरितना अष्टमी टिप्पणी द्रष्टव्या।

वर्णितः। अत्र (३.७०) कुण्डं क्रियाशक्तिरग्निश्च ज्ञानशक्तितया व्याख्यातः। [२१]अग्नेर्नवजिह्वा अत्र (३.७६) सूच्यन्ते, तासां नामानि च क्षेमराजेन निर्दिष्टानि। विविधकामनासिद्ध्यर्थं विविधद्रव्याहुतिविधानमप्यत्र प्रदर्श्यते।

स्वच्छन्दतन्त्रेऽपि कुण्डसंस्कार-विष्टरलक्षण-स्रुक्स्रुवसंस्कार-आज्यसंस्कार-वक्त्रसन्धान-काम्याहुतिविधानसदृशा विषयाः सिद्धान्तसारावलिपद्धत्यैव वर्ण्यन्ते। संस्कारैः संस्कृतोऽग्निरत्रापि शिवाग्निनाम्नैव निर्दिष्टः। भैरवसमाराधनमस्य तन्त्रस्य स्वीयं वैशिष्ट्यम्। कामनाभेदेन आहुतिद्रव्यभेदोऽत्रापि दृश्यते। भुल्लकनामा कश्चन प्राचीन आचार्यः सिद्धान्तशैवपद्धत्या भैरवतन्त्रमेतद् व्याख्यातवानिति तन्मतं बहुधा निराकृतवान् क्षेमराजः। व्याख्यानमेतन्नाधुना समुपलभ्यते। नृपतिपदप्राप्तयेऽत्र (२.२८५) फल्गुष(नृमांस)-आहुतिविधानं दृश्यते। तेन तन्त्रस्यास्य भैरवतन्त्रान्तःपातित्वमेव सिद्ध्यति, सिद्धान्तशैवतन्त्रेषु तादृशाचाराणामदर्शनात्।

वीरशैवशास्त्रेषु

वीरशैवमतं चर्चितमुपरिष्टात्। नातिचिरं शैवभारतीशोधप्रतिष्ठानतः वीरशैवागमग्रन्थाः पञ्च प्रकाशिताः। अत्रत्यः पारमेश्वरागमो मतङ्गपारमेश्वराद्भिन्नः। अत्र न दृश्यते मतङ्गवत् पाद-विभागः। एवमेव चन्द्रज्ञान-सूक्ष्म-मकुट-कारणाख्या आगमा अपि सिद्धान्तागमेषु परिगणितानां तत्तदागमानामुत्तरभागतया परिगण्यन्ते। "सिद्धान्ताख्ये महातन्त्रे कामिकाद्ये शिवोदिते। निर्दिष्टमुत्तरे भागे वीरशैवमतं परम्॥" (५.१४) इति सिद्धान्तशिखामणौ वर्ण्यते। सर्वेष्वेतेषु ग्रन्थेषु वह्निसमाराधनं वैदिकपद्धतिमेव समनुसरति।

पारमेश्वरागमे चतुर्थे पटले होमविधिर्वर्णितः। अत्रत्यं वैशिष्ट्यमेतद् यदत्र कुण्डैः सह स्थण्डिलानां च स्वरूपं निर्दिष्टम्। स्थण्डिलानां त्रैविध्यं कुण्डानां च पाञ्चविध्यमत्रोपवर्णितम्। तत्र स्थण्डिलानां नामानि चतुरस्र-त्र्यश्र-वृत्तानि, कुण्डानां च चतुरस्र-त्र्यश्र-वृत्त-अर्धचन्द्र [२२]कमठानि सन्ति। सूर्यारणिशिवागारशिवयोगिगृहादिभिरग्निरानेतव्य इति च तत्रोपदिष्टम्। सूर्यारणिपदाभ्यां सूर्यकिरणैरुत्पन्नोऽरणिमन्थनजश्च वह्निरभिप्रेयते। भूप्रदेशस्य वीक्षणादयोऽष्टौ संस्काराः, कुण्डे स्थापितस्य वह्नेः शिवात्मना ध्यानम्, अग्नेर्जातकर्मादयः संस्काराश्च क्रियन्ते। अग्नेर्जिह्वासप्तकमत्र वर्ण्यते। तासु कामनाभेदेन विधीयमानो होमोऽप्यत्र निर्दिष्टः। लेलिहाना,

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२१. "भावयेन्नवजिह्वं तु" (३.७६) वचनस्यास्य व्याख्यायां क्षेमराजेन— "राज्यार्था दाहजननी मृत्युदा शत्रुहारिका। वशीकर्त्र्युच्चाटनी स्यादर्थदा मुक्तिदायिका॥ सर्वसिद्धिप्रदा" इत्येवमग्नेर्नवजिह्वाः परिगणिताः। कस्य ग्रन्थस्य वचनमिदमिति तत्र नैव सूचितम्।

२२. श्रीचक्ररचनायां त्रयः प्रस्तारा भू-कूर्म(कमठ)-मेरुसमाख्याः स्वीक्रियन्ते। अत्र कुण्डस्यापि कमठाख्यो भेदः स्वीकृतः। तदेतन्नाम कुण्डप्रकरणे कुत्रापि न दृश्यते। वस्तुतः स्थण्डिलेऽस्य परिगणनं कर्तुं शक्यते।

कराली, रोचिष्केशा, त्रिलोहिता, विद्युत्, प्रभा, शिवा चेति जिह्वानां [२३]नामानि सन्ति। कुण्डस्य मेखलासु पूज्यमानानां [२४]त्रिपञ्चाशद्देवतानां विन्यासक्रमोऽनितरसाधारणोऽत्र निर्दिष्टः। तदनु शिवस्वरूपोऽग्निरत्र स्तूयते। परिधिस्थापनम्, यज्ञपात्रस्थापनमित्यादिभिः सह स्रुक्स्रुवसाहाय्येन पूर्णाहुतिप्रदानादयो विषया अप्यत्र सम्यगुपवर्णिताः।

एतदतिरिक्तेषु चतुर्षु ग्रन्थेषु सूक्ष्मागमेऽग्निकार्यचर्चा नास्ति। शिष्टेषु त्रिष्वपि संक्षिप्ततरमेव विवरणं वर्तते। तथा हि—चन्द्रज्ञानागमे क्रियापादे (११.४७-५७) शैवसंस्कारसंस्कृतेऽग्नौ स्थालीपाकविधानमुपवर्ण्यते। गार्हपत्यादयोऽग्नयोऽत्र वैतानाग्निपदेन व्यपदिष्टाः। ग्रन्थस्थटिप्पण्यां "वैतानास्त्वां वह्नयः पावयन्तु" (४.७) इति कालिदासीयाभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलपद्ये वर्णिता वह्नयः परिचायिताः। समित्प्रसङ्गोऽत्रत्योऽवधानार्हो वर्तते। [२५]समित्सु दूर्वाया अपामार्गस्य कुशायाश्च परिगणनमत्र विद्यते। समिधया सह पवित्रस्य [२६]वेदस्य च लक्षणं प्रदर्श्य, इध्मस्य परिधेश्च प्रमाणमप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते। वह्नेर्विभिन्नान्यङ्गानि परिकल्प्य तेष्वाहुतिप्रदानेन प्राप्तव्यानां फलानां विवरणमप्यत्र वर्तते।

मकुटागमे क्रियापादे (२.२४-३२) तथैव संक्षेपेणाग्निकार्यविधिर्वर्ण्यते। अत्र शिवाग्निः शिवस्य घोरा तनुः कथिता। [२७]सुवर्णा, कनका, रक्ता, कृष्णा, सुप्रभा, बहुरक्ता, अतिरक्ता चेति सप्त जिह्वा अग्नेरत्र परिगणिताः। कस्यां दिशि, कस्यां जिह्वायां कस्य फलस्य प्राप्तये होमो विधेय इति निदर्श्य शिवाग्नेर्ध्यानमपि वर्ण्यते।

कारणागमक्रियापादे (१.१६-२८) मण्डप-कुण्ड-मण्डलविधयः सहैव संक्षेपेण वर्णिताः। "न्यग्रोधस्तस्य पूर्वस्याम्" (१.१९) इत्यादिकः श्लोकः सिद्धान्तसारावलिटीकायां (पृ.१५८) समुपलभ्यते। अत्र नव-पञ्च-एक संख्याककुण्डानामुल्लेखो विद्यते, नामानि तु चतुरस्र-अर्धचन्द्र-त्रिकोण-वृत्त-षडश्र-पद्म-अष्टकोणाख्यानि सप्तैव सन्ति। स्थण्डिलनिर्माण-प्रकारोऽप्यत्र वर्णितः। मण्डलेषु गौरीलतालिङ्गाख्यमुल्लिख्यते। लक्षणमस्य सिद्धान्तसारावलौ

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२३. उपरितना द्वादशी टिप्पणी द्रष्टव्या।

२४. वास्तुशास्त्रेषु चतुष्षष्टिपदीये एकाशीतिपदीये च वास्तुमण्डले त्रिपञ्चाशद्देवानां पूजनक्रमो निर्दिश्यते। सिद्धान्तसारावलौ (४.२५-२८) तेषां नामानि द्रष्टुं शक्यन्ते। अत्र (४.४३-५४) तु कुण्डस्य मेखलासु परितः पूज्यानां देवतानां नामानि परिगणितानि। अत्र संख्यासाम्यं विहाय नामावल्योः प्रायो वैभिन्न्यमेव दृश्यते।

२५. उपरितना अष्टादशी टिप्पणी द्रष्टव्या। तत्र सप्तविधसमित्सु अपामार्ग-दूर्वा-कुशानां नामानि नैवावलोक्यन्ते।

२६. सिद्धान्तसारावलौ पवित्र-वेदपदयोः परिचयो नास्ति। चन्द्रज्ञानागमे (पृ. १२४) टिप्पण्यां लक्षणमेतयोर्द्रष्टव्यम्। यज्ञीयकर्मकाण्डेऽनयोरप्युपयोगिता समानमाना वर्तते।

२७. उपरितने द्वादशी त्रयोविंशी च टिप्पण्यौ द्रष्टव्ये।

(पृ.१९७-१९८) द्रष्टव्यम्। अत्रैव क्रियापादे (८.४-११) वैदिक-तान्त्रिकमन्त्रानुल्लिख्य तान्त्रिकमन्त्रेषु सर्वेषामधिकार इति निर्वर्ण्य शिवोपासनायां वैदिक-तान्त्रिकमन्त्रयोरुभयोर्यथेच्छमुपयोग: कर्तुं शक्यत इति स्थाप्यते। एतेन स्पष्टीभवति यत् त्रिष्वप्यागमेषु संक्षेपेणाग्निकार्य-विधिर्वर्ण्यत इति।

शाक्ततन्त्रेषु

शाक्ततन्त्रेषु नित्याषोडशिकार्णवस्य वर्तते विशिष्टं स्थानम्। अत्र दशमहाविद्यासु परिगणिताया भगवत्यास्त्रिपुराया उपासनापद्धतिर्वर्णिता। अस्य तन्त्रस्य पञ्चमे पटले जप-होमयोर्वर्तते विधानम्। बौद्धतन्त्रप्रसङ्गे पूर्वं दशांशहोमश्चर्चित:। अत्रापि—''होमं कुर्याद् दशांशेन'' (५.२१) इत्यत आरभ्य पटलसमाप्तिपर्यन्तं (५.३३) संक्षेपेण विषयोऽयं चर्च्यते। मन्त्रपुरश्चरणप्रसङ्गे विषयोऽयमत्र वर्णित:, नाग्निकार्यविधानतया। पलाशपुष्पादीनामाहुतिदानेन त्रिपुरा विद्या फलदा भवतीत्यत्र प्रोच्यते। योनि-भग[२८]-वर्तुल (वृत्त)-अर्धचन्द्र-नवत्रिकोण-चतुरस्र-पद्म-अष्टपत्राख्यानामष्टकुण्डानां नामान्यत्रापि सन्ति। एतेषु कुण्डेषु विभिन्नानां द्रव्याणामाहुतिदानेन प्राप्तव्यानि फलान्यत्र निर्दिष्टानि। ग्रन्थसमाप्तौ विधिना सहाहुतिदानेन साधक: कालमृत्युयमादिभिर्मुक्तो भवतीति प्रोच्यते, ऋजुविमर्शिनीकारश्च काल-मृत्यु-यमा-दीनभिन्नार्थकान् शब्दान् सम्यक् प्रमाणपुरस्सरं व्याख्याय वृत्तिभेदेन ते कथं भिन्नार्थका भवन्तीति प्रदर्शयति।

तन्त्रशास्त्रस्य सर्वास्वपि शाखासु वर्तते वैदिककर्मकाण्डस्य प्रभाव इति प्रदर्शनार्थ-मुदाहरणमुखेनात्र केचन ग्रन्था: समुपन्यस्ता:। तदाधारेण केचन निष्कर्षा: समुपस्थाप्यन्ते। तन्त्र-शास्त्रेषु हि द्वयो: प्रसङ्गयोर्वैदिकोऽग्निकार्यविधिर्वर्ण्यते। शिष्यस्य दीक्षाप्रसङ्ग: प्रथम:, मन्त्रपुरश्चरणप्रसङ्गश्च द्वितीय:। उभयोरनयो: प्रसङ्गयोरुदाहरणमुखेनात्र चर्चा विहितैव।

कुण्डसंख्या

अष्टविधानां कुण्डानां वैदिकानामत्रापि तथैव व्यवहार: प्रवर्तते। विमलप्रभायां सार्वकर्मिकं कुण्डं नवमत्वेन वर्ण्यते, सिद्धान्तसारावलौ च चतुरस्रं कुण्डमेव सर्वेषां कुण्डानामाधारभूतं निर्दिष्टम्। कुण्डानां रचनाप्रकारो नान्यत्र निर्दिष्ट:। कुण्डानां नामानि न सर्वत्र समानानि। सप्तकोण-कमठ-भगाख्यानि नामान्युदाहरणतया समुपस्थापयितुं शक्यन्ते। अत्र सिद्धान्तसारावलि-न्यस्ता कुण्डनामावली, अन्यानि विधानानि चात्रत्यानि ग्रन्थान्तरापेक्षया वैदिकविधानानुगुणानीति वक्तुं शक्यते। कुण्डेष्वेतेष्वाकर्षणवश्यादिकर्माणि साधयितुं विविधानां द्रव्याणामाहुतिविधानमपि प्राय: सर्वत्र साम्यमावहति। वीरशैवागमेषु पञ्चविधकुण्डानां त्रिविधस्थण्डिलानां चाहत्य

२८. अत्र योनि-भगशब्दयो: पृथक्परिगणनमनयो: पार्थक्यं सूचयति।

संख्याऽष्टमिता भवति, तथापि वर्तते कुण्डस्थण्डिलयोर्महदन्तरम्। कुण्डार्थं खननमावश्यकम्, स्थण्डिलरचना च विहाय खननं पृथिव्युपरि मृत्तिकादिना चत्वरनिर्माणेन सम्पद्यते। साम्प्रतिके कालेऽग्निकार्यार्थं कुण्डनिर्माणापेक्षया स्थण्डिलस्य प्रयोग आधिक्येन भवति।

पञ्चविधोऽग्निः

दक्षिणाग्नि-गार्हपत्य-आहवनीयाख्यास्त्रयोऽग्नयः, सभ्य-आवसथ्याख्यौ द्वौ चेति पञ्चाग्नयः शास्त्रेषु प्रथिताः सन्ति। एतेषु प्रथमे चत्वारः श्रौताग्नयः पञ्चमश्च स्मार्ताग्निरिति मन्यते। श्रौताग्निर्वैतानाग्नि[२९]नाम्नाऽपि प्रथितः। आवसथ्याग्निर्गृह्याग्निरभिधीयते। अवसथशब्दो गृहपर्यायः। अवसथे तिष्ठतीति स आवसथ्याग्निरभिप्रेयते। गृहस्थाः स्वगृहे पाकादिकमस्य साहाय्येन कुर्वन्तीति गृह्याग्निः कथ्यते। सोऽयं सात्वतायामोदनम्पचनाख्यया प्रसिद्धः। रावणस्य दौर्मनस्यमभिप्रेक्ष्य भगवत्या सीतयाऽयमेवाग्निः स्वरक्षायै प्रार्थितः, तेन च सीतायाः प्राकृतिको देहः स्वस्मिन् विलीनीकृत्य मायिको देहः प्रकटितः। सोऽयं मायिको देह एव रावणेनापहृतः, अग्निपरीक्षावसरे चाग्निना मायीयो देहः संहृतः, प्राकृतिकः कायश्च प्रकटीकृत इत्याख्यायिकेयं कूर्मपुराणादिषु वर्ण्यते।

अग्निप्राकट्यप्रकाराः

यज्ञीयस्य अग्नेः सम्पादनाय चत्वारो विधयः शास्त्रेषु श्रूयन्ते—मणिजः, अरणिजः, द्विज(श्रोत्रिय)गृहजः, स्वगृहजश्चेति। वीरशैवमते तृतीयश्चतुर्थश्चाग्निः शिवमन्दिरात्, शिवयोगिगृहाच्चानीयते। विमलाप्रभाकार आवसथ्याग्निं क्रव्यादाग्नितया व्याख्यातवान्। श्मशानाग्निः क्रव्यादाग्नितया शास्त्रेषु प्रथितः, किन्तु विमलप्रभायामृग्वेदप्रामाण्येन चतुर्थो ज्ञानाग्निः क्रव्यादाग्नितया व्याख्यायते।

अग्निजिह्वाः

अग्नेः पर्यायनामसु सप्तार्चिरिति पठ्यते (१.५६)। अमरकोशव्याख्यात्रा भानुजिदीक्षितेन वह्नेः सप्तजिह्वानामान्यत्र धृतानि। वह्नेः सप्त जिह्वा यद्यपि सर्वत्र प्रसिद्धाः, तथापि नामसु वर्तते महान् विपर्ययः। विवाहाद्यवसरेषु विभिन्नासु जिह्वास्वाहुतिविधानवेलायां तासां ज्वालानां लक्षणानि वर्ण्यन्ते। नेत्रतन्त्रोद्योते (३.७६) क्षेमराजेनाग्नेर्जिह्वानवकनामानि निर्दिष्टानि। नान्यत्र तानि समुपवर्णितानि। अतोऽत्र प्रमाणान्तरमन्वेषणीयम्। अग्नेर्विभिन्नानामङ्गानाम्, तेषु विभिन्नानां द्रव्याणामाहुतिदानेन विभिन्नकामनानां सिद्धयश्चेत्यादयो विषया अपि शास्त्रेषु समुपदिश्यन्ते।

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२९. "वैतानास्त्वां वह्नयः पावयन्तु" (४.७) इति कालिदासीयाभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलनाटकपद्ये श्रौताग्नयो वैतानपदेनाभिहिताः।

यागोपकरणानि

सिद्धान्तसारावलौ स्रुक्-स्रुव-विष्टर-परिधि-इध्म-समित्प्रभृतीनां यागोपकरणानां लक्षण-प्रमाणादीनि प्रदर्शितानि सन्ति। सूक्ष्मागमेऽपामार्ग-दूर्वा-कुशाख्या: समिधामेव प्रकारा इति निर्वर्ण्य पवित्र-वेद-इध्म-परिधीनां लक्षणानि प्रमाणानि च प्रदर्शितानि। सात्वतसंहितायां समिधां सप्त प्रकारा वर्ण्यन्ते। तत्र पुष्प-धूप-मधुपर्क-बीज-चरु-घृतानां समावेशो वर्तते। अत्र सूक्ष्मागमनिर्दिष्टं प्रकारत्रयं नैव समाविष्टम्। ईदृशानां विषयाणां चर्चा तत्र तत्र स्थापितासु टिप्पणीषु कृतैव। स्वीयमन्तिमं मन्तव्यं प्रकटीकृत्य निबन्धोऽयमुपसंह्रियते।

उपसंहारः

वेदा मानवजातेरादिग्रन्था इति न केवलं भारतीयानां मान्यता, प्रत्युत आधुनिका: पाश्चात्त्या विद्वांसोऽपि सप्रमाणं सिद्धान्तमेनं स्थापयन्ति। साम्प्रतिके मानवसमाजे ऋग्वेद एवेदम्प्रथमतयाऽवतीर्णो ग्रन्थ:। कस्यचन धर्मविशेषस्यायं ग्रन्थ:, नैतावती मान्यताऽस्य, किन्तु देवतावाद-नृवंशशास्त्र-भाषाविज्ञानसदृशानां नूतनानां ज्ञानविज्ञानानामुद्भावका वेदा इति सर्वेऽपि जानन्ति। वैदिकमतावलम्बिषु बौद्धेषु जैनेषु च शास्त्रेषु पक्षविपक्षतया बहुधा जल्प्यते, किन्तु सत्यमिदमेव यद् भारतीयप्रजाया: सामाजिकार्थिकगतिविधीनां संचालनं वैदिकवाङ्मयाधृतमेवासीत्। सर्वधर्मविषयकशास्त्ररूपेण भारतीया मनीषिण: शास्त्रमेनं प्रतिष्ठापयितुमापातत: प्रतीयमानानत्रत्यान् दोषान् परिहृत्य परिष्कृतस्य शास्त्रस्यास्य साहाय्येन सततप्रवहणशीलां भारतीयां संस्कृतिं प्रतिष्ठापयामासु:। एषा हि भारतीया संस्कृति: प्रवर्तमानानां सदसतां सर्वविधविचाराणां सतर्कमनुशीलनं विधायोपादेयान् विचारान् संगृह्णाति, परित्यजति च कालातीतान्। एतदर्थं सततं चेष्टमानाया अस्या दृष्टेरत्र यत्किमपि वर्णितं तदुदाहरणतया प्रस्तोतुं शक्यते।

साम्प्रतं बौद्धजैनमतयोर्वेदविरोधित्वं ख्याप्यते। ''श्रमणब्राह्मणम्'' इत्यादय: प्रयोगा:, ''हस्तिना ताड्यमानोऽपि न गच्छेज्जैनमन्दिरम्'' इत्यादीनि वचनानि च तदुदाहरणतया प्रस्तूयन्ते। एतद्विपरीतं भगवतो बुद्धस्य दशमावतारत्वं पुराणेषु प्रदर्श्यते। अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिताया: काल: साम्प्रतिकैरैतिहासिकैरेव ई. चतुर्थी पञ्चमी वा शताब्दी निर्धार्यते। तत्र विभवावतारेषु लोकनाथोऽपि परिगणित:। लोकनाथश्चायं भगवतो बुद्धस्यैव नामान्तरमिति पौष्करादिसंहितासु स्पष्टीभवति। एवमेव भागवतवर्णितेषु भगवतो विष्णोश्चतुर्विंशत्यवतारेषु आद्यस्य जैनतीर्थङ्करस्यापि नाम स्मर्यते। सर्वप्रथममस्माभि: ''श्रमणब्राह्मणम्'' इति पदस्य समीक्षा विधेया यत् ''येषां च विरोध: शाश्वतिक:'' (२.४.९) इति पाणिनिसूत्रस्योदाहरणतया केन वैयाकरणेन सर्वप्रथममिदं प्रयुक्तमिति। श्रीलङ्कायामश्वघोषस्य काव्यं बुद्धचरितं नाध्याप्यत इति श्रूयते। वर्तमाने भारते बौद्धधर्मस्य पुनरुत्थानरूपेण नूतन: पुनरुन्मेषस्तत एव प्रवृत्त इति संकीर्णा दृष्टिरेषा साम्प्रतं नावलम्बनीया विपश्चिद्भि:।।



Antonino Forte

THE FIVE KINGS OF INDIA AND THE KING OF KUCHA WHO ACCORDING TO THE CHINESE SOURCES WENT TO LUOYANG IN 692

In the study of seventh-century Sino-Indian relations, little attention has been given to a statement found in the Chinese sources: in the spring of 692 five Indian kings went to the Chinese capital, bringing gifts. Normally kings did not personally go to China, but sent ambassadors. That as many as five went at (or around) the same time seems so incredible that our skepticism about the reliability of these sources is fully justified. However, this is solid historiographical tradition which cannot be dismissed simply as false information. In my opinion it may be of great historical relevance and it deserves to be carefully verified and studied. The same sources also mention that at (or around) the same time the king of Kucha likewise visited the Chinese capital. The question which naturally arises is how one should interpret these sources. Did the kings go in person, as the sources state, or did they only send ambassadors? Was it a joint mission or were these different missions? Was there a common purpose for the visits or were they unrelated to one another?

Although these are important questions which I would like to examine at some point, I will focus my attention here on philological questions pertaining to the Chinese material and on the fundamental issue of the identity of these kings. I dedicate this paper to Raniero Gnoli, whom I met for the first time at the Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples, where he was professor of East Asian art history. I would ask him to forgive me for daring to venture into what is for me unfamiliar ground, the field of Indian history.

We read in the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (The Original Tortoise. Precious Treasure of the Document Store), the great collection of documents compiled by Wang Qinruo 王欽若 and others between 1005 and 1013:

[天授]三年三月. 東天竺國王摩羅拔摩, 西天竺國王尸羅逸多, 南天竺國王遮婁其拔羅, 北天竺國王那那, 中天竺國王地摩西那, 龜茲國王延緜拔, 並來朝獻[1].

[Tianshou] 3rd year, 3rd month (24 March to 21 April 692). The king of Eastern India Moluobamo 摩羅拔摩, the king of Western India Shiluoyiduo 尸羅逸多, the king of Southern India Zhelouqi Baluo 遮婁其拔羅, the king of Northern India Nana 那那, the king of Central India Dimoxina 地摩西那, the king of Kucha Yanyouba 延緜拔 all came to the Court and offered gifts.

This is not the first time that the above passage has been translated into a European language. Chavannes had already translated it in 1904 in his "Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux", easily accessible also because it was included (by the publishing house Maisonneuve of Paris) in the 1941 reprint of the very well-known *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, originally published in St. Petersburg in 1903. The reprint has itself continued to be reproduced since 1969 by the Ch'eng Wen Publishing Co. of Taipei in an uncalculable number of copies.

It cannot be claimed then that the passage remained unknown because its translation appeared only in a long-forgotten article of a journal read by a handful of specialists. Yet the visits are mentioned neither in general histories of China and India, nor in works devoted particularly to China or India or Sino-Indian relations prior to the modern period[2]. Two exceptions, however, may be noted: a 1945 article by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi[3] and Tansen Sen's dissertation of 1996[4]. Bagchi's article was used by Majumdar in *The History and Culture of the Indian People. The Classical Age*, in a chapter entitled "Intercourse with the Outside World"[5]. Unfortunately, Bagchi, who did not bother to indicate his source, mentioned the visits in such a haphazard sort of way (also forgetting the king of Northern India), that the reader cannot get a clear idea of the content of the source[6].

[1] *Cefu yuangui* 970.17b (20.11403).

[2] It is to be noted also that this passage of the *Cefu yuangui* regarding the visit of the King of Kucha has escaped the attention of Xu Wanyin (Part 2, 1985: 357a) in his collection of the Chinese sources on Kucha.

[3] Cf. Bibliography B. See pp. 71-72 in particular.

[4] Cf. Bibliography B. See pp. 350-351 in particular.

[5] Majumdar 1954: 612.

[6] Although Bagchi provides no bibliography, he must have known of the passage from the *Cefu yuangui* from Chavannes. In a note at the end of his article (p. 84) we read: "Some portions of this account have been used in my recent book *India and China*. An exhaustive reference to the principal authorities on this subject will be found in that

No wonder then that these missions of 692 are omitted altogether in Majumdar's helpful "Chronology" (see p. 704) at the end of the volume. Bagchi did try to identify the kings, and his suggestions were accepted by Majumdar. I will give due consideration to these identifications. As for Tansen Sen's dissertation of 1996, the missions are mentioned in his Appendix B (where the Indian embassies to China between 159 and 1279 are listed), under the year 691. Sen does not specify his source, nor does he attempt any identification of the kings[7].

The *Cefu yuangui* passage came to my attention in connection with Bodhiruci (in India called Dharmaruci) about whom I wrote briefly in 1976[8] and on whom I would like to complete a monograph[9]. In one of the appendices of this monograph in preparation, I translate and comment the above *Cefu yuangui* passage. When I was working on this in 1990, Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進 kindly put at my disposal his work space, well furnished with books on India, and I told him about my research on Bodhiruci and the Chinese sources on the five Indian kings. In 1994, Kuwayama wrote about the passage in question in a paper regarding the dating of Yaśovarman of Kanauj[10]. He too suggested some restorations and identifications – some already found in Chavannes and Bagchi, but both seemingly unknown to the author – and I will consequently refer also to Kuwayama's paper of 1994 in the following pages.

There is one feature that is common in a certain sense to Bagchi/Majumdar and Kuwayama. Bagchi (and consequently Majumdar also) defines those who went to China in 692 as "representatives" or "ambassadors" of the Indian kings[11]. Kuwayama refers more generally to the "Indian missions" and to the "kings responsible for the missions". It is necessary then to specify that the

book." I could not find the first edition of this book, but in the second edition (Bagchi 1950) there is no mention of the Indian kings of 692, nor does Chavannes' article of 1904 appears in the bibliography, although on p. 205 Bagchi wrote that Bodhiruci "most probably accompanied the official mission sent by the Chālukya king in 692 to China."

[7] I assume that Sen's source must be the *Jiu Tang shu* 198 (see below) because of the date 691 and the way in which he writes the name of the king of East India. If so, the names of the kings of West India and South India are mispelt.

[8] See Forte 1976. See also Forte 1990: 242, 245ff.

[9] *Bodhiruci (d. 727). An Indian Intellectual Who Devoted Himself to the Glory of China and to the Building up of the Universal Empire* (in preparation).

[10] Kuwayama 1994: 12-13.

[11] Bagchi 1945: 71, 72, 74.

Chinese sources (we shall see that the *Cefu yuangui* is not the only source) unanimously state that those who went to China were the kings in person. I do not know why Bagchi misinterprets this important point, which is in no way secondary, and why Kuwayama is unclear on it. Is it an oversight, indifference to the question, or perhaps doubt as to the reliability of the sources? If they doubted the sources, surely it would have been preferable for them to say so in order to avoid any possible confusion[12]. As I mentioned above, I will not discuss here the issue of who headed the missions.

The *Cefu yuangui* is neither the only, nor the earliest source we have on these missions. There are also relevant passages in the sections on India found in both the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old Book of the Tang) by Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946) completed in 945[13] and the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Regulations of the Tang) of 961[14]. In both of these sources the king of Kucha is obviously not mentioned because the respective sections concern India. The visit of the king of Kucha is unfortunately not recorded in any other part of these two works[15], but it is mentioned in the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New Book of the Tang) of 1043-1060[16]. The passages in question in these works present variants which I will indicate each time they occur[17]. Even if the text in the *Jiu Tang shu* is the oldest and, in general, philologically more reliable than the others, I have chosen to cite above the text of the *Cefu yuangui* because it is more complete and more trustworthy in terms of the date of the missions.

[12] There is no reason to think that Bagchi had doubts regarding the sources in the case of the king of Kucha. In his book *India and Central Asia*, 1955, p. 75, he wrote: "In 692, the king of Kucha, Yen-tien-tie came personally to pay homage to the emperor". Here too Bagchi does not bother to inform his readers about his source, which, as I noted above, must have been Chavannes 1904, although it does not appear in his bibliography. Since Bagchi wrote that "the king of Kucha, Yen-tien-tie came personally," the mention in his article of 1945 that the Indian kings sent "representatives" must be the result of an oversight - unless, of course, Bagchi thought that the source was reliable in the case of the King of Kucha, but not in the case of the Indian kings!

[13] *Jiu Tang shu* 198.5308.

[14] *Tang huiyao* 100.1787.

[15] Although the *Jiu Tang shu* 198.5303-5304 has a section on Kucha, there is no mention there of this visit.

[16] *Xin Tang shu* 221A.6232. See also Xu Wanyin (Part 1, 1984 p. 322b).

[17] Such variants are indicated by Chavannes (1904: 24-25), who, however, did not know the passage in the *Tang huiyao* because in his time it was not easily accessible. Kuwayama does not know the passage in the *Tang huiyao* either. He quotes the passage in the *Jiu Tang shu*, but the fact that he calls this work by the two titles *Tang shu* and *Old Tang shu* may be misleading for those who are accustomed to the appellation *Tang shu* only for the *Xin Tang shu*.

In the *Jiu Tang shu*, the month when the visits took place is not specified, but only the year is indicated as Tianshou 2 (6 December 690 to 25 November 691), which differs from Tianshou 3 indicated in the *Cefu yuangui*[18]. Considering that in the *Tang huiyao* we also find Tianshou 3[19] and that the *Xin Tang shu* mentions the visit of the king of Kucha likewise in Tianshou 3[20], the date of the *Cefu yuangui* (Tianshou 3) is more probable than that of the *Jiu Tang shu* (Tianshou 2)[21]. The arrival of the kings to Luoyang, the capital of China at that time, can then be placed in the third month of the third year of Tianshou, that is, between 24 March and 21 April 692.

It is to the identification of the kings mentioned in the Chinese sources in transcription that I now turn. I hope that my tentative reconstructions may be of some help to the historians of India. I follow here the geographical order in which the names of the kings appear in the passage reproduced above: Eastern, Western, Southern, Northern, and Central India.

1. The King of Eastern India

The name of this king is Moluobamo 摩羅拔摩. At the time the pronunciation of Moluobamo was Ma-la-be:t-ma[22]. The third character in both the *Tang huiyao* and the *Jiu Tang shu* is *zhi* (tɕi) 枝. instead of *ba* (bɛ:t) 拔. In this case we would have the reading Ma-la-tɕi-ma. To what Indian name this might correspond I do not know. Chavannes made no attempts at identification. Perhaps the *Cefu yuangui* spelling is preferable, in which case the third and the fourth characters *bamo (bɛ:t-ma)* 拔摩 might be the transcription of *varma* or *varman*. This is the opinion of Bagchi and Kuwayama (even if the latter mistakenly gives the third

[18] *Jiu Tang shu* 198.5308.

[19] *Tang huiyao* 100.1787.

[20] *Xin Tang shu* 221A.6232.

[21] Unfortunately no information on the question appears in the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086) and others (presented to the throne in 1084), usually more reliable for dates than all the sources mentioned above, neither under Tianshou 3.3 (205.6482), nor under Tianshou 2 in the *juan* 204. I have found no trace of this visit in the two general histories of Chinese Buddhism, *Fozu tongji* and *Fozu lidai tongzai*, although it was of fundamental importance for the history of Buddhism in China, as I will show on another occasion.

[22] For the pronunciations of the time, I based myself on Pulleyblank 1991.

character as *fa* 伐 instead of *ba* 拔). Bagchi suggests that the Chinese transcription of the name of this king may be restored to Mālavarman[23], whereas Kuwayama suggests Māravarmā or Māravarman[24]. Both add that such a king cannot be identified.

It so happens that a Māravarman of the Pāṇḍya dynasty reigned at the time: Arikesari Māravarman ruled from 670 to 710[25]. However, there is an insurmountable obstacle which prevents us from accepting such an identification. While the Pāṇḍya dynasty reigned in the south, our Chinese sources say that the king in question reigned in Eastern India. I will deal briefly with the Pāṇḍya dynasty in connection with the king of Southern India. Here the geographical specification of the Chinese sources obliges me to advance another hypothesis: I think that Moluobamo 摩羅拔摩 might be the same "king of Eastern India whose name is Tipobamo 提婆跋摩 (Devavarman)" mentioned by Yijing 義淨 (635-713) in his *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (Great Tang Account of the Eminent Monks who Searched for the Law in the Western Regions)[26].

Chavannes, who translated this work of the Chinese pilgrim, thought that Devavarman might belong "à la dynastie des Varman qui régnait sur le Magadha occidental (*sic*: probably a mistake; should read "oriental") au VII^e^ siècle"[27]. Basak suggested the identification of Yijing's Devavarman with Devagupta III, son of Ādityasenagupta of the Guptas of Magadha, while Majumdar thought to identify him with Devakhaḍga of the Khaḍga dynasty of Eastern Bengal. De La Vallée Poussin, who referred to the opinion of these two authors, was in favour of Basak's thesis[28]. Adachi Kiroku 足立喜六 in his annotated Japanese translation of Yijing's work suggested that Devavarman was a king of Kāmarūpa in Eastern India[29]. Wang Bangwei 王邦維, considering the appellation *varman* of Devavarman, also thought this related to the Varman dynasty which dominated Kāmarūpa for more than three hundred years, although Majumdar's

[23] Bagchi 1945: 72; see also Majumdar 1954: 612.

[24] Kuwayama 1994: 13.

[25] Majumdar 1954: 267, 409, 703.

[26] *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 1.5b12.

[27] Chavannes 1894: 83, note 3.

[28] De La Vallée Poussin 1935: 70. The work by Basak mentioned by de La Vallée Poussin is *History of North-Eastern India*, 1934, p. 130. Majumdar's view appears in the *Early History of Bengal*, 1924, p. 23. He expresses the same opinion in 1954, p. 143, which refers to his *History of Bengal*, Vol. 1, Dacca, 1943, p. 86.

[29] Adachi Kiroku 1942: 95-96.

identification, he admitted, agreed with the conditions of the time and place[30].

I do not think that it is possible to identify Devavarman with a Gupta of Magadha, the main reason being that Yijing defines him as a "king of Eastern India," whereas to a Gupta of Magadha he would certainly refer as a king of Central India. Moreover, the hypothesis that Devavarman was the son of Ādityasenagupta is untenable. As we shall see later when dealing with the king of Central India (no. 5), the son of Ādityasenagupta was rather Divasena, who is to be identified with the King Rijun 日軍 mentioned by Yijing a little before in the same work[31].

I do not think, furthemore, that Devavarman was Devakhaḍga, even if the latter's kingdom of Samataṭa was also situated by Yijing in Eastern India. In the biography of Sengzhe 僧哲, Yijing informs us that the king of Samataṭa was called Rājabhaṭa. Latika Lahiri writes that according to N.R. Ray, "Devavarman of I-ching may or may not be Devakhaḍga of the Khaḍga Dynasty but Rājabhaṭa of Seng-chi (that is, Sengzhe) is undoubtedly Rājarājabhaṭa of the Ashrafpur copper plate inscriptions"[32]. Devakhaḍga was the father of Rājarājabhaṭa[33]. In conclusion, it seems evident to me that the Devavarman of Yijing cannot be identified with Devakhaḍga king of Samataṭa for the simple reason that Yijing refers to the king of Samataṭa as Rājabhaṭa. The hypothesis that Devavarman might be the father of Rājabhaṭa cannot even be advanced because, as we shall see, Devavarman was on the throne when Yijing was writing.

Therefore, I agree with the identification of Chavannes, Adachi and Wang, all of whom suggested that Devavarman was a king of the Varman dynasty which dominated the region of Kāmarūpa in Eastern India.

[30] Wang Bangwei 1988: 111, note 9.

[31] *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 1.5a28. Even if we follow Burgess and admit that Ādityasena should be identified with Rijun, the thesis that Devavarman was his son is untenable. Judging from the way Yijing writes about them, if Rijun reigned in the same period as Devavarman, then he could not have been the father of Devavarman. Besides, he does not specify the geographical region under Rijun (it may be surmised, however, that it was Central India), but states that Devavarman was a king of Eastern India. On Rijun and Burgess' hypothesis, see below under The King of Central India.

[32] Lahiri 1986: 50, note 2. See also pp. 84ff and Majumdar 1954: 143.

[33] Chavannes (1894: 128) suggested Harṣabhaṭa, but Wang Bangwei (1988: 172) observes that the name Harṣabhaṭa is not attested to in any source, and thinks that the name of the king mentioned by Yijing refers to Rājarājabhaṭa. Chavannes (p. 128, nota 3) also noted that the first three characters used by Yijing for the name of this king of Samataṭa may very well represent the transcription for Rāja.

Coming back to Moluobamo (Māravarman), who, according to our sources, went to Luoyang in 692, my hypothesis is, as stated above, that he was the Devavarman of Yijing (or his successor?). The reason why I advance such a hypothesis is precisely because of the connection Yijing established with Devavarman. As may be gathered from the second passage quoted below in Chavannes's translation, Yijing must have met with Devavarman because he informs us about an idea the king often expressed concerning an ancient "monastery of China" in the Indian territory controlled by him. This question of the Chinese monastery has not been given the attention it deserves. Devavarman, at the time when Yijing wrote his *Account* (little before 16 June 691)[34], controlled the territory in which were found the remains of the Monastery of China more than forty *yojanas* east of the Nālandā Monastery. Yijing says this clearly when he states that "at present this place belongs to the king of Eastern India called Devavarman"[35]. Herein "at present" stresses the contrast with the preceding situation when it was under the rule of a king of Central India. The Monastery of China had in fact been founded by Śrī-Gupta some centuries before for Chinese monks. From the very beginning of his work, Yijing laments the fact that the Chinese do not have their own monastery in the sacred Buddhist sites of India.

Que si quelques-uns d'entre eux parvenait à atteindre les contrées d'Occident, comme la grande dynastie T'ang n'y a pas de monastères, c'est dans les auberges où le vent les poussait qu'ils se reposaient; c'est comme étrangers qu'ils passaient tous leurs loisirs; ils n'avaient aucun lieu où s'arrêter avec confiance. C'est pourquoi, emportés par le courant et dispersés, ils tourbillonnaient comme les plantes aquatiques à la surface de l'eau. Rarement ils demeurèrent ensemble dans un même lieu. Comme leur corps ne jouissait pas du calme, comment leur vertu aurait-elle pu être haute?[36].

[34] Tianshou 2.5.15. See the base edition of T. vol. 51, p. 10b7. Wang Bangwei (1988: 208, note 7) gives the various editions where this date appears. Some editions have the date Tianshou 3.5.15 (5 June 692), but there is no fifth month in the third year of Tianshou. The hypothesis might be advanced that Yijing, while in Śrīvijaya, did not know that the *nianhao* Tianshou had been abolished and substituted with the new *nianhao* Ruyi on the first day of the fourth month (22 April), and consequently instead of writing Ruyi 1.5.15, he wrote Tianshou 3.5.15. Such a hypothesis, however, seems to me improbable because nothing prevented him from correcting the date once he was back in China.

[35] *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 1.5b12. Chavannes: "Actuellement ce lieu dépend du roi de l'Inde orientale qui s'appelle *T'i-p'ouo-po-mo* (Devavarman)".

[36] *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 1.1a18-21. Chavannes 1894: 6.

Later, after having dealt with the foreign monasteries near the Mahābodhi Monastery, Yijing adds:

Tous les pays ont ainsi leurs temples grâce auxquels les religieux sont mis en rapport avec leur patrie. La Chine seule n'a pas une résidence, ce qui rend pour nous les voyages pénibles et difficiles. À plus de quarante relais (yojanas) à l'est du temple Na-lan-t'ouo (Nālanda [*sic*]), en descendant le K'iang-kia (Gange), on arrive au temple *Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no* (Mṛigaçikhāvana). Non loin de là il y a un ancien temple dont il ne reste plus que les fondements en briques. On l'appelle le temple de *Tche-na* (Chine). Une tradition transmise depuis les temps anciens par les vieillards rapporte qu'autrefois ce temple fut construit pour les religieux de la Chine par le grand roi (mahārāja) *Che-li-ki-to* (Çrī-Goupta). En ce temps, il y avait plus de vingt religieux chinois qui étaient sortis de leur pays (...) et s'étaient rendus au temple Mahābodhi. Le roi, remarquant leur piété, leur donna ce terrain pour qu'il leur servît de lieu de repos; il leur conféra la possession de vingt-quatre grands villages. Dans la suite, les religieux chinois disparurent; les villages se détachèrent du temple et dépendirent d'autres personnes; maintenant il y a trois de ces villages dont la population dépend du temple du Parc des antilopes. (...) Actuellement ce lieu dépend du roi de l'Inde orientale qui s'appelle *T'i-p'ouo-po-mo* (Devavarman); il dit souvent que si quelques religieux venaient du pays du Fils du Ciel de la dynastie *T'ang*, il rétablirait ce temple et leur rendrait la jouissance des villages dont il leur ferait une donation perpétuelle. En verité on peut soupirer et dire: S'il est facile avoir un nid de pie, les oiseaux qui se plairont à y habiter sont difficiles à trouver. Que si quelqu'un a le désir de profiter aux hommes, qu'il fasse une requête pour développer ce projet; en verité ce n'est pas une petite entreprise[37].

What Yijing says here about Devavarman's proposal regarding the monastery should be considered in connection with Yijing's request to the Chinese government in 691 to found a monastery in India. In the biographical record about the monk Dajin 大津, Yijing writes that after having left India, he met this monk, who had come from China, at Śrīvijaya (the Çrî-Bhoja of Chavannes). Dajin perhaps intended to continue his travel to India, but Yijing convinced him to go back to China for an important mission:

(...) je l'ai invité à rentrer en Chine dans l'espoir qu'il demanderait que, par un effet de la bonté impériale, un temple fût construit dans les pays d'Occident. Ne considérant que la grandeur du service qu'il allait rendre, il fit peu de cas de la vie et revint sur la sombre mer[38].

[37] *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 1.5b1-16. Chavannes 1894: 82-84; Wang Bangwei 1988: 103. The translation in Lahiri 1986: 50-51 is frequently faulty. In general, I recommend readers who are interested in this work of Yijing's, but who do not read classical Chinese, to refer to Chavannes's translation (although imperfect, it is far better than Lahiri's).

[38] Chavannes 1894: 160. The translation in Lahiri 1986: 103, is erroneous. It was not Dajin who "wanted to return to China" but Yijing who sent him back to China. Moreover, Lahiri's interpretation (p. 102) 大津法師 (which means Master of the Law Dajin) as "Great Vinaya and Law master" based on the two editions that have *lü* 律 instead of *jin* 津 is not only absurd, but also in contradiction with her "Ta-chin Fa-shih" (p. 5, no. 56) where unfortunately *lü* 律 is given as the character for "chin".

In other words, Devavarman made a proposal to the Chinese government which Yijing conveyed with extraordinary zeal. On the basis of the existing good relations with Devavarman attested to by Yijing – certainly established in great part thanks to Yijing and to those who had preceded him – it is possible to suggest a connection, if not the identity, of Devavarman with the king who in 692 went to Luoyang.

As to the dynasty to which Moluobamo (and/or Devavarman) belonged, I suggest then that of the kings of Assam. Bāskaravarman (Chin. Posaij-ieluodaimo 婆塞羯羅代摩), also called Kumāra (Jumoluo 拘摩羅), was the king of Kāmarūpa (Assam) at the time when Xuanzang visited India. It is then possible that Devavarman too had the same appellation Kumāra and that Moluobamo 摩羅拔摩 (Māravarman) was a contracted form of [Ku]māra [Deva]varman[39]. The elimination of one or more characters in the Chinese transcriptions of foreign names is frequent. To be noted also is that Kāmarūpa is the first among the kingdoms included in Eastern India by Xuanzang.

2. The King of Western India

The name of this king is Shiluoyidiuo 尸羅逸多. As Chavannes (1904: 24, note 6) observed, "Le nom de ce roi peut être rétabli en sanskrit parce qu'il est exactement semblable à celui du roi du Magadha, Harsha Çīlāditya, qui nous est bien connu par les récits de Hiuen-tsang; mais on ne sait pas qui est le Çīlāditya dont il est ici question".

Bagchi (1945: 72) was convinced that he "was certainly Śīlāditya III of Valabhī who reigned at the end of the seventh century"[40]. Kuwayama (1994: 12) thought that this king "may be identifiable with either Śīlāditya IV or Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śīlāditya, one of the vice-royalty of Vinayāditya of No. 2", that is, Vinayāditya of the Chālukya of Bādāmi (see below, under The King of Southern India).

I think that this Shiluoyiduo 尸羅逸多 was Śīlāditya IV. If, as Majumdar (1954: 148, 703) states, the dates of Śīlāditya III are 662-684, the Śīlāditya of 692 must have been his successor Śīlāditya IV[41]. One of his predecessors around the middle of the seventh century, Dharasena IV,

[39] La Vallée Poussin (1935: 362-363, add. p. 107) mentions also a later dynasty which had a sovereign named Kumāra.

[40] See also Majumdar 1954: 612.

[41] Majumdar (1954: 150) writes also that the reigns of the four Śīlāditya kings (IV to VII) who succeeded to Śīlāditya III cover the period from c. A.D. 690 to 770.

had called himself a universal monarch (Cakravartin). Śīlāditya IV had the titles of "supreme lord" and "great king of kings"[42]. Yijing, who had been in India some years before, considered the "Country of Valabhī in Western India" as one of the two places (with Nālandā in Central India) where:

> eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, become far famed for their wisdom. To try the sharpness of their wit (...), they proceed to the king's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon (of their abilities); there they present their schemes and show their (*political*) talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government. When they are present in the House of Debate, they raise their seat and seek to prove their wonderful cleverness[43].

3. The King of Southern India

The name of this king is Zhelouqi Baluo 遮婁其拔羅. Both the transcription of the *Jiu Tang shu* (Zhelouqi Baluopo 遮婁其拔羅婆) and that of *Tang hui yao* (Zheluoqi Baluopo 遮邏其跋邏婆) (significantly differing only in the second character; the transcription of the *Jiu Tang shu* is preferable) clearly show that the *Cefu yuangui* omits the last character in the name of this king. It is thus possible to restore the name to Cālukya Vallabha, as already indicated by Chavannes, who, however, did not try to identify this king[44]. According to Bagchi (1945: 72), this king of Southern India is the son of Pulakeśin II. Such a hypothesis, however, is impossible because in 692 Vinayāditya Satyāśraya (681-696), a grandson of Pulakeśin II and son of Vikramāditya I, reigned. This did not escape Majumdar's notice[45]. The Western Cālukya had their capital at Vātāpi (near the present Bādāmi, southwest of Aihole in the district of Bijapur[46]. Considering the dates, Zhelouqi Baluopo of Southern India must be Vinayāditya Satyāśraya (681-696) of the Western Cālukya Vallabhas.

[42] La Vallée Poussin 1935: 138-139.

[43] *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 4.229a6; Takakusu 1896: 177; see also Wang Bangwei 1995: 198.

[44] Chavannes 1904: 24, nota 7: "Comme me l'indique Sylvain Lévi, ce nom rattache le souverain dont il est ici parlé à la dynastie des *Calukya* (...) dont les princes prennent dans leurs inscriptions le titre générique de *vallabha* (...); les *Calukya* possédaient l'hégémonie dans le Dekkhan; leur capitale était à Vātāpī (Badami), près de Mysore".

[45] Majumdar 1954: 612. On this king, see Majumdar 1954: 197, 245-246, 704.

[46] See also Kuwayama 1994: 12: "(...) restorable to Cālukya-Vallabha and clearly identifiable with Vinayāditya (681-696) of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, known as the *virudas* Śrī-pṛithivivallabha".

According to Lahiri (1986: 48), Yijing refers precisely to the Cālukya dynasty when writing about the Qulujia 屈録迦 country of the southern regions from which the Qulujia 屈録迦 Monastery takes its name. According to Chavannes (1896: 81), however, Qulujia is the transcription of Kuluka, regarding which he adds:

> Ce royaume ne se trouve pas cité dans *Hiuen-tchoang* (Xuanzang) et nous n'avons ici que la seule indication qu'il était dans le sud. Malgré la brièveté de nos renseignements, ils nous semblent suffisants pour voir dans Koulouka la ville de Kolkai ou Korkai qui se trouve à 2 ou 3 milles de Kayal, près de l'embouchure de la rivière Tâmraparṇî, à l'est du cap Comorin, Kolkai (...) fut le berceau de la dynastie Pâṇḍya, le lieu où elle régna avant d'aller s'établir à Madura (cf. D^r Caldwell, dans Yule, *Marco Polo*, t. II, p. 361).

Adachi (1942: 94-95) suggested instead the identification of Qulujia with Kaliṅga. Wang Bangwei (1988: 105), on the other hand, preferred the identification suggested by Chavannes.

Thus, three hypotheses have been advanced, but none of them may be considered conclusive. In reality it is difficult to reach any conclusion on the basis of the very scant information afforded by Yijing, who tells us that at that time more than two *yojanas* northeast of the Mahābodhi Monastery there was the Qulujia Monastery, so-called because it was built in ancient times (*xi* 昔) by the king of the Qulujia country of the southern regions (*nanfang* 南方). Yijing also tells us that this monastery was poor and simple, and that the observance of the monastic rules was very strict there. It is when dealing with this monastery that Yijing adds the passage concerning King Rijun 日軍 of Central India who ordered that another monastery be built near the ancient one for the monks of the southern countries (see below). And that is all. To render the correct identification of Qulujia even more arduous, this country is mentioned only by Yijing in the passage in question, as pointed out by Chavannes and Wang Bangwei. No other source is known wherein it is mentioned.

There is no doubt that the Chinese transcription Qulujia 屈録迦 (k^hut-luawk-kia) (迦, however, as Pulleyblank observes, usually transcribes the Sanskrit *ka* or *kā*) cannot be the transcription of Cālukya. It is above all the first character which works against such a hypothesis, also because no variant is recorded in the various editions of Yijing's work, including the manuscript edition of Nanatsudera 七寺 in Nagoya, which was inaccessible to Wang Bangwei[47]. All the editions have the same character 屈 which was pronounced k^hut[48].

[47] I would like to thank Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典 for providing me with the photograph of the Nanatsudera manuscript.

[48] Wang Bangwei 1988: 102.

4. The King of Northern India

The name of this king is Nana 那那. Both the *Jiu Tang shu* and the *Tang huiyao* have the more complete reading Louqinana (Ləu-gi-na'[oppure -na^h]-na'[oppure -na^h]) 婁其那那 for the name of this king. Chavannes made no attempt either at restoration or at identification. Bagchi does not even mention him. Majumdar (1954: 612), who probably based himself on Chavannes, mentions him without identifying him. Kuwayama (who pronounces the two characters 那那 *nuonuo*) thinks that the name of the king is "restorable to Lokeṣ Nana or Lokeṣ Nanna, but unidentifiable."

5. The King of Central India

The name of this king is Dimoxina 地摩西那. Both the *Jiu Tang shu* and the *Tang hui yao* write the second character as *po (ba)* 婆 instead of *mo (ma)* 摩. We have then Dipoxina (Di^h-ba-sɛj-na' [oppure -na^h]) 地婆西那. Chavannes made no attempt either at restoration or at identification. Bagchi (1945: 71) wrote: "As early as 692 (third month) a representative of King *Ti-po-si-na* (Devasena) of Central India came to pay respects to the Emperor. The envoy must have been the same as Brahma (Fan-mo) who assisted Bodhiruci in 693 in the work of translation." Here also Bagchi interchanges – without any explanation – the king with his ambassador. As we have seen, the sources discussed here do not say that a "representative of king Ti-po-si-na" went to China, but that the king in person went. With reference to the ambassador Brahma, although it is possible that he went to Luoyang in 692, this is not attested anywhere[49]. Majumdar (1954: 612) repeats Bagchi's words, but a few lines later, strangely enough, adds, as if it were another person, that in 692 "the king of Central India Ti-mo-si-na" sent a mission to China. He seems not to have realized that Ti-mo-si-na (as spelled in the *Cefu yuangui*) is the same as the "Ti-po-si-na" he mentions before[50]. As to which of the two transcriptions is to be preferred, I think that Dipoxina is more probable than Dimoxina. Bagchi, as mentioned above, suggests the restoration of Dipoxina (*Jiu Tang shu* and *Tang huiyao*) to Devasena, but he makes no attempt at identification. His restoration was

[49] I will deal with this in my monograph on Bodhiruci (in preparation).

[50] Majumdar must have taken the pronunciation Ti-mo-si-na, which does not appear in Bagchi 1945, from elsewhere, perhaps from Chavannes.

accepted by Majumdar. In any case, Majumdar does not seem to have thought of identifying him with a successor of Ādityasena of the Gupta dynasty, although he mentions Devagupta as the first of Ādityasena's successors (pp. 127, 707). Kuwayama too (who pronounces the last character 那 as *nuo*) thinks that the name of the king is "restorable to Devasena" and adds: "Up to now Devasena has not been known in any other sources in the context of the history of 'Central India' or geographical northern India after the death of Harṣa"[51].

As to the restoration of Dipoxina (Di^h-ba-sɛj-na' [or -na^h]) 地婆西那, I would suggest Divasena rather than Devasena. For other examples in which *dipo* 地婆 is a transcription of the Sanskrit *diva*, see Divākara[52] and Divākaramitra[53]. Furthermore, I cannot agree with Kuwayama's statement that this king (Devasena or Divasena) is ignored by any other sources "in the context of the history of 'Central India' or geographical northern India after the death of Harṣa". This king is in fact mentioned by Yijing under the name of Rijun 日軍[54] (army of the sun), which is the exact translation of Divasena[55]. I do not know, however, if this Divasena[gupta] may be identified with Devagupta, although the different pronunciation of the first syllable (*di* instead of *de*) and the addition of "sena" is clearly indicated by the Chinese sources.

It should be noted here that my identification of Rijun 日軍 with Divasena differs from an old identification which was never put into question. Chavannes (1894: 81-82, note 5) referred to and accepted the identification of Rijun with the king Ādityasena of Magadha proposed by Burgess in 1881, and added: "Une inscription de Shāhpur donne pour Adityasena la date de 672-673. Ce roi, appartenant à la famille des Gouptas du Magadha, doit avoir joué un rôle important dans les troubles qui suivirent la dissolution du royaume de Kanoj à la mort de Harshavardhana Śīlāditya"[56]. This thesis is also upheld by Adachi (1942: 95), Lahiri (1986: 48) and Wang Bangwei (1988: 105). It is certainly true that Rijun 日軍

[51] Kuwayama 1994: 13.

[52] For example, *Huayan jing zhuanji* 1.154c10.

[53] *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 4.229c15.

[54] *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 1.5a28.

[55] See the case of Divākara, mentioned above, in which the character *ri* 日 is the translation of *diva (dipo* 地婆). In Chinese *ri* 日 means both sun and day, while in Sanskrit *diva* means both heaven and day. The Chinese preferred to translate *deva* with *tian* 天 which means heaven. In the eighth century *Fanyu zaming* 梵語雜名 (Various terms in Sanskrit), *ri* 日 stands for *diva*, *āditya*, *sūrya*, etc. See Bagchi 1938: 499.

[56] Chavannes 1894: 81-82, note 5. See also de La Vallée Poussin 1935: 69-70; Wang Bangwei 1988: 105.

might also be the translation of Ādityasena (for example, *āditya* is translated with *ri* 日 in the name Śīlāditya = Jieri 戒日), but I think that here it is rather Divasena and that the only reason why Rijun was identified with Ādityasena is that the name of the King Divasena, mentioned in the Chinese sources as the king of Central India in 692, passed unnoticed.

What Yijing writes on the Gupta King Rijun of Magadha is particularly relevant for the king's identification with Divasena. More than two *yojana*s northeast of the Mahābodhi Monastery, there was another monastery built in ancient times by a king of the southern regions. "Recently King Rijun had another monastery built near the ancient one. Now it has been completed. When the monks from the southern countries arrive, they mostly stay there"[57]. This shows that Rijun was still alive in 691 when Yijing wrote his work. Yijing was in Śrīvijaya in 691. Having spent more than twelve years in India, he left in late 685 or early 686[58], and between 30 January and 27 April 686 he was already in Malaysia in a place called Jiecha 羯荼國, from where he journeyed to Śrīvijaya on the island of Sumatra. Although one might then think that when dealing with facts concerning India Yijing refers only to events prior to 686, this is not the case in my opinion. In Śrīvijaya, where he was writing, he could easily obtain news of the situation in China and in India. Hence, when he wrote about the monastery (whose construction was ordered by Rijun in order to give residence to the monks from the southern countries) that "now it has been completed", I think that Yijing referred to an event very near to the date he was writing, i.e. 691. Considering that in the spring of 692 Divasena is described in the Chinese documents as the king of Central India, it seems highly probable that Rijun was none other than Divasena. Only if we were to suppose that Ādityasena died soon after Yijing wrote his work, would it be possible to think that Rijun might refer to Ādityasena and not to Divasena. However, such a possibility seems to me remote, not only because there is no evidence that Ādityasena was still on the throne as late as 691, but also because Divasena's mission of 692 appears to be the natural consequence of the pro-Buddhist policy as attributed by Yijing to Rijun. And it is no secondary circumstance that this policy was in perfect consonance with the political events in China in those years when Buddhist ideology had become a determinant factor. The identification of Rijun with

[57] *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 1.5a28-b1. Chavannes 1894: 81-82. Lahiri 1986: 48-49.

[58] He arrived at Tāmraliptī on the 1st of March 673 (Xianheng 4.2.8) and left between 2 November 685 and 29 January 686 (winter of the 1st year of Chuigong).

Divasena also allows us to understand the Buddhist master Dharmaruci's role in the Sino-Indian relations of the time. Yijing, as we have seen, tells us of the good relations that Rijun had with some southern countries. Dharmaruci (renamed Bodhiruci in China before 695) from Southern India may have been one of those southern monks welcomed by Rijun. Since he was in China in 693 together with the ambassador Brahma sent by the King of Central India[59], I would suggest that Dharmaruci was also sent by this king. Although the sources do not specify the name of the king in 693, as we know that it was Divasena in 692, it presumably continued to be the same king in 693.

6. The King of Kucha

Yanyouba 延繇拔 was the King of Kucha. The second character is usually pronounced *yau (juw)*, which would make it Yanyaoba (Jian-juw-bɛ:t). I prefer the reading *you* (rather than *yao* or *zhou*) here because the character *tian* 田, which, as suggested by Chavannes (1904, p. 25, note 1), must be a mistake for *you (juw)* 由, appears in the *Xin Tang shu* (221A.6232). In fact, *you* 繇 is interchangeable with *you* 由. The third character *die (dɛt)* 跌 of the *Xin Tang shu* must be a mistake for *ba (bat)* 跋. It then becomes necessary to correct Yantiandie 延田跌 of the *Xin Tang shu* into Yanyouba (Jian-juw-bat) 延由跋. Chavannes makes no attempt at identifying this king. I do not know who he may have been[60].

Conclusion

The text in the *Cefu yuangui* is to be amended and filled in as follows:

[天授]三年三月. 東天竺國王摩羅拔摩, 西天竺國王尸羅逸多, 南天竺國王遮婁其拔羅**婆**, 北天竺國王**婁其**那那, 中天竺國王地**婆**西那, 龜茲國王延繇拔, 並來朝獻[61].

[59] Forte 1976: 135-136, 171.

[60] As noted above, note 2, the text of the *Cefu yuangui* on the visit of the king of Kucha escaped the attention of Xu Wanyin (Part 2, 1985: 357a) in his collection of the Chinese sources on Kucha. This is not the case for the text of the *Xin Tang shu* which is found in Xu Wanyin (Part 1, 1984: 322b).

[61] The amended character appears in bold type, while the bold characters within boxes have been added on the basis of the *Jiu Tang shu* and *Tang huiyao*.

[Tianshou] 3rd year, 3rd month (24 March to 21 April 692). The king of Eastern India Moluobamo 摩羅拔摩 ([Ku]māra [Deva]varman), the king of Western India Shiluoyiduo 尸羅逸多 (Śīlāditya), the king of Southern India Zhelouqi Baluopo 遮婁其拔羅婆 (Cālukya Vallabha), the king of Northern India Louqinana 婁其那那 (?), the king of Central India Dipoxina 地婆西那 (Divasena), the king of Kucha Yanyouba 延繇拔 (?) all came to the Court and offered gifts.

In summary:

1. Moluobamo (Māravarman) of Eastern India may perhaps be identified with the King Devavarman of Yijing (or with a successor of his?). Moluobamo may be the contracted form of the transcription [Ku]māra [Deva]varman. He reigned in Kāmarūpa and was a successor of Bāskaravarman mentioned by Xuanzang.

2. Shiluoyiduo of Western India is Śīlāditya IV of the Valabhī dynasty.

3. Zhelouqi Baluopo of Southern India is Vinayāditya Satyāśraya (681-696) of the Western Cālukya Vallabhas.

4. I have made no attempt at identifying Louqinana of Northern India.

5. Dipoxina of Central India is Divasena of the Gupta in Magadha, that is, the King Rijun mentioned by Yijing.

6. I have made no attempt at at identifying Yanyouba of Kucha.

What is the importance of these names of the Indian kings specified in the Chinese sources discussed here? What is their historical relevance for India? These are questions for the historians of India. These kings did not necessarily belong to great dynasties. Probably for Chinese diplomacy it was important that at that time five kingdoms of the so-called Five Indias should be represented in China at the highest level possible.

As I have frequently mentioned Yijing here, it may be helpful to say something about him[62]. In fact, the question naturally comes to mind

[62] In "My First Visit to Nanatsu-dera. Impromptu Notes and Impressions" of 1991, I provided some inaccurate information on Yijing and his works. The text on pp. 68-69 should be amended as follows: "Among the principal works written by Yijing (...), who left Canton in late 671 and, after many years stay in India and the Southern Seas, returned to China in 693, there is one (...). Thanks also to the manuscript of Yijing's other work kept at the Nanatsu-dera, the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸内法傳 (Account on Buddhism Sent Home from the Southern Sea), Ochiai found what he thinks was the original title of (...). The title Ochiai found reveals that the Nanatsu-dera text of the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* is not based on the Song printed edition. By the time he payed his visit (...) for other evidence". Note 23 of p. 68 should be amended as follows:

whether he might not in some way have been involved in the preparation of the Indian missions of 692 to China. To deal with Yijing, however, is to deal with the Chinese context in which the missions are to be situated and with Yijing's connections with the ideologues who operated in such a context. Tim Barrett has recently mentioned Yijing's involvement in the Buddhist policy of Empress Wu and suggested that Yijing "put a particularly powerful weapon in the hands of the Chinese Buddhist state" by legitimating the use of paper for the reproduction of Buddhist images. As proof of Yijing's political support of Empress Wu, he cites a piece of important evidence presented by Wang Bangwei which clearly shows that in 695 Yijing interpreted an indecipherable text on stone as an omen of approval from Heaven for the rule of the Empress[63].

There is no doubt that the question of Yijing's involvement in politics is a very important issue which, unfortunately, has not received much attention so far. Without entering here into the fascinating and intriguing question of paper and printing, I would only like to say that evidence of Yijing's political involvement from 695 onwards is rather abundant, even if we knew nothing of his interpretation of the indecipherable text on stone mentioned above. The fact that he was assigned to the Great Fuxian Monastery 大福先寺 in Luoyang from 695 is in itself very revealing in terms of his commitment to the political success of Empress Wu. This institution was the most powerful dynastic monastery in the years 690-705[64]. It might be more problematic, however, to prove his political commitment prior to 695, although Barrett has correctly pointed out that Yijing's writings of 691 cannot be exempted "from the charge of political influence on the grounds of chronology"[65]. In addition to Barrett's considerations, I would like to mention here a few facts to show that Yijing had strong connections with the ideologues who succeeded in building the Buddhist state.

I am thinking above all of Chuyi 處一, one of the few monks who in 670 had agreed to accompany Yijing on his travels to India. Unfortunately

"Édouard Chavannes (...) was mislead by the use of the term Zhou 周 in the text of the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*. See Chavannes, *Mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la Loi dans les Pays d'Occident. Par I-tsing*, Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1894, pp. 37 [note], 203. Takakusu (1896, pp. 7 [note 1], 214 [note 3]) and Pelliot (1904, pp. 327-328) corrected Chavannes' wrong view".

[63] Barrett 1998: 155-156 and 148 respectively.

[64] For a very brief overview of the role of the Great Fuxian Monastery founded by the empress, see Forte 1983: 695.

[65] Barrett 1998: 149.

none of the translators and commentators on Yijing's works has identified Chuyi[66], and the opportunity to understand the relevance of Yijing's evidence regarding Chuyi as establishing one of Yijing's powerful connections with Empress Wu was thus lost. Chuyi was in fact second in importance only to Faming 法明 among the monks of the Palace Chapel in Luoyang. He was also one of the authorities of the above-mentioned Great Fuxian Monastery in Luoyang[67], to which Yijing himself, as noted above, was assigned.

There was also the Master of Meditation Cheng 澄禪師, who had been the teacher of Zhengu 貞固, one of the four monks who went with Yijing from Canton in late 689 and helped Yijing in his work of copying the texts he had collected. To Zhengu, Yijing devotes a long biographical note in his *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*[68]. Since the Master of Meditation Cheng was the teacher of Zhengu, Yijing mentions this Master of Meditation in a long passage in which he is not sparing in his eulogies[69]. Unfortunately Yijing does not supply us with much concrete data concerning this Master, but he does specify that he belonged to the Eastern Weiguo Monastery 東魏國寺 (an earlier name of the Great Fuxian Monastery). If the Master of Meditation Cheng is the Huicheng 慧澄 who in 695 was the Chief of the Great Fuxian Monastery and who in 696 requested the destruction of the *Huahu-jing* 化胡經[70], then we can understand why Yijing gave a particular attention to this figure. Even if it was a different figure, it is clear that at the time when Yijing wrote his work in 691 the Master of Meditation Cheng must have held a prominent position in the monastery.

On the other hand, in 691 Yijing had enough influence to convince Dajin (who presumably had no intention at that moment of going back to

[66] Chavannes 1894: 114, Takakusu 1896: xxvii; Lahiri 1986: 74-75; Wang Bangwei 1988: 151. Adachi (1942: 140, 144) interpreted the passage 并部處一法師 ("the Master of the Law Chuyi 處 – from the Bing Region 并部) as meaning "one Master of the Law of the Bingbu place".

[67] For a list of the monks of the Palace Chapel of Luoyang according to their protocolary order, see Forte 1996: 377.

[68] *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 2.10b15-11b23; Chavannes 1894: 161-182.

[69] *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 2.10b28-c5; Chavannes 1894: 164-166. Wang Bangwei (1988: 223) claims not to know who the Master of Meditation Cheng was. He cites Adachi who thought he was the same individual mentioned in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景徳傳燈 by Daoyuan 道原, completed in 1004 (T. 51, no. 2076). Wang, however, remarks that the latter was too young to be the teacher of Zhengu.

[70] Forte 1976: 91-93.

China given that he had come so far for the purpose of proceeding to India) to go to China. Furthermore, Yijing knew the right channels to convey to Empress Wu his important request to build a Chinese monastery in India. Both of these facts indicate that he was far more politically connected than it would appear at a first glance.

All things considered, Yijing had a special connection with at least one preeminent figure of the Great Fuxian Monastery, Chuyi, who was also one of the top leaders of Buddhism who succeeded in building the Buddhist state in China with the Empress Wu as its Cakravartin and Bodhisattva. It would be peculiar indeed if Chuyi and his colleagues did not take advantage of Yijing's connections and experience in India and the "Southern Seas" in battling their ideological campaigns in China and abroad.

There is no definitive proof of Yijing's involvement in the preparation of the Indian missions of 692 to Luoyang, but it would not be surprising if this were the case. Other factors should be considered in studying the Chinese internal and international circumstances of the missions, but such considerations extend far beyond the limits of this paper.

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T. *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*. See Bibliography B.

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DHARMAKĪRTI'S REDUCTIONISM IN RELIGION AND LOGIC[1]

In the last two decades we have seen an ever increasing interest in the religious aspects of Dharmakīrti's thought. Leading scholars in Dharmakīrtian studies such as Tilmann Vetter, Ernst Steinkellner, David Seyfort Ruegg and Tom Tillemans, to mention but a few, have published ground-breaking monographs and papers dealing with Dharmakīrti's statements on typically religious issues as, for example, the four Noble truths, the authority of the Buddha, karma and rebirth, etc. In these studies the question often arises as to the relationship between Buddhist logic/epistemology and Buddhist religion. For instance, is the religious background of Buddhist logic and epistemology decisive for the development of the epistemological tradition? Is there a vicious circle between the proof of the Buddha's authority and the validity of perception and inference? Is Buddhist epistemology subordinate to Buddhist religion? Should Buddhist logic be used only to defend and justify religious dogmata? Is human reason autonomous, or must it rely on the superior insight of the Buddha and the eternal truths as formulated in the Buddhist sacred writings?

In this paper I propose to treat the relationship between religion and logic in Dharmakīrti's writings from a different angle, not by focusing directly on Dharmakīrti's statements on religion and on logic, but by taking into consideration his mode of approach to these two topics, that is, his philosophical persona. In other words, is there any relevance to the fact that it is the same philosopher who applies his formidable mind to logical and religious issues? Can we notice a general propensity that can be said to be typical of Dharmakīrti's approach to whatever topic he deals with?

[1] As always, I have benefited from the careful reading of this paper by Karin Preisendanz whose comments improved it in various ways.

One of the most conspicuous characteristics of Dharmakīrti's thought is, in my opinion, the proclivity to reductionism, and in what follows I shall attempt to briefly illustrate and substantiate this claim. Let me add from the outset that I do not use the term "reductionism" in any technical sense. This recent term, which is in wide use only since the middle of this century[2], is often employed in the specific sense of reducing one science into another[3] or one domain into another[4]. For the time being, however, I would like to leave open all questions concerning the general purport and conceptual framework of Dharmakīrti's reductionism. To consider these issues here would involve not only a historical investigation into the relationship between Dharmakīrti and Dignāga, but also theoretical considerations concerning the nature of philosophical alterations and developments – e.g., when does an alteration of a general statement create a new theory? Does a given statement have the same meaning in two related but different theories?

* * *

In considering Dharmakīrti's reductionism in religious matters I shall rely, of course, above all on the *Pramāṇasiddhi* chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika*; I would like to begin, however, by drawing attention to a crucial statement in the *Svārthānumāna* chapter and the autocommentary thereon edited in an exemplary manner by the jubilarian to whom the present volume is dedicated. In verse 217 of this chapter Dharmakīrti explains how one can infer the truthfulness of statements which are not verifiable through ordinary experience (i.e. by the ordinary means of knowledge, perception and inference); the autocommentary thereon (p. 109.15-19) leaves no doubt that Dharmakīrti has in mind the statements of the Buddha[5]:

heyopādeyatattvasya sopāyasya prasiddhitaḥ |
pradhān[a]<ā >rthāvisaṃvādād anumānaṃ paratra vā | |

[2] Cf. Ritter and Gründer 1992: 378 (s.v. Reduktionismus).

[3] E.g., the reduction of chemistry or biology into physics, when one argues that the laws of chemistry or biology can be derived from the laws of physics, etc.

[4] E.g., the reduction of the mental to the biological domain, when one argues that mental events are nothing but neuro-physiological processes, etc.

[5] Cf. PVSV, p. 109.12-19. The verse is translated twice in Bijlert 1989: 124, 142. The entire discussion of *āgama* in PVSV was translated by H. Yaita 1987. The translation below differs on some minor points.

heyopādeyatadupāyānāṃ tadupadiṣṭānām avaiparītyam avisaṃvādaḥ. yathā cat[ū]<u>rṇām āryasatyānāṃ vakṣyamāṇanītyā. tasyāsya puruṣārthopayogino 'bhiyogārhasyāvisaṃvādād viṣayāntare 'pi tathātvopagamaḥ, na vipralambhāy[a]<ā>nuparodhāt, niṣprayojanavitathābhidhānavaiphalyāc ca vaktuḥ.

"Or because the correctness of what is to be avoided and what is to be appropriated, as well as [of] the means [thereof], is well established, the main content [of the Buddha's teaching] does not belie [its promise]. Therefore, [it is justified] to infer [also] in respect to other [parts of the Buddha's teaching that they do not belie their promise].

What has to be avoided, what has to be appropriated, and the means [thereof] that are taught by that [trustworthy person] do not belie [their promise], [i.e.] are not contrary [to reality]; just as the four noble truths in the manner which will be stated [in the *Pramāṇasiddhi* chapter]. Because this very same [main content of what was taught by the Buddha, namely, the four noble truths], which serves the [ultimate] purpose of man [namely, *nirvāṇa*, and thus] is suitable for application (i.e., repeated practice), does not belie [its promise], it is apprehended [that he or his teaching] is so (i.e., non-belying) with regard to another object too; [he does] not [say anything] in order to deceive, because [his statements] are not obstructed (i.e., contradicted by another *pramāṇa*) and because it [would] be futile for a speaker [to make] false statements without [any] motivation"[6].

I have dealt with Dharmakīrti's proof-strategy in this passage on a different occasion and therefore need not repeat it here[7]. What is of

[6] My translation of this passage was criticized by John Dunne in an unpublished dissertation (Harvard 1999). I see no point in discussing here his unpublished pages (oddly almost everything he thinks I say is the exact opposite of what I have actually said), but two points need to be explained. The first is relatively easy: *upagama* in the commentary (Gnoli 1960: 109.18) is an equivalent to *anumāna* in the verse. Therefore it cannot mean here a mere "assumption". Further, even if the text had read *abhyupagama*, this term does not mean a mere assumption of something about which one is not quite sure. Second, and here I go against the Tibetan translation as well, one cannot construe *na vipralambhāya* with *–upagamo*, because in that case the logical subject of *upagama* (Buddhists or hearers of the Buddha's word) would have to be the same as that of *vipralambha*. But this is impossible because *vipralambh* is a transitive verb and therefore *vipralambha* means "deceiving", not "be deceived" as Dunne suggests on p. 267. An additional, though in itself not decisive reason for beginning a new sentence with *na* is the preceding similarity in structure between the verse and the commentary which glosses it.

[7] Cf. Franco 1999a.

importance for us in the present context is that Dharmakīrti considers the four noble truths to be the main or essential part of the Buddha's teaching and, by the same token, that the Buddha's teachings contain some secondary or non-essential parts. Can we conclude that everything in the Buddha's teachings except the four noble truths is not essential, only of secondary importance? Vetter, for instance, has already pointed out that according to PVSV, p. 108.3-4 the good and bad results of a specific act are beyond the realm of the ordinary means of knowledge[8]. However, Dharmakīrti could hardly claim to be original in this position. The same tenet can already be found in the canonical literature; as de La Vallée Poussin puts it, "Le Bouddha a déclaré que la retribution de l'acte est incompréhensible; il défend de chercher à la comprendre[9]". Similar statements were made already by traditional Tibetan scholars such as rGyal tshab rje: "[M]atters such as the place in which the preceding karma for this body was effectuated, the [exact] time or how it was effectuated are [all] completely imperceptible (*shin tu lkog gyur* = *atyantaparokṣa*)"[10]. Further, such statements as "enjoyment [arises] from giving, happiness from moral conduct" (*dānād bhogaḥ sukhaḥ śīlāt*)[11] were also considered to be unattainable by means of perception and inference and as such could only be known from the Buddhist scriptures. Consequently, such statements could not be part of the main teachings of the Buddha. Indeed, one wonders to what extent Buddhist morality and the monastic rules of the Buddhist order could be provided with a rational justification if one relies exclusively on ordinary means of knowledge without taking recourse to the authority of the Buddha.

One could argue perhaps that Dharmakīrti understands the four noble truths in a very broad manner, and that all of Buddhist philosophy can be subsumed under them; Harivarman, for instance, has organized his extensive Abhidharma-treatise under the headings of the four noble truths, and one could thus say that they are simply a convenient system of

[8] Cf. Vetter 1984: 40, n. 1.

[9] Cf. *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (PTS ed.) vol. II, p. 80: *kammavipāko bhikkhave acinteyyo na cintetabbo yaṃ cintento unmādassa vighātasa bhāgī assa*. De La Vallée Poussin (La Vallée Poussin 1923-1931: vol. III, ch. 4, p. 114, n. 1) refers to similar references in the *Milindapañha*, *Jātakamālā* and *Madhyamakāvatāra*.

[10] Cf. rGyal tshab rje, *rNam 'grel ṭīk chen*, vol. I, p. 359.1-6, quoted and translated by T. Tillemans (Tillemans 1993: 71, n. 12). Cf. also the statement by Ngag dbang bstan translated by Tillemans (Tillemans 1993: 38): "... the way in which this enjoyment of happiness arises from which [specific] causes is completely imperceptible".

[11] This is a quotation of *Ratnāvalī*, V, 38; cf. Tillemans 1993: 14 and 40.

classification. This, however, does not seem to be the case for Dharmakīrti's interpretation of the four noble truths. In the statement quoted above Dharmakīrti refers to "the four noble truths in the manner which will be stated [in the *Pramāṇasiddhi* chapter]"[12]. Thus, before passing judgement as to what Dharmakīrti considers the main and secondary parts in the Buddha's teaching we have to take a closer look at his presentation of the four noble truths in the second chapter. On the whole his presentation is exclusive rather than inclusive.

The four noble truths in the *Pramāṇasiddhi* chapter are dealt with under the heading "protection" (*tāya*, referring to the Buddha's epithet *tāyin* in the *maṅgala-śloka* of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*), and it is quite understandable that the essential part of the Buddha's teaching is that which protects living beings, namely, from suffering. However, when we consider the Buddha's teaching from this point of view, perhaps not all four truths are needed for protection. Wouldn't just the fourth truth, the truth of the way to liberation from suffering, suffice? Cf. PV II 145-146ab[13]:

tāyaḥ svadṛṣṭamārgokti[ḥ] ... tāyo vā catuḥsatyaprakāśanam.

"Protecting [consists in] the pronouncement of the way which was seen[14] by [the Buddha] himself. ... Or protecting [consists in] revealing the four [noble] truths".

It seems from this statement that Dharmakīrti considers, at least as an acceptable alternative[15], that the main part of the Buddha's teaching is the revelation of the path alone. Furthermore, when we consider the fourth truth

[12] Of course, what has been added in brackets is not explicitly stated by Dharmakīrti, but it is quite obvious that he means the *Pramāṇasiddhi* chapter; cf. also Karṇakagomin's comment in PVSVṬ, p. 395.15-16: ***yathā caturṇāṃ*** *duḥkhādīnām* ***āryasatyānāṃ*** *dvitīye paricchede* **vakṣyamāṇayā nītyā** *vicāreṇa*.

[13] It is interesting to note that this half verse is quoted by Prajñākaramati, BCAP, p. 37.17 (commenting on *tāyinām* in III, 2d): *tāyinām iti svādhigatamārgadeśakānām. yad uktam: tāyaḥ svadṛṣṭamārgoktir iti. tad vidyate yeṣām iti. athavā tāyaḥ santānārthaḥ: ā saṃsāram apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇatayāvasthāyinām.*

Prajñākaramati quotes Dharmakīrti at least on one other occasion (cf. n. 43 below), and one may tentatively conclude that he considered Dharmakīrti to be a Mādhyamika; for a discussion of this topic cf. Steinkellner 1990. On the word *tāyin* cf. Franco 1997: 32, n. 41; Prajñākaramati's interpretation of *tāya* as *santāna* is based on *Dhātupāṭha* I, 5, 18.

[14] It is probable that by using the compound °*dṛṣṭamārga*° Dharmakīrti alludes to *darśanamārga*; cf. below.

[15] It is not rare for Dharmakīrti to present two alternatives as his own point of view. My impression is that more often than not the first alternative is the one he prefers, but a more systematic study is needed to ascertain the precise use of disjunctions in the *Pramāṇavārttika*.

itself, most of it (six or perhaps even seven of its eight parts?) seems to be absent from Dharmakīrti's presentation. This remarkable fact has already been pointed out by Vetter: "This way included originally eight members. Of these only a single [one] is found in Dharmakīrti['s words] and that only in a single passage (270-271), namely, *samyagdṛṣṭi* which was originally the first member"[16]. *Samyagdṛṣṭi*, adds Vetter, should not be understood here in the original sense of "right view", but as referring to the sixteen aspects of the four noble truths known from the so called *abhisamayavāda*. Yet Vetter is cautious not to infer a reference to the *abhisamayavāda* in this context, because the word itself does not occur and because, so he claims, the sixteen aspects are usually found in the preparative stage for *abhisamaya*, but not in the *abhisamaya* itself. The details of Vetter's interpretation are problematic, but he is certainly right in his general conclusion that the original eightfold path is more strongly reduced and transformed here than in the Theravāda tradition. I shall return to v. 271 below.

It may be added that reductive elements are also clearly present in Dharmakīrti's presentation of the first two truths. Suffering is defined by Dharmakīrti as the five *skandha*s which are characterized by transmigration[17]. The rest of the section on the first truth (vv. 146d-178) is devoted to a refutation of the tenet that desire, etc., arise from bodily humours and has no direct bearing on the nature of suffering. Only towards the very end of the discussion (v. 176) are the four aspects of the truth of suffering (*anitya, duḥkha, śūnya, anātman*) briefly referred to and defended. Dharmakīrti's definition of suffering excludes in the first place the doctrine that a permanent soul is the subject of transmigration, but it also omits most of the canonical formulation of *duḥkhasatya*: there is no trace of suffering being characterized as sickness, old age, death, etc. Furthermore, Dharmakīrti's definition also ignores the late canonical division of suffering into *duḥkhaduḥkhatā*, *pariṇāmaduḥkhatā* and *saṃskāraduḥkhatā*. Only the last type of suffering is referred to in the definition; the other two, it seems, are not relevant for the discussion. The same can be observed in v. 252 where, moreover, Dharmakīrti identifies *saṃskāraduḥkhatā* with dependent origination:

saṃskāraduḥkhatāṃ matvā kathitā duḥkhabhāvanā |
sā ca naḥ pratyayotpattiḥ sā nairātmyadṛgāśrayaḥ ||

[16] Cf. Vetter 1984: 26: "Dieser Weg umfasste ursprünglich acht Glieder. Davon findet sich bei Dharmakīrti nur ein einziges und auch nur an einer einzigen Stelle (270-271), nämlich das ursprünglich erste Glied *samyagdṛṣṭi*".

[17] Cf. v. 146c: *duḥkhaṃ saṃsāriṇaḥ skandhāḥ*. This definition is quoted by Haribhadra in *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* v. 5.

"The meditation on suffering was pronounced [by the Buddha] having in mind the painfulness of existence (*saṃskāraduḥkhatā*), and this [painfulness] is, according to us, dependent origination. This [dependent origination] is the basis for seeing Selflessness".

Similarly, while discussing the second noble truth Dharmakīrti reduces the three types of thirst mentioned in the canonical formulations (*kāmatṛṣṇā*, *bhavatṛṣṇā*, *vibhavatṛṣṇā*) into one: The cause of suffering is the desire for existence. The desire for pleasure and for non-existence are included in it (vv. 183b-184). Karma and ignorance, says Dharmakīrti, are not mentioned in the second noble truth; karma alone (without desire and ignorance) cannot lead to rebirth, and ignorance is not the direct cause of rebirth (v. 189). By contrast, Dharmakīrti's treatment of the third noble truth is more extensive[18].

To return to the main topic, the presentation of the Buddha's teaching by Dharmakīrti, we have seen three successive reductions. First, the Buddha's teaching is said to have a main part, and this part is identified with the four noble truths. Second, the protecting part of the Buddha's teaching which, as pointed out above, can be identified as being equivalent to the main part can be considered as revealing the path alone, that is, presumably, as corresponding to the fourth truth alone. Third, as pointed out by Vetter, the eightfold path itself is strongly reduced. However, one could proceed with this reduction even further. In the final analysis, I think, the main part of the Buddha's teaching, according to Dharmakīrti, can be reduced to the *anātman*-doctrine alone.

Dharmakīrti obviously thinks about the way to liberation causally (and in this, of course, he is not alone among Buddhists). He conceives liberation above all negatively as the cessation of suffering, that is, cessation of the transmigration of the five *skandha*s[19]. Rebirth cannot be stopped directly. The best way, in fact the only way, to stop it is to eliminate its cause. However, rebirth does not have a single cause; consequently, one has to identify the necessary causes of rebirth and find out which one among them can be eliminated[20]. As it turns out, this exercise has to be

[18] Cf. also the discussion in Franco 1997: ch. 3.

[19] Cf. the definition of suffering in v. 146c quoted above.

[20] Theoretically, if none of the causes can be eliminated, liberation is impossible. Fortunately this turns out not to be the case. On the other hand, even if more than one necessary cause could be eliminated, it would be useless to engage in the elimination of two causes because the elimination of one cause is sufficient to prevent the result. To the implicit suggestion of an opponent that both desire and karma should be eliminated, Dharmakīrti replies that the elimination of karma would be pointless (*vyartha*); cf. v. 274.

carried a step further. One has to eliminate the cause of rebirth by eliminating the cause of the cause of rebirth. Fortunately, one does not fall into an infinite regress because the cause of the cause of rebirth can be eliminated directly.

The direct and necessary causes of rebirth are three: desire (*rāga*, *tṛṣṇā*, etc.), karma and the body (primarily the senses). If any one of the three is missing, the other two cannot cause a new birth, just as when the seed is missing the earth and the sun cannot grow a sprout by themselves. Now, which of the three causes should be eliminated? Dharmakīrti says in conformity with the third noble truth that desire should be abandoned because neither the body nor karma can be abandoned. First, they have no antidotes (*vipakṣa*), and furthermore, as long as desire is present, they will arise again[21]. Therefore, one has to eliminate desire alone.

The question that arises next is how to eliminate desire. Dharmakīrti considers and rejects several alternatives. For instance, desire cannot be fought by aversion because desire and aversion do not contradict or suppress each other; on the contrary, they arise from the same source, namely, the apprehension of a Self, and give rise to each other (v. 211). Similarly, compassion, friendliness, etc., cannot bring about a definitive suppression of the defilements because the source of all defilements is the delusion that there is a Self (*satkāyadarśana*) (v. 212). The meditation on suffering (*duḥkhabhāvanā*) is also useless. By meditating on suffering one only becomes aware of suffering. But suffering was perceived already before this meditation and yet one did not lose one's desires[22].

It is interesting to note that Dharmakīrti also considers and rejects the possibility that a Tantric ritual would lead to salvation (vv. 258ff.) A ritual (*vidhi*), which may be efficient in preventing a seed from growing into a sprout cannot prevent "men" (*puṃs* is the usual Tantric term for the soul in bondage) from being reborn. Otherwise, one would reach liberation by smearing oneself with oil, scorching oneself, etc. (258). One cannot claim that a certain ritual is efficient because a person becomes lighter afterwards. Even if this is accepted, it would only mean that the person has lost weight,

[21] Cf. vv. 272-273.

[22] PV II 238:

duḥkhabhāvanayāpy eṣa duḥkham eva vibhāvayet |
pratyakṣaṃ pūrvam api tat, tathāpi na virāgavān ||

The suffering referred to here must be taken literally, not in the sense of *saṃskāraduḥkhatā* the meditation on which is claimed by Dharmakīrti to be the basis of *nāirātmyadṛś*; cf. v. 252 translated above.

not that his sins have departed, because sins, being incorporeal, are not heavy (259). The opponent claims that without the senses there is no rebirth, that the senses are produced by *adṛṣṭa*, and that *adṛṣṭa* is destroyed by the liberating ritual. Further, he claims that *adṛṣṭa* is a trace left by previous experience (*saṃskāra*), it is not a mental act (*cetanā*). Perhaps this statement has led Vetter to identify the opponent as a Sāṃkhya[23]. It seems to me, however, that the use of the word *dīkṣā*, as it appears in the next verse in connection with a ritual that leads to liberation, points quite conclusively at a Tantric opponent[24]. The implicit objection is that the ritual may be efficient even if one accepts the Buddhist point of view that the cognition produces the senses. The *dīkṣā* could prevent the cognition from producing them, and thus there would be no rebirth. Dharmakīrti replies that if the cognition were impaired by rituals such as the *dīkṣā*, etc., the senses would not have various functions that are governed by *cetanā*.

We may turn now to Dharmakīrti's crucial verse (271) which describes the way to liberation:

tatraiva tadviruddhārthatattvākārānurodhinī |
hanti sānucarāṃ tṛṣṇāṃ samyagdṛṣṭiḥ subhāvitā | |

Vetter translates as follows:

"Das richtige Sehen, gut geübt, auf die selben [vier Wahrheiten gerichtet und] sich haltend an die [sechzehn] wahren Aspekte, welche den

[23] Cf. Vetter 1984: 155, n. 1.

[24] In any case, I am not familiar with a Sāṃkhya text that claims that the *dīkṣā* ceremony leads to liberation. Cf. also the use of the word *mala* in v. 265: this word is typically used in Tantric texts and is rather unusual in Sāṃkhya texts. R. Jackson, says that this section "seems to be aimed chiefly at the practices of the Nyāya school, rather than at the better-known ritualism of Mīmāṃsā, for the rituals criticized by Dharmakīrti are empowered by Īśvara in which most Mīmāṃsakas did not believe and involve the "Unseen", a concept central to Nyāya cosmology" (Jackson 1993: 457, n. 16). Jackson is right, of course, to reject the possibility of a Mīmāṃsaka opponent, but his reason for identifying the opponent as a Naiyāyika is anachronistic. In classical Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, at least up to Dharmakīrti's time, God is considered as an efficient cause (*nimittakāraṇa*) of the world that sets the eternal atoms in motion at the time of "creation"; there is no association between God and rituals for liberation.

Further references to Tantra in PVSV are discussed in Namai 1993.

Professor R. Torella has kindly offered the following comment: "PV II.258ff. definitely refers to a tantric ritual. In particular, the loss of weight is one of the proofs of the *dīkṣā* having been successful; this can also be found in Śaiva texts (particularly those belonging to the dualistic schools, for which *mala* is something material) under the name of *tulā-dīkṣā* or *pratyaya-dīkṣā*."

[genannten falschen] entgegengesetzt sind, vernichtet den Durst samt seinem Gefolge".

Vetter's translation is literally correct. However, as mentioned above, his interpretation of the verse does not seem entirely convincing[25]. First, I find it very improbable that *samyagdṛṣṭi* should not refer to *abhisamaya* here[26], but to the first member of the eightfold path, even in Vetter's modified sense[27]. Vetter suggests this interpretation probably because Dharmakīrti mentions the sixteen aspects in this verse, claiming that the sixteen aspects do not usually appear in the *abhisamaya* itself but only in its preparatory stages. However, Vetter does not provide any justification for this statement, but seems to rely only on the summary in Frauwallner's paper "Der *Abhisamayavāda*"[28]. It may be mentioned that according to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (on 6.28cd) the "possession" (to use de la Vallée Poussin's expression) of the sixteen aspects is one of the factors that distinguishes the *bhāvanāmārga* from the *darśanamārga*[29]. Furthermore, the possibility that *abhisamaya* can be referred to as *samyagdṛṣṭi* can be gleaned from AKBh p. 328.13: *sa [abhisamayaḥ] hi nirvāṇābhimukhaḥ samyagbodhaḥ*. Besides, even if the sixteen aspects were usually not to appear in the *abhisamaya* itself but only in its preparatory stages, it is clear that the verse describes here an advanced stage of the path, for in the first comprehension of the four noble truths desire is not yet destroyed because the innate apprehension of a Self (*sahaja-satkāyadṛṣṭi*) persists (cf. v. 199). If verse 271 has to be somehow related to the eightfold path, it would probably have to be connected to the eighth stage, *samyaksamādhi*, which could be alluded to by "well meditated upon" (*subhāvita*). In any case, the

[25] As I have pointed out elsewhere, Vetter's interpretation of Dharmakīrti's interpretation of the sixteen aspects is not quite convincing (Vetter 1984: 26-27). Vetter considers only the first four aspects to be important to Dharmakīrti; the other twelve aspects he considers "wenig überzeugend" and "Ausfluss" of the first four which function well, thus implying that the twelve do not function well; he attributes this opinion to Dharmakīrti because the latter enumerates only the first four and refers to the others with "etc." (*ādi*). All this, however, need not concern us in the present context.

[26] Note that there is a clear reference to the so called *abhisamayavāda* in v. 199. Vetter himself translates *ādye... mārge* "im ersten [Stadium des überweltlichen] Weges". I assume that he means the *darśanamārga*, which is the first part of the way to *abhisamaya*. However, I am not sure how he relates the two passages.

[27] Cf. Vetter 1984: 26.

[28] Frauwallner 1971.

[29] Cf. AKBh, p. 353.6: *aṣṭajñānaṣoḍaśākārabhāvanāt*; cf. also AK 7.21c and Yaśomitra thereon.

meditational practice referred to in this verse, as salvific meditational practice in general, must be preceded by observation of moral conduct and knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures[30].

Second, it seems unlikely to me that the content of the *samyagdṛṣṭi* should be "die eigene Person und alle Personen und Dinge so ansehen, wie sie in Wirklichkeit sind: vergänglich, leidvoll, nicht das Selbst noch zu einem selbst gehörig; ...". Although he does not say so explicitly, Vetter deviates with this interpretation from the traditional understanding of the term in its context. The commentatorial tradition is unanimous on this point: Devendrabuddhi explains that *samyagdṛṣṭi* is characterized by the seeing of Selflessness (*bdag med pa*)[31]. Manorathanandin glosses *samyagdṛṣṭi* with *nairātmyadṛṣṭi*[32]. Prajñākaragupta does not gloss the word directly, but he must have interpreted it in a similar manner, for he states that *nairātmya* is clear for the deliberating person when it has become firm because of repeated practice[33].

Vetter probably rejected the traditional interpretation of the content of *samyagdṛṣṭi* because of his understanding of the term *anurodhin*. He explains that the term does not generally mean "zeitlich folgend auf" and that next to his translation "sich haltend an", one could also translate "sich anschliessend" or "notwendig damit verbunden"[34]. Granted that Vetter is right in this observation, I still see no compelling reason to take the object of *anurodhinī* (i.e., *tadviruddhārthatattvākāra*) as the direct content of *samyagdṛṣṭi*. To say that a cognition is compliant with, or conforms to, or is in accordance with *x*, does not necessarily mean, in fact usually does not mean, that the cognition has *x* for its object.

The traditional interpretation of *samyagdṛṣṭi* as expressed in the *Pramāṇavārttika*-commentaries should not, of course, be accepted simply on faith. It should be supported by Dharmakīrti's own words, and in this case there is ample evidence in its favour. Dharmakīrti repeats again and again that as long as the apprehension of a Self (*satkāyadṛṣṭi* and similar expressions) subsists desires cannot be eliminated, and that

[30] Cf. AKBh VI.5ab: *vṛttasthaḥ śrutacintāvān bhāvanāyāṃ prayujyante*. Yaśomitra thereon (AKV, p. 891.18): *vṛttaḥ śīlam*.

[31] Cf. PVP (Derge) 116a4-5: ... *bdag med pa mthoṅ ba'i mtshan ñid can gyi yaṅ dag lta ba...* .

[32] Cf. PVV, p. 92.14-15.

[33] Cf. PVA, p. 162.16-17: *parāmarśavataḥ sthiratve 'bhyāsato nairātmyasya viśuddhatvam*. Cf. also the editor's heading for this section: *samyagdṛṣṭir nairātmyadṛṣṭiḥ*.

[34] Cf. Vetter 1984: 27, n. 1.

apprehension of a Self alone is responsible for all faults. The following is a representative sample: The false apprehension of Self and Mine causes desire; the apprehension of Selflessness (*nairātmya*) removes/obstructs it (v. 135). Birth and faults (*janma-doṣa*) do not return when their cause is abandoned; their cause is the apprehension of a Self (*ātmadarśana*) (v. 140). In all cases (*sarvatra*) the love of the Self (*ātmasneha*) is the cause of desires (v. 185). As long as the love for the Self is not abandoned, the *skandha*s continue to suffer because of the superimposition of a suffering Self (v. 191). Delusion (*moha*) is the root of all faults; it consists in the apprehension of a living being (*sattvagraha*) (v. 196). Someone who does not see a Self does not desire the Self, and without love for the Self the living being is not reborn (201). As long as one is attached/devoted to the Self (*ātmābhiniveśa*) one remains in *saṃsāra* (218). When there is a conception of a Self, there is a conception of an Other; from these two seizing (*parigraha*) and hatred arise, and from these two all other faults (219)[35].

Things are not desirable in themselves. Only the appropriation of a Self makes them attractive and desirable. Everybody can observe that one's own hair, nails, etc., that have fallen off the body are considered with repulsion, but the same hair, etc., when attached to one's body, are considered lovingly (v. 228). The apprehension of a Self strengthens the love of the Self, and the latter is the seed for the love of things that belong to the Self (v. 235). Liberation (*mukti*) is due to the apprehension of emptiness[36], and all other meditations (*śeṣabhāvanā*) have that as their purpose (*tadartha*) (v. 253). Further passages to the same effect could be easily adduced.

In the final analysis it is, I believe, no exaggeration to claim that for Dharmakīrti the main part of the Buddha's teaching, the part that protects us, that leads us to liberation, is nothing but the doctrine of Selflessness (with its entailments, of course). It goes without saying that I do not claim that Dharmakīrti's position is unique. Statements that attribute all faults to the false perception of a Self are certainly not unknown from other Buddhist texts[37]. However, Dharmakīrti's touch can be seen not only in the identification of the essential and the somewhat irreverent statements about

[35] Cf. also PVSV, p. 111.11f.

[36] The term is ambiguous; primarily it can be understood in the sense that the *skandha*s are empty of a Self, but one may also interpret it to imply that all *dharma*s are empty of own-being, i.e., unreal.

[37] Vetter has already collected some similar statements in Vetter 1984: 113, n. 3.

what is not essential[38], but also in the claim that the essential part of the Buddha's teaching can be independently substantiated, and in his remarkable attempt to do so.

It should be added in this connection that Dharmakīrti seems to part from the Sarvāstivāda doctrine of *abhisamaya* on a significant point. The meditation he recommends culminates in the apprehension of Selflessness, whereas the *abhisamaya* of the Sarvāstivāda culminates in the apprehension of the four noble truths. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that Dharmakīrti is to be credited with innovation on this point. Among the eleven differences that de la Vallée Poussin enumerates for the *abhisamaya* of the Bodhisattvas and that of the Śrāvakas, the difference in *prativedha* (another word for *darśanamārga*) consists in double *nairātmya* for the former and only *pudgalanairātmya* for the latter[39]. Throughout the *Pramāṇasiddhi* chapter Dharmakīrti argues primarily from the point of view of *pudgalanairātmya*. However, the mode of expression is occasionally ambiguous enough to allow, at least as a possible or additional interpretation, the Mahāyāna doctrine of *dharmanairātmya*, confirming thereby the commentatorial tradition that Dharmakīrti wrote from both the Sautrāntika and the Yogācāra point of view. In this regard too my understanding of the text differs from Vetter's. According to Vetter, Dharmakīrti does not envisage the Mahāyāna path for the historical Buddha[40]. He adds, however, that Dharmakīrti cannot be assumed to have followed the general Hīnayāna tradition as regards the Buddha's career either, and suggests that according to Dharmakīrti the Buddha was not a Buddha. In his preface to the second edition of *Der Buddha und seine Lehre in Dharmakīrtis Pramāṇavārttika* Vetter defends his position, against some doubts that I have voiced in my review of his work[41], by

[38] Cf. for instance his treatment of omniscience where only the knowledge of what is to be adopted, rejected and the means thereof is declared to be useful, and complete omniscience which includes the knowledge of the number of worms in the world is said to be useless; cf. PV II 33cd-34 (note that $34ab_1$ is almost identical with PV I $217ab_1$ quoted above):

kīṭasaṃkhyāparijñānaṃ tasya naḥ kvopayujyate | |
heyopādeyatattvasya sābhyupāyasya vedakaḥ |
yaḥ pramāṇam asāv iṣṭo na tu sarvasya vedakaḥ | |

One has to add, however, that Dharmakīrti does not deny the possibility of such knowledge, nor does he dispute that the Buddha had such a knowledge; he only disputes its usefulness "for us" (*naḥ*), excluding it thereby from the realm of philosophical discussion.

[39] Cf. La Vallée Poussin 1928: 601, n. e, summarizing *(Mahāyāna)Saṅgraha* 143, col. 2; cf. also Lamotte 1938-39: p. 55.8-9.

[40] Cf. Vetter 1984: 19; cf. also p. 32.

[41] Cf. Franco 1989: 81-99.

claiming that his method of interpretation attempts to understand Dharmakīrti's words literally, and that he uses the wider context only secondarily. I am not certain as to what Vetter exactly means by "wider context" in this connection, and thus I am unclear as to which materials have accordingly been excluded by him from being primary bases of interpretation; in any case, the immediate context of v. 132cd, which forms the single piece of evidence for Vetter's interpretation, does not support his view. In the final analysis, I believe, our difference of opinion does not hinge on the literal or not so literal understanding of Dharmakīrti's words, but on different perceptions as to the temporal import of the statement in v. 132cd: *yuktyāgamābhyāṃ vimṛśan duḥkhahetuṃ parīkṣate*. According to Vetter this verse refers to the Buddha in his last life (and thus contradicts one of the essential characteristics of a Buddha, namely, reaching enlightenment by himself)[42], whereas I claim that the verse refers to the Buddha in his past lives when he was still a bodhisattva. The immediate context of the verse is the Buddha's epithet "being a teacher" which according to Dharmakīrti refers not to the actual teaching of the Buddha, but metonymically only to his practice of various means that aims at the later teaching (v. 138ab: *upāyābhyāsa evāyaṃ tādarthyāc chāsanaṃ mataṃ* |)[43].

[42] As additional support for his hypothesis Vetter puts forth the claim that the word Buddha is never used by Dharmakīrti (Vetter 1984: 19). Yet PV I begins with *oṃ namo buddhāya*. Similarly, the *Hetubindu* is introduced with *namo buddhāya*. Further, in VN, p. 19.10, Dharmakīrti says that Buddhists are those who accept the teaching of the Buddha: *ke bauddhāḥ? ye buddhasya bhagavataḥ śāsanam abhyupagatāḥ*. Dharmakīrti gives this definition as an example for a trivial statement that is irrelevant to the topic under discussion, namely, the existence of *ātman*, but I see no reason to doubt that he doubted its truth. Of course Vetter could retort that the homages to the Buddha were not originally part of the mentioned works, but were added later by scribes, and that Dharmakīrti did not consider himself to be a Buddhist (*bauddha*), or at least did not do so at the time of the composition of PV II.

In his preface to the second edition of *Der Buddha* (Vetter 1984: 12), Vetter slightly retracts his previous claim and admits that according to Dharmakīrti the Buddha discovered something by himself. Although the Buddha certainly ("sicher") depends on a Buddhist tradition of the four noble truths, only fragments of this tradition remain of which other people could hardly make sense any longer: "[E]s sind ihm aber wohl nur Fragmente gegeben (mit denen andere Menschen kaum mehr etwas anfangen können)". No evidence is provided for this speculation.

[43] This half verse is also quoted by Prajñākaramati; cf. BCAP, pp. 37.24-28 (commenting on *śāsinām* in III.3d): *śāsinām iti śāsanaṃ śāso buddhatvopāyābhyāsaḥ, tadarthatvād upacārāt. tad vidyate yeṣām iti śāsino bodhisattvāḥ. tad uktam:*

upāyābhyāsa evāyaṃ tādarthyāc chāsanaṃ matam iti.

athavā śāsituṃ śīlaṃ yeṣām iti śāsinaḥ. bodhisattvā hi dānādibhiḥ saṅgrahavastubhiḥ sattvān saṅgṛhya sanmārge 'vatārayanti. Cf. also PVV (on v. 138 = 136), p. 51.14: ...

There is nothing in Dharmakīrti's words or in the context to warrant Vetter's far-reaching interpretation. Vetter was led perhaps to his interpretation because he understood the word *parīkṣate* in the sense of "determines"; thus, according to his interpretation, the person referred to in v. 132cd has determined the cause of suffering and is, therefore, already enlightened. Granted that Vetter is right in claiming that the verb *parīkṣ* can be used in this sense, it does not follow that Dharmakīrti uses it here in this sense, and even if this were the case, it does not follow that the person who determines the cause of suffering is not reborn, that is, does not become a Buddha only in a later life. It is quite possible that Dharmakīrti had in mind mere intellectual "determination" at this stage, not yet accompanied by elimination of the innate apprehension of a Self (*sahaja-satkāyadṛṣṭi*) which is a necessary condition for enlightenment.

I would like to emphasize here that my occasional disagreements with Vetter should not be misunderstood as a lack of appreciation for his ground-breaking work. On the contrary, they indicate that he is, to use the Halbfassian expression, my "partner in dialogue". Furthermore, in the description of Dharmakīrti as a reductionist in matters of religion there is a certain general agreement of opinion between Vetter and myself. However, sometimes we differ on details; we probably differ also as to our concept of "reduction". Vetter uses the term more liberally or broadly than I do, and he identifies cases of reduction on the basis of silence or the usage of "etc." (*ādi*). As an example of the former difference one may mention the case of the perfections practiced by the bodhisattva. Vetter claims that "nach Dharmakīrtis Beschreibung der Buddha in früheren Leben nur dies [Mitleid] geübt hat, nicht die sechs oder zehn Vollkommenheiten (*pāramitā*), von denen Mahāyāna-Texte sprechen"[44]. It seems to me that Vetter infers too much from Dharmakīrti's silence here. Furthermore, at least one *pāramitā* is certainly referred to by Dharmakīrti several times in the context of, again, his discussion of *śāstṛtva*, namely, *upāya* or *upāya-kauśalya*; cf. v. 131d: *upāyeṣv abhiyujyate*; v. 136: *bahuśo bahudhopāyaṃ kālena bahunā... abhyasyataḥ...*; v. 138a: *upāyābhyāsa evāyam...* . If my interpretation is correct, then Dharmakīrti seems to have accepted the list of ten, rather than six, *pāramitā*s. As an example of the latter difference one may mention Vetter's interpretation of Dharmakīrti's treatment of the

bodhisattvasyābhyāsataḥ... Although the term bodhisattva may apply also to the Buddha in his last life in which he reaches enlightenment, such an interpretation is highly unlikely in the present context.

[44] Cf. Vetter 1984: 18.

system of *anuśayas*[45]. According to Vetter one can speak in certain cases of a reduction of this system to three entities ("Reduktion dieses Systems auf drei Entitäten"): *avidyā* (or *moha*), *rāga* and *dveṣa*; the other *anuśaya*s are either included in these three or appear under "etc." But it is precisely the use of "etc.", which should prevent us from speaking of reduction in this case.

* * *

Turning now to Dharmakīrti's reductionism in matters of logic, I shall try to be very brief as the features adduced as examples below are relatively well-known. Perhaps the most significant point in Dharmakīrti's theory of inference is the reduction of reasons into three (*svabhāva-*, *kārya-* and *anupalabdhihetu*) and of valid inferential relationships into two (*tādātmya* and *tadutpatti*). Non-perception, the third type of reason, is reduced to a special type of *svabhāvahetu*, thus not involving any further relation. The significance of this *tour de force* can be appreciated not only when we recall that neither Vasubandhu nor Dignāga attempted to impose any restrictions on the relations involved in valid inferences, but also when we look at the previous attempts to determine the number of possible relations. The earliest attempts are to be found in the VS III.1.8 and IX.18. An attempt probably closer to Dharmakīrti's time is found in Vārṣagaṇya's *Ṣaṣṭitantra*[46]. Vārṣagaṇya enumerates seven relations, and one could hardly claim that his enumeration is systematic or exhaustive: *svasvāmibhāva*, *prakṛtivikārabhāva*, *kāryakāraṇabhāva*, *nimittanaimittikabhāva*, *mātrāmātrikabhāva*, *sahacāribhāva*, *vadhyaghātakabhāva*. One gets the impression that in this list Vārṣagaṇya simply collects those relations that could be used in inferences of Sāṃkhya metaphysical entities. He makes no attempt, for instance, to take into account relations used by opponents from other philosophical schools and to show that they can be included in one of the seven or that they cannot be used in valid inferences. Dharmakīrti, however, does precisely that. Since his arguments in the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* III have been studied by Takashi Iwata in some detail[47], I shall content myself with a brief summary of the examples discussed by Dharmakīrti at the beginning of the *Pramāṇavārttika*.

[45] Cf. Vetter 1984: 113, n. 3.

[46] For a partial reconstruction of this text cf. Frauwallner 1958 (repr.1982). Cf. also JM, p. 71.4-10 (on k. 5).

[47] Cf. Iwata 1991. Cf. also the annotated translation of the relevant passage in Iwata 1997.

One may divide the various inferences into two groups: those that are valid are shown to be based either on the one or the other of the two acceptable relationships, the others are shown to be false. In the first group one may count the inference from cause to effect. Usually such inference is considered to be invalid by Dharmakīrti, but when the causal complex is complete its capacity to produce the effect can be inferred (*kāryotpādana-yogyatā*). This inference, inasmuch as it involves only a single "entity", namely, the causal complex, is interpreted by Dharmakīrti as involving *svabhāvahetu*[48]. As an example of the reduction to an inference involving a causal relation Dharmakīrti mentions the inference of a certain colour or form from a certain flavour, e.g., when one tastes a lemon one can infer its colour[49]. Dharmakīrti explains the co-presence of colour and flavour as being due to the fact that the material cause of colour is also the efficient cause of flavour and vice versa. In other words, two inferences are involved; first one infers from the particular flavour a particular cause, namely, a flavour that is also an efficient cause of a certain colour (this involves *kāryahetu*); second, from this inferred cause one infers its capacity to produce a certain colour (this involves *svabhāvahetu*). In the present case, since the special flavour is known to have already been produced, one can infer that the special colour has also been produced, but future flavour and colour cannot be inferred in this way.

In this manner, Dharmakīrti reinterprets all relations between two or more entities as causal relations[50]: the relation between locus (*ādhāra*) and located[51], between support (*āśraya*) and supported[52], between parts and

[48] Cf. PVSV, p. 6.24f. (on v. 7). For a discussion of this passage cf. Steinkellner 1991. For an English translation of this and all the passages referred to below cf. Mookerjee and Nagasaki 1964.

[49] Cf. PVSV, p. 7.12f. (on v. 9). The example, however, is taken from Karṇakagomin, PVSVṬ, p. 49.26. Dharmakīrti himself gives the example of an inference of the colour that arises from the transformation of fuel (i.e., the colour of wood that turns black) from smoke. The problem with this example is that one usually does not taste the smoke.

[50] Cf. PVSV, p. 71.2-4: *tasmād sarv[a]<ā> eva vastusaṃbandhā janakasyaivopayoga-viśeṣavaśāt pravibhāgena kāryakāraṇabhāvād vyavasthāpyante*. "All relations among things are established as the case requires (*pravibhāgena*) from a relation between cause and effect due to a special employment of the producing factor itself". For a somewhat different translation cf. Iwata 1991: 93. Iwata also points out that this statement is identical to *Pramāṇaviniścaya* III 312abf.

[51] Cf. e.g., the famous example of the plate and the berries in PVSV, p. 70.12f. (on v. 144b-d). Cf. also PV II 66c and 68ab.

[52] Cf. for instance PV II 159. In this verse Dharmakīrti also explains the expression *upādāya* as it occurs in the statement "the visible, etc., arise in dependence on the great elements" (*bhūtāny upādāya rūpādaya utpadyante*); cf. PVA, p. 124.17.

whole[53], the relation of conjunction (*saṃyoga*), etc. Certain properties of material things are also interpreted causally; e.g., when a stone is hot, this is due to the fact that it has been penetrated by fire[54].

Special attention is paid to some of the well-known Nyāya inferences, for instance, the famous inference of future rain from the fact that the ants, anticipating the flooding of the river bed, carry their eggs to safety in higher places (*pipīlikāṇḍasañcāra*)[55]. Dharmakīrti explains the relation underlying this inference as the fact that the transformation of the elements which is the cause of rain is also the cause of the ants' agitation[56]. Thus, here too one has to assume two inferences: one from the carrying of the eggs to its cause, and another from that cause to its effect. Vācaspatimiśra, perhaps under Dharmakīrti's influence, also splits this inference into two[57]. He specifies that the ants are informed about the rain by a certain earthly heat (*bhauma-uṣman*). The second inference, from the transformation of the elements to the future rain, is classified as *pūrvavat* (in the sense of inference from cause to effect); when a causal relation is not known, a *sāmānyato dṛṣṭa* inference (in the sense of analogy) is used.

As an example for inferences that are rejected by Dharmakīrti, one can mention several Mīmāṃsā inferences such as "The Buddha was not free of passions because he had a body"[58] or "The Buddha was not free of passions because he spoke"[59]. Such inferences are based only on non-observation of the reason in the *vipakṣa* (e.g., speech is not observed in a stone) and are inconclusive (*śeṣavat*)[60]. The use of the term *śeṣavat* for inconclusive inferences is probably due to Dignāga's criticism of the Nyāya *śeṣavat* inference as being not conclusive[61].

[53] Since the parts are the cause of the whole, when one infers a part from the whole one uses *kāryahetu*, when one infers the whole from the parts, *svabhāvahetu*.

[54] Cf. PV II 87-88.

[55] Cf. NS II.1.37 (= II.1.35 in Ruben's edition).

[56] Cf. PVSV, p. 8.13-15.

[57] Cf. NVTṬ, p. 515.16f.

[58] Cf. PVSV, p. 8.16f. (on v. 11).

[59] PVSV, p. 9.1f. (on v. 12); cf. also PVSV on v. 21, etc. It is interesting that Dharmakīrti admits that compassion, etc., even in the case of the Buddha, are desires, but claims that such desires are not a fault because they do not arise from an error such as the apprehension of the Self. Cf. PVSV, p. 9.11-12: *saiva [karuṇaiva] rāga iti cet. iṣṭam. aviparyāsasamudbhavān na doṣaḥ.*

[60] On this meaning of *śeṣavat* cf. PVin II.2, nn. 433, 436 and Iwata 1993: n. 18.

[61] Cf. PVSV on v. 331 and PVSV, p. 609.7f.

The same fault occurs also in the indirect inference (*avīta, āvīta*)[62] employed by Uddyotakara in his attempt to prove the existence of an *ātman* by arguing that a living body is not without a soul, because if this were the case the body would be without breath, etc.[63].

Another important area of Indian philosophy to which Dharmakīrti made a significant contribution is the "rules of debate", and his reductionism in this area can be observed in his elaborate treatise on this subject, the *Vādanyāya*. Our source material in this domain is in general unfortunately still very scanty and full of gaps. The textual situation has significantly improved since Tucci published his pioneering studies on Buddhist logic before Dignāga[64] and the translations into Sanskrit of the **Upāyahṛdaya* and the **Tarkaśāstra*[65]; the Sanskrit text of *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya* has been published by Tatia[66] and that of the *hetuvidyā* section of the *Yogācārabhūmi* by Pandey[67] and later on critically by Yaita[68]. However, these sources seem to have become obsolete by Dharmakīrti's time and are of negligible relevance to the discussion in the *Vādanyāya*. On the other hand, the most important Buddhist works on debate in Dharmakīrti's time, as can be gleaned from Śāntarakṣita's commentary[69], namely, the *Vādavidhāna*, etc., of Vasubandhu and the *Nyāyaparīkṣā* of Dignāga, are now lost with the exception of a few fragments quoted by Uddyotakara[70]. Furthermore, some of the Nyāya authors against whom Dharmakīrti formulated his arguments, such as Prīticandra, Bhāvivikta, etc.[71], are hardly more than names to us. *Prima facie*, therefore, it seems difficult to assess

[62] For a discussion of these variants cf. Franco 1999a.

[63] Cf. NV, p. 291.2f. on 1.1.35: *udāharaṇaṃ tu nedaṃ nirātmakaṃ jīvaccharīram aprāṇādimattvaprasaṅgāt. ...* . This statement is quoted (without *udāharaṇaṃ tu*) in PVSV, p. 13.1. Cf. also PVin II, p. 104, and pp. 124-125 (tr.) with n. 479.

[64] Cf. Tucci 1929a.

[65] Cf. Tucci 1929b.

[66] 1976. See Bibliography.

[67] 1986. See Bibliography.

[68] 1992. See Bibliography.

[69] Cf. VA, p. 135.29: *nanu cāyaṃ vādanyāyamārgaḥ sakalaloka[ā]<a>nibandhana-bandhunā vādavidhānādāv āryavasubandhunā mahārājapathīkṛtaḥ, kṣuṇṇaś ca tadanu mahatyāṃ nyāyaparīkṣāyāṃ kumatimatamattamātaṅgaśiraḥpīṭhapāṭanapaṭubhir ācāryadiṅnāgapādaiḥ.*

[70] Cf. Frauwallner 1933; cf. also Much 1991b.

[71] Cf. VA, p. 136.18-19 where Śāntarakṣita identifies some of Dharmakīrti's opponents who are referred to in the final verse of the VN as the ignorant people (*durvidagdha-jana*) who obscure the light of truth: *uddyotakara-prīticandra-bhāvivikta-prabhṛtiḥ.*

what constitutes Dharmakīrti's original contribution on the rules of debate and where he follows his predecessors. Yet these texts are perhaps not of cardinal importance for understanding the historical position of the *Vādanyāya*, because it is not a general treatise on debate, but deals only with a single topic, the *nigrahasthāna*s, and there is some evidence to suggest that this topic was not dealt with at all in the *Vādavidhāna*. As for the *Nyāyaparīkṣā*, Much has collected all the relevant fragments quoted in the *Nyāyavārttika* on the *nigrahasthāna*-section of the *NS*. The general impression one obtains from these fragments is that Dharmakīrti does not rely heavily on Dignāga, but goes his own way. Except for arguments against specific types of *nigrahasthāna*s, most of which Dharmakīrti endorses, all that is known about Dignāga's own treatment of the topic is contained in two fragments. The first fragment enumerates the faults due to which a thesis can be criticized, namely, incompleteness (of the members of a proof), mistakes in the members and the reply, and the possibility of reproach[72]. The second fragment states that all the modes of proof and criticism are mentally construed and are not derived from real distinctions among things[73]. As far as his Naiyāyika opponents are concerned, Dharmakīrti argues mainly against Vātsyāyana and Uddyotakara; Prīticandra and Bhāvivikta seem to be only of secondary importance.

Dharmakīrti divides the *nigrahasthāna*s into two categories. Those occurring to the proponent (*vādin*) are grouped together under the expression *asādhanāṅgavacana*, those occurring to the opponent (*prativādin*) under the expression *adoṣodbhāvana*. This division seems to evoke the definition of *vāda* in the *Vādavidhāna*[74]. The former compound is analysed by Dharmakīrti in nine different ways[75], the latter in two ways, giving altogether eleven types of *nigrahasthāna*[76].

[72] Cf. NV, p. 1160.10-11 (introduction to V.2.1): *evaṃ cāhuḥ: dūṣaṇāni nyūnatāvayavottaradoṣākṣepabhāvodbhāvanāni. ebhir hy asau parapakṣo dūṣyate.*

[73] Cf. NV, p. 1160.18-19: *tatra ya evam āhuḥ: sarvo 'yaṃ sādhanadūṣaṇaprakāro buddhyārūḍho na vāstava iti*. As pointed out by Much (Much 1991b: 213), this fragment reminds one of the famous quotation from the *Nyāyamukha* in PVSV, p. 2.22-3.1: *sarva evāyam anumānānumeyavyavahāro buddhyārūḍhena dharmadharmibhedeneti*.

[74] Cf. fragments 3 and 4 in Frauwallner's enumeration: *svaparapakṣayoḥ siddhyasiddhyarthaṃ vacanaṃ vādaḥ* and *te [siddhyasiddhī] sādhanadūṣaṇaiḥ*.

[75] This is accomplished by construing the negation either with *sādhanāṅga* or with *vacana*, and by interpreting *sādhana* and *aṅga* in various ways; cf. VN, Appendix II, p. 129.

[76] This has been pointed out for the first time in Much 1986. Previous attempts to analyze the various interpretations of the compound, such as by E. Solomon (1976: 249-253) were not entirely successful because no reliable edition of the text was available.

In the second part of the *Vādanyāya*, Dharmakīrti analyzes and criticizes each of the 22 types of the Nyāya *nigrahasthānas*. He argues that certain *nigrahasthānas* should be grouped together (e.g., *nirarthaka*, *avijñātārtha* and *apārthaka*), points out internal contradictions (e.g., the requirement not to repeat oneself, *punarukta*, which should be included in *adhika* anyway, contradicts the requirement to repeat a statement three times in case of the opponent's *avijñātārtha* and *ananubhāṣaṇa*), disputes that certain examples should constitute points of defeat, etc. It is impossible to summarize Dharmakīrti's elaborate criticism here. Because he says in the programmatic verse that there are no other *nigrahasthānas* except *asādhanāṅgavacana* and *adoṣodbhāvana* (*anyat tu na yuktam iti neṣyate*)[77], one would expect him to include all *nigrahasthānas* in either the one or the other of these two groups. And indeed, on several occasions he does so explicitly; *arthāntara*, for instance, is said to be of either type[78]. However, while criticizing *ajñāna* Dharmakīrti goes a step further, and the following statement reflects not only on the reduction of the Nyāya *nigrahasthānas*, but also on his own eleven types of points of defeat: "Furthermore, there is no proper point of defeat for the opponent and the proponent except for the pseudo-reasons and lack in ideas [what to say]. Merely by mentioning these two everything is said"[79].

Finally, I may be expected to mention here what seems like the most significant reductionist step in Dharmakīrti's epistemology, namely, the reduction of the twofold object of the means of knowledge (*prameya*) into the particular (*svalakṣaṇa*). As is well-known, Dignāga states at the beginning of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* that there are two means of knowledge because there are two types of object of means of knowledge, and that except for the particular (*svalakṣaṇa*) and the universal (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) there is no other object for the means of knowledge. Yet Dharmakīrti clearly says that there is only one object for the means of knowledge: *meyaṃ tv ekaṃ svalakṣaṇam*[80]. However, I am reluctant to consider this statement as another case of reductionism. I would rather claim that Dharmakīrti responds to a crucial problem that Dignāga did not attempt to solve. Since the universal is unreal, the question had arisen how inference that has a fictitious universal

[77] Cf. VN, v. 1.

[78] Cf. VN, p. 40.16-18.

[79] Cf. VN, p. 58.10-12: *api ca na pūrvottaravādino hetvābhāsāpratibhābhyām anyan nigrahasthānaṃ nyāyyam asti. tadubhayavacanenaiva sarvam uktam iti.* Cf. also VN, p. 60.6f.

[80] Cf. PV III 53d. Cf. also PVin II, pp. 26-28, translation pp. 29-30.

for its object could be considered as a means of knowledge. Dignāga, as far as I can see, provides no direct answer to this question. Dharmakīrti's answer is that in order to be a means of knowledge inference too must in the final analysis apprehend the particular; consequently he modifies the theory of the two *prameyas* as referring to two aspects of the particular. What Dignāga would have said about this modification is a fascinating question that we unfortunately cannot answer.

ABBREVIATIONS

AKBh	Abhidharmakośabhāṣya
AKV	Abhidharmakośavyākhyā
BCAP	Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā
JM	Jayamaṅgalā (on Sāṃkhyakārikā)
NS	Nyāyasūtra
NV	Nyāyavārttika
NVTṬ	Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā
PV	Pramāṇavārttika (Miyasaka ed.)
PV I	(See PVSV)
PV II	(For vv. 131cd-285, see Vetter 1984)
PVA	Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra
PVP	Pramāṇavārttikapañjikā
PVSV	Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti
PVSVṬ	Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛttiṭīkā
PVV	Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti
PVin II	Pramāṇaviniścayaḥ II (see Steinkellner 1973, 1979)
VA	Vipañcitārthā
VN	Vādanyāya
VS	Vaiśeṣikasūtra

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ON THE DATE OF VINĪTADEVA[1]

Vinītadeva's date of activity is claimed in a variety of ways in previous studies as being about 700 A.D.[2], the eighth century[3], c. 645-715[4], c. 710-770[5], the end of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth[6], as well as some other views[7]. However, the only point certain so far is that Vinītadeva flourished between Dharmakīrti and Dharmottara[8].

In the 27th chapter of his History of Buddhism, Tāranātha mentions the name Vinītadeva[9], together with other Buddhists such as Jñānagarbha, Kambala and *upāsaka* Asvabhāva. The chapter describes the Buddhist circumstances under the reign of Govicandra and others, where the name Vinītadeva is found after the reference to King Lalitacandra[10] and others.

[1] This article is the enlargement of the discussions in Funayama 1995b: 53-56. I am obliged to Mr. Anthony R. Black for improvement in the English.

[2] Vidyabhusana 1921: 320f.; cf. Naudou 1968: 62 "... Vinītadeva au VIII[e] siècle, plus précisément sans doute à la première moitié de ce siècle, et peut-être aux alentours de l'an 700"; cf. also the table of chronology (Vinītadeva as being c. 630-700) in Mimaki 1976: 6f.

[3] Not a few studies take Vinītadeva simply to be a master in the eighth century; e.g., Bareau 1954: 232.

[4] Jaini 1986: 470. The reason for this dating is not clear to me.

[5] Steinkellner 1967: 18.

[6] Lamotte 1976: 602.

[7] Nagasawa (1969: 13) assumes Vinītadeva's date to be c. 650-700. This is based on his supposition that a Jñānagarbha (c. 700-760; *loc. cit.*), one of the translators of Vinītadeva's *Saṃbandhaparīkṣāṭīkā* into Tibetan, is the same as the author of the *Satyadvayavibhāga*. However, this identification is not free from doubt. For the possible existence of different persons with the name Jñānagarbha, see Matsumoto 1978: 109f. and Ruegg 1981: 69 n. 224.

[8] Malvania's introduction to DhPr (p. xxiv), Steinkellner 1967: 18 n. 7.

[9] He is mentioned as "the master Vinītadeva of Śrī Nālandā" (*dpal Nā landār slob dpon Dul ba lha*). Tāranātha's History of Buddhism 152, 1f.; Schiefner 1869: 198.

[10] Lalitacandra was the successor of Govicandra and the last king of Candra Dynasty. See also n. 11 below.

Hence some previous studies[11] take Vinītadeva as belonging to Lalitacandra's age. However, it is not fully clear in the text whether Vinītadeva belongs exactly to Lalitacandra's time or to the time of his younger contemporaries[12]. Above all, we do not have enough information about these kings. According to R.C. Majumdar (1954: 144), Govicandra and Lalitacandra reigned early in the eighth century[13].

The present article is an investigation into the relative chronology of Vinītadeva with special reference to the relationship between Vinītadeva's *Hetubinduṭīkā* (abbrev. as **V**, hereafter), Arcaṭa's *Hetubinduṭīkā* (abbrev. as **A**, hereafter) and Śākyabuddhi's *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* (abbrev. as **Ś**, hereafter).

As for the life-period of Śākyabuddhi, a grand-disciple of Dharmakīrti, Frauwallner's assumption to place him in c. 660-720[14] is generally accepted among present researchers. On the other hand, the date of Arcaṭa, whose disciple was Dharmottara according to Tibetan tradition, is assumed by Frauwallner to be c. 730-790 in connection with his dating of Dharmottara as being c. 750-810[15]. The date of Dharmottara has, however, recently been adjusted to c. 740-800 by Helmut Krasser (1992), therefore Arcaṭa's date should also be shifted to a little earlier time. I tentatively place Arcaṭa in c. 710-770 as a master one generation (or about thirty years) before Dharmottara.

[11] E.g., Das 1908: xlix, Vidyabhusana 1921: 320.

[12] Tāranātha states: "... *Lalitacandra was thus the last king of the *Candra dynasty. After him, though many *kṣatriya*-s were born in the *Candra line, none of them actually ruled the country. In *Bhaṃgala, *Oḍiviśa, etc. – the five regions in the east – those who were born in the royal family lived as ministers, *brāhmaṇa*-s, rich merchants, etc and were lords in their respective spheres. But there was no king as such ruling the state. During this period lived *siddha-rāja* Sahajalalita and Vinītadeva, the *ācārya* of Śrī *Nalendra [sic]. ..." (Chimpa *et al.* 1970: 251).

[13] Further, the 27th and the 28th chapters of Tāranātha's History of Buddhism seem to suggest that the time of Govicandra and Lalitacandra (the 27th chapter) overlapped to some extent with the time of King Gopāla of Pāla Dynasty (the 28th chapter), because several Buddhist masters of the same name (e.g., Śāntiprabha, Jñānagarbha) are mentioned as contemporaries of the kings in both chapters. In that case, Govicandra and Lalitacandra are likely to have preceded Gopāla slightly. Gopāla's reign is considered to be c. 750-70 (Majumdar 1955: 45) or c. 750-75 (Sircar 1977: 967).

[14] Frauwallner 1961: 145.

[15] Frauwallner 1961: 146-148.

I. Preliminary Remarks

In the opening section of **A**, Arcaṭa introduces and criticizes the idea of certain opponents that the opening sentence, which expresses the aim of a treatise and so on (*ādivākya, prayojanādivākya*), is stated in order to motivate thereby a person toward learning the treatise (*śrotṛjanapravṛttyartham*). Arcaṭa's idea is summarized as follows: all human activity (*pravṛtti*) is based only on ascertainment (*niścaya*) and the ascertainment only on a means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*), whereas the opening sentence cannot be a means of valid cognition because to Buddhists a word doesn't have a direct relation with an external object; therefore, listening to it doesn't function as a basis of learning-activity; this is why the idea of his opponents is not tenable. After such a refutation, Arcaṭa advances his own view that the aim of a treatise, etc., is clarified by its *ādivākya* at the beginning of the treatise in order to remove the misunderstanding of a person who conceives 'Learning this treatise is meaningless because it is devoid of an aim!'[16].

Arcaṭa's idea seems to have largely prevailed for decades, even exerting influence over the works of Jinendrabuddhi (c. 710-770)[17] and Śāntarakṣita (c. 725-788), until it was finally refuted by Kamalaśīla (c. 740-795), who supported once again the traditional idea which had been the target of Arcaṭa's criticism[18].

On the other hand, Vinītadeva's view on this issue in his *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* is very simple: "The relation (between the treatise and its aim) and so forth is stated in order to generate in the learner's mind an incentive (/ motivation) to study the treatise" (*ñan pa po spro ba skyed pa'i don du 'brel pa la sogs pa brjod do //*)[19]. One cannot detect any of Arcaṭa's influence in this statement. Drawing the conclusions from this rationally, we are led to two possibilities: Vinītadeva was either 1) a master before Arcaṭa or 2) after Kamalaśīla. The latter alternative however implies that Vinītadeva comes to be placed after Dharmottara, which is highly improbable. Therefore, it seems likely that Vinītadeva was a master who did not know anything about Arcaṭa's new theory of *prayojana*, etc. Thus

[16] Funayama 1995a: 188f.

[17] For this dating see Funayama 1999: 85-92.

[18] In the opening section of the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*, Kamalaśīla explicitly states, "*śrotṛjanapravṛttyarthaḥ prayojanādivākyopanyāsa iti sthitam*": see Funayama 1995a: 193 n. 60.

[19] See Funayama 1995a: 195f. n. 67.

the comparison between Arcaṭa and Vinītadeva on the aim of a treatise suggests that possibly Vinītadeva flourished before Arcaṭa.

II. Vinītadeva as Being Placed Between Śākyabuddhi's and Arcaṭa's Activities

It is worthy of mention that in Dharmakīrti's writings he repeatedly employed passages verbatim from his previous works, where there were no changes in his theory; e.g., quite a few passages of the *Pramāṇavārttika*[*sva*]*vṛtti* (PVSV) are reused in the *Pramāṇaviniścaya II* and once again in the *Hetubindu*. This enables us to compare some, if not many, passages of **V** with those of **Ś** and **A**, beyond the difference of the *mūla*-text, regarding the one and the same word-usages of Dharmakīrti.

I use the following conventions for the sake of clarifying the relationships between **V, A** and **Ś**[20]:

bold: *pratīka,* or the words cited from Dharmakīrti's text and commented upon in **V, A** and **Ś.**

italics: literally identical word-usage occuring in **Ś** and **V/A.**

underline: literally identical word-usage occuring in **V** and **A.**

1. **Ś, V** and **A** on the subject of inference (*pakṣa*).

In the first stanza of the *Pramāṇavārttika I*, Dharmakīrti defines logical reason (*hetu*) as that which is the attribute of the subject of inference (*pakṣa*) and which is pervaded by the pervader[21]. In commenting upon 'subject' here, Dharmakīrti's self-commentary runs as follows: *pakṣo dharmī, avayave samudāyopacārāt* (PVSV 1, 12; = HB 1*, 6). 'Subject (*pakṣa*) means the attribute-bearer (*dharmin*; locus), because the word (which originally signify) the whole complex is metaphorically used in the sense of its part'. Now let us compare **Ś, V** and **A** on this point.

Śākyabuddhi

mdo [PV I 1a; = HB 1*, 4] *las* ***phyogs chos*** *źes bśad pa / phyogs ni chos daṅ chos can gyi spyi la bya na / gtan tshigs ni spyi'i* [D: *spyi yi* P] *chos ñid yin par phyir rgol ba la ma grub po // 'on te grub na ni rjes su dpag pa don med do źe na //* ***phyogs ni chos can no*** *źes bya ba smos te /* **ñe**

[20] The conventions are not applied to the passages other than **V, A** and **Ś.**

[21] PV I 1: *pakṣadharmas tadaṃśena vyāpto hetus tridhaiva saḥ / avinābhāvaniyamād dhetvābhāsas tato 'pare //* (= HB 1*, 4f.)

bar btags pa'i phyir ro sñam du bsam pa yin no // … (**Ś** P, Je, 7b1-3; D, Je, 6b1f.)[22].

Vinītadeva
mdo [HB 1*, 4; = PV I 1a] *las* ***phyogs kyi chos ni gtan tshigs so*** *źes bśad pa* de la / *gal te spyi phyogs yin par gzuṅ* [D: bzuṅ P] *na ni* de'i tshe *gtan tshigs ma grub par* 'gyur ba '*am / grub na yaṅ rjes su dpag pa don med par* 'gyur ro *sñam du sems pa la /* ***phyogs ni chos can te*** *źes bya ba smos te* / 'dir chos can phyogs kyi sgrar bśad kyi spyi ni ma yin no sñam du dgoṅs pa'o [P: so D] // de'i phyir chos can gyi chos gtan tshigs yin par bśad par 'gyur ro // ci'i phyir chos can 'ba' [P: 'ga' D] źig la phyogs źes bya sñam pa la de'i phyir / **yan lag la** [P: om. D] **spyi** [P: spy'i D] **ñe bar btags pa'i phyir ro** źes bya ba smos te / phyogs źes bya ba spyi la yan lag gñis yod de / chos daṅ chos can no // de bas na 'dir chos can tsam 'ba' źig la spyi ñe bar btags nas chos can la phyogs kyi sgrar bśad do // (**V** P, She, 126b6-127a2; D, Ve, 102b5-7).

Arcaṭa
pakṣadharma [HB 1*, 4; = PV I 1a] ity atra hetulakṣaṇe 'pi kriyamāṇe *yadi samudāyaḥ pakṣo gṛhyate* yo 'numānaviṣayas tadā sarvo hetur *asiddhaḥ. siddhau vānumānavaiyarthyam ity āha* ***pakṣo dharmīti.*** kathaṃ punaḥ samudāyavacanaḥ pakṣaśabdo dharmimātre vartata ity cet. **avayave samudāyopacārāt**. pakṣākhyasya hi samudāyasya dvāv avayavau, dharmī dharmaś ca. tad atra dharmimātre samudāyopacārāt pakṣaśabdo vartate. tadekadeśatvaṃ ca samudāyopacāranimittam iti na sādhyadharmiṇo 'nyatra tatprasaṅgaḥ… (**A** 11, 18-25)[23].

It is clear from these passages that **Ś** is the simplest in style among the three. Sentences of **Ś** in italics are judged to be reused in **V,** and not vice

[22] A similar expression is found in PVSVṬ 12, 16-20: *pakṣadharma ity uktaṃ sūtre. pakṣadharmaś ca dharmadharmisamudāyaḥ. na ca prativādinaṃ prati samudāyadharmatvaṃ hetoḥ siddham. tena sa sarvo hetur asiddhaḥ syāt. siddhau vānumānasya vaiyarthyam ity āha pakṣo dharmīti. avayave samudāyopacārāt. ekadeśatvaṃ ca samudāyopacāranimittam. tena dṛṣṭāntadharmī pakṣa ucyate.* For the date of PVSVṬ (c. 800, after Dharmottara) see Steinkellner 1979.

[23] Cf. NPVP 46, 30-47, 2: *kathaṃ punaḥ samudāyavacanaḥ sanpakṣaśabdo* [sic] *dharmimātre vartata iti ced āha "avayave" ityādi. pakṣākhyasya hi samudāyasya dvāv avayavau dharmī dharmaś ca. tatra hetulakṣaṇe niścetavye dharmimātre samudāyopacārāt pakṣaśabdo vartate. mukhyapakṣaikadeśatvaṃ cātra samudāyopacāranimittam iti na sādhyadharmiṇo 'nityatvapakṣatvaprasaṅgaḥ.*

versa, because the discussion in **V** begins with the parallel passages to those of **Ś** and only afterwards further explanations are given in **V**. This will prove that **V** is composed with knowledge of **Ś**. I think that Vinītadeva was active after Śākyabuddhi. The underlined passages show parallels between **V** and **A**, which I would like to take as suggesting **V**'s precedence to **A**. However, this idea of mine will need further examination.

2. **Ś, V** and **A** on the definition of pervasion (*vyāpti*).

Dharmakīrti defines pervasion (or logical concomitance) in PVSV 2, 12f. as *vyāptir vyāpakasya tatra bhāva eva* [A], *vyāpyasya vā tatraiva bhāvaḥ* [B]. "Pervasion is that the pervader necessarily exists when the (pervaded) exists [A], or alternatively, that the pervaded exists only when the (pervader) exists [B]".

Regarding these two definitions, Śākyabuddhi explains the reason the limitative particle *eva* is added to *bhāva* in Definition A, and to *tatra* in Definition B, by rejecting the other possibilities for the location of *eva* in each definition[24]. Further, he points out that the function of *eva* in Definition A is the exclusion of the non-connection (*ayogavyavaccheda*) and that the function of *eva* in Definition B is the exclusion of the connection with that which is other than the qualificand (*anyayogavyavaccheda*)[25].

As a whole, the commenting-style in **V** and **A** is not much different from that in **Ś**. However, there are some passages which are almost literally the same in **V** and **A** but are not found in **Ś**.

The following passages are the explanations on 1) the reason Definition B cannot be made in the form of *vyāpyasya tatra bhāva eva* and on 2) the reason both Definitions A and B should be presented[26]. Just like the passages shown above, these passages will also prove **Ś**'s precedence to **V** and **A**:

Śākyabuddhi

1) *mthun pa'i phyogs gcig la yod pa gtan tshigs ma yin par 'gyur du 'oṅ bas de la khyab par* [P: *pa* D] *bya ba yod pa kho na yin no źes bya bar*

[24] There are six possible cases all together, of which only 3 and 5 are logically true:

[A] 1. *vyāpakasyaiva tatra bhāvaḥ* (false)
2. *vyāpakasya tatraiva bhāvaḥ* (false)
3. *vyāpakasya tatra bhāva eva* (true)

[B] 4. *vyāpyasyaiva tatra bhāvaḥ* (false)
5. *vyāpyasya tatraiva bhāvaḥ* (true)
6. *vyāpyasya tatra bhāva eva* (false)

[25] PVṬ P, Je, 10b2f., 10b6-8; D, Je, 9a1f., 9a4f.

[26] The explanation on the second point is not found in **Ś**.

ṅes par gzuṅ ba yaṅ ma yin no // brtsal [D: *bsal* P] *ma thag tu 'byuṅ ba ñid mi rtag pa la gdon mi za bar yod pa ma yin te / glog la sogs pa la med pa'i phyir ro //* (**Ś** P, Je, 11a1-3; D, Je, 9a6f.)[27].

Vinītadeva

1) 'on te *de la khyab par bya ba yod pa kho na yin no*[28] *źes ṅes par gzuṅ bar bya'o* źe na ni / de'i tshe *mthun pa'i phyogs gcig la 'jug pa gtan tshigs ñid du mi 'gyur te / mi rtag pa dag* [D: *pa dag* om. P] *la brtsal ma thag tu 'byuṅ ba yod par gdon mi za ba ma* [D: om. P] *yin te / glog la med pa'i phyir ro //* thun moṅ yaṅ gtan tshigs su 'gyur te / 'di ltar rtag pa dag la ni gźal bya ñid yod par gdon mi za ba yin no // 2) khyab pa khyab par bya ba daṅ khyab par byed pa'i ṅo bo'i chos su brjod pa ni ldan pa bźin du gñi ga'i rnam pa gcig tu rtogs par 'gyur du 'oṅ ba rab tu bstan pa'i phyir te / … 'dir ni khyab par byed pa la ltos na [D: nas P] ni ma 'brel pa rnam par bcad pas khyab pa yin la / khyab par bya ba la ltos na ni gźan daṅ 'brel pa rnam par bcad pas 'brel pa yin pas 'brel pa rnam pa tha dad par rtogs so // re źig de ltar khyab pa gñi gar bstan to // (**V** P, She, 131b5-8, 132a1-3; D, Ve, 106b1-3, 4-5).

Arcaṭa

1) nāpi *vyāpyasya tatra bhāva eveti, sapakṣaikadeśavṛtter ahetutvaprāpteḥ*. sādhāraṇasya ca hetutvaṃ syāt, prameyatvasya nityeṣv avaśyaṃbhāvād iti. 2) vyāpyavyāpakadharmatāsaṃvarṇanaṃ tu vyāpter ubhayatra tulyadharmatayaikākārā pratītiḥ saṃyogivat mā bhūd iti pradarśanārtham. tathā hi, pūrvatrāyogavyavacchedenāvadhāraṇam, uttaratrānyayogavyavacchedeneti kuta ubhayatraikākāratā vyāpteḥ… (**A** 18, 11-17).

3. **Ś**, **V** and **A** on the notion of 'all-inclusive pervasion' (*sarvopasaṃhāravyāpti*).

Dharmakīrti admits two kinds of syllogism (*prayoga*): syllogism formulated by the method of agreement (*sādharmyeṇa*) and that by the method of difference (*vaidharmyeṇa*). Regarding this, he advances the notion

[27] Cf. PVSVṬ 17, 3-5: *nāpy vyāpyasya tatra bhāva evety avadhāryate, sapakṣaikadeśavṛtter ahetutvaprāpteḥ. sādhāraṇasya ca hetutvaṃ syāt, prameyatvasya nityeṣv avaśyaṃbhāvād iti,* where the first sentence is common in **Ś**, **V** and **A**, but the second sentence is not found in **Ś**.

[28] *de la khyab par bya ba yod pa kho na yin no* (= *vyāpyasya tatra bhāva eva*) corr.: *de kho na la khyab par bya ba yod do* PD (= *vyāpyasya tatraiva bhāvaḥ*).

called 'indication of pervasion by subsuming each and every case' (*sarvopa-saṃhāreṇa vyāptipradarśana°*) and insists on the logical equivalence between the positive and negative concomitances (i.e., *anvaya* and *vyati-reka*). This idea is indicated possibly for the first time in the Hetubindu 5*, 21f[29]. It is sometimes expressed using other words such as *sarvopasaṃhā-ravyāpti* and *sarvopasaṃhāravatī vyāptiḥ* in the context of *sattvānumāna* in the controversy regarding *antarvyāpti*[30] and *bahirvyāpti* at the last stage of the Buddhist *pramāṇa*-tradition.

The term *sarvopasaṃhāravyāpti* is often mentioned in commentaries which explain the significance of 'all' (*sarvam*) in a stock example of *sādharmyaprayoga*: 'All that is existent is momentary as, for example, a jar and the like; and sound is existent'. Of course Śākyabuddhi knew this term, but, as far as I know, he does not develop any special views through the use of this term in **Ś**.

In commenting upon the passage we are concerned with in the *Hetubindu*, Vinītadeva and Arcaṭa elucidate the term in the following ways:

Vinītadeva
chos mthun pa can ñid daṅ chos mi mthun pa can ñid kyi sbyor ba dag gis khyab pa rab tu ston gyi / ji ltar gźan dag gis bsgrub par bya ba'i chos can yoṅs su spaṅs nas khyab pa gźan rab tu ston pa lta bu ni ma yin te / **thams cad** smos pas [D: pa P] ni khyab pa gźan dgag pa'i phyir ro // ... . gaṅ gi tshe thams cad ñe bar bsdus nas khyab pa rab tu ston pa de'i tshe chos kyis [D: kyi P] khyad par du byas pa'i chos can yaṅ rtogs pa kho na ma yin nam / de'i phyir rjes su dpag pa ni dran pa ñid du 'gyur ro źe na / bśad pa </> gaṅ byas pa de ni mi rtag pa'o źes bya bar spyir rtogs kyi khyab pa'i tshe sgra ni mi rtag go źes bya ba 'di ni rtogs par mi nus so // de'i phyir chos can gyi ṅo bo rtogs pa'i rjes su dpag pa ji ltar dran pa yin par 'gyur ro // (**V** P, She, 145b2-3, 4-6; D, Ve, 117a3-4, 5-6)

Arcaṭa
sarvagrahaṇena[31] cāśeṣaparigrahād bahirvyāpter nirāsaḥ. ... tataś ca ye sādhyadharmiṇaṃ parihṛtya bahirvyāptiṃ pradarśayanti te yady api

[29] Ono *et al.* 1996 lists only one usage of *sarvopasaṃhāreṇa vyāptipradarśana°* (= HB 5*, 21) in the Sanskrit texts of Dharmakīrti. I have not checked whether it appears also in the third chapter of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.

[30] For *antarvyāpti* in connection with *sarvopasaṃhāravyāpti* see Mimaki 1976: 51-54 and 1984: 233-238.

[31] The edition of A has *atra* before *sarva°*; the word is omitted in the Tibetan translation.

dṛṣṭāntadharmiṇi sādhyadharmeṇa sādhanadharmo vyāptas tāvatāsya sarvatra tathābhāvābhāvāt sādhyasiddhir ayukteti nirastā bhavanti. ... na ca sarvopasaṃhāreṇa vyāptipradarśane 'pi dharmaviśiṣṭo dharmy api tadaiva pratīyate, yataḥ pakṣadharmopadarśanottarakālabhāvino 'numānasya smṛtitvaṃ syāt. tasyāḥ sādhyadharmiṇi sādhyadharmāvinābhūtasādhanadharmapratītinibandhanatvena tadupadarśanāt prāg asaṃbhavāt. tatpūrvikāyāṃ ca vyāptau anantaraṃ viśeṣaviṣayam anumānaṃ kathaṃ smṛtiḥ syād iti. (**A** 62, 8-9, 22-25; 63, 4-9).

What is meant by the term *sarvopasaṃhāra*? Of the above passages Vinītadeva intends that the term excludes the other type of pervasion (*khyab pa gźan*; **anyā vyāptiḥ*), which is actually meant for external pervasion (*bahirvyāpti*)[32], though he does not say anything about what he means by the word *anya* 'the other type', whereas Arcaṭa explicitly states in the same context that the term *sarvopasaṃhāra* negates external pervasion (*bahirvyāpti*).

On the other hand, Śāntarakṣita in his commentary on the Vādanyāya interprets the point in a yet different way:

> ... ***tat sarvam*** *ity anena sarvopasaṃhāreṇa vyāptipradarśanaṃ kathayati. kimartham. vipratipattinirāsārtham. tathā hi, pakṣasapakṣāpekṣayāntarvyāptir bahirvyāptiś ca pradarśyata ity eke vipratipannāḥ. tac ca na yuktam, vastubalāyātatvād vyāpteḥ* (Vip 5, 29-6, 8)[33].

To Śāntarakṣita, the notion of *sarvopasaṃhāravyāpti* held by Dharmakīrti is neither the same as *bahirvyāpti* nor *antarvyāpti*. It seems to be the case that by the term *antarvyāpti* Śāntakarṣita intends the notion maintained by Jainas, and not the one by the Buddhist *antarvyāptivādin* in later periods.

I would like to interpret the development in the theory of *antar- / bahirvyāpti* during the eighth century by distinguishing three stages: 1) *sarvopasaṃhāravyāpti* as being opposite to **anyā vyāptiḥ* [by Vinītadeva]; 2) *sarvopasaṃhāravyāpti* as being opposite to *bahirvyāpti* [by Arcaṭa]; and 3) *sarvopasaṃhāravyāpti* as being opposite to both *bahirvyāpti* and *antarvyāpti*

[32] Vinītadeva states, "(Certain people) indicate the other type of pervasion by disregarding the subject of inference." (*gźan dag gis bsgrub par bya ba'i chos can yoṅs su spaṅs nas khyab pa gźan rab tu ston pa*). Cf. Arcaṭa's statement "(Certain people) indicate external pervasion by disregarding the subject of inference." (*ye sādhyadharmiṇaṃ parihṛtya bahirvyāptiṃ pradarśayanti*).

[33] The significance of this passage in connection with Arcaṭa's statement is already noticed by Mimaki 1984: 236 and Bhattacharya 1986: 94.

[by Śāntarakṣita]. On this line of development, Vinītadeva's idea is to be interpreted as being less mature than Arcaṭa's, let alone than Śāntarakṣita's. I think that this relationship between Vinītadeva, Arcaṭa and Śāntarakṣita is explained most easily by the sequential order of their compositions, though it is not entirely impossible to assume that the parallel passages discernible between **V** and **A** were the influences of a third text which precedes both and that **V** was composed after **A** without any knowledge of **A**.

If this conjecture is not mistaken, Vinītadeva can be placed between Śākyabuddhi (c. 660-720) and Arcaṭa (c. 710-770): the hypothesis is that Vinītadeva was a master after Śākyabuddhi by about one generation (c. 690-750)[34]. This dating is compatible with the Tibetan tradition of placing Vinītadeva earlier than Gopāla's reign[35]. At any rate, it seems to be the case that, among the dates of Vinītadeva propounded so far, the ideas of c. 700 and c. 645-715 are too early in view of his relation to Śākyabuddhi, and the end of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth is too late from the point of view of Dharmottara's date.

III. Vinītadeva and Śāntabhadra

Commentaries on Dharmottara's *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* testify that Śāntabhadra wrote a commentary on the Nyāyabindu before the activity of Dharmottara. Since the work is not extant, we cannot say anything certain about him. But we are able to ascertain some tendency in his commentary from the references in the *Dharmottarapradīpa*, *Nyāyabinduṭīkāṭippaṇī* and the like.

Śāntabhadra's commentary is considered to have shared much with Vinītadeva's[36]. Also, the fact that both names are often mentioned together

[34] Incidentally, Bu ston (Obermiller 1932: 155) and Tāranātha (Schiefner 1869: 187) testify that there appeared a master *Prabhābuddhi ('Od kyi blo) as a successor of Śākyabuddhi, but from the extant sources we know nothing as to who he was. If he really existed, he must have been a contemporary of Vinītadeva.

[35] See n. 13 above.

[36] For example, the following passages of Vinītadeva and Śāntabhadra, which are the commentaries on NB I 1 (especially the word *sarvapuruṣārthasiddhi*)*, will suggest their similarity in contrast to Dharmottara's interpretation**:

Vinītadeva

***skyes bu'i don thams cad 'grub pa** źes bya ba ni skyes bu'i don yin pas na **skyes bu'i don** to // **don** źes bya ba'i sgras ni dgos pa yin par brjod de / skyes bu'i dgos pa źes bya ba'i tha tshig go // de ni thams cad kyaṅ yin la skyes bu'i don yaṅ yin pas **skyes bu'i don thams cad** de / **thams cad** ces bya ba ni thag ñe ba daṅ / ryaṅ riṅ ba daṅ / de bźin du 'jig rten pa*

in the form of *'Vinītadeva-Śāntabhadrau'* as the target of criticism in the commentaries on Dharmottara's *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* might suggest the closeness of their lifetimes, as well as the similarity of their views.

Further, as shown in the Appendix, Śāntabhadra's view on *mānasa-pratyakṣa* (mental perception) from the Sautrāntika standpoint is similar to Jñānagarbha's in the following sense: both of them insist that the existence of *mānasapratyakṣa* is demonstrated by means of an inference of the cause (*kāraṇa*) from its effect (*kārya*), whereas Dharmottara denies it and says that the existence is known only from *āgama*. Śāntabhadra and Jñānagarbha equally pay attention to the fact that the flux (*saṃtāna*) of *mānasa-pratyakṣa* and *manovikalpa* is different from that of the sense-perception, therefore they assert that some kind of indeterminate cognition must necessarily exist before the occurrence of the mental construction of blue, etc., and that such an indeterminate cognition should be *mānasapratyakṣa* as being the necessary condition for the occurrence of the mental construction of blue, etc. However, whether Śāntabhadra preceded Jñānagarbha or vice versa is not certain. Nor is it clear which Jñānagarbha he was. Scholars on Jaina epistemology[37] consider that Akalaṅka (c. 720-780?) refuted Śāntabhadra's theory of *mānasapratyakṣa*.

daṅ / 'jig rten las 'das pa daṅ / de bžin du dor bar bya ba daṅ / blaṅ bar bya ba daṅ / btaṅ sñams su bya ba'o // (NBṬ 34, 10-17)

*'**grub pa** žes bya ba'i sgra ni 'dir grub par byed pa*** žes bya bar brjod do //* (Ibid. 35, 11f.).

tena (=*vinītadevena*) *hy evaṃ vyākhyātam: "**artha**śabdena prayojanam ucyate, **puruṣa**sya prayojanaṃ dārupākādi, tasya **siddhir** niṣpattiḥ" iti* (NBṬṬ 13, 3f.).

*evaṃ ca vyācakṣāṇa **artha**padavyākhyāne "**arthaḥ** prayojanaṃ dāhādi", **siddhi**pada-vyākhyāne ca "tasya dāhāder niṣpattiḥ" iti yad vinītadeva-śāntabhadrau vyācakṣātāṃ tad dvayam apy apāsyati* (DhPr 31, 20-22).

*... yad vinītadevena vyākhyātam "**sarvaś** cāsau laukiko lokottaraś cāsannadeśo dūradeśaś ca **puruṣārthaś** ceti, tathā tasya **siddhiḥ**" iti tad dūṣayati* (DhPr 31, 27f.).

Śāntabhadra

*yo 'pi śāntabhadraḥ "**sarvaś** cāsau **puruṣārthaś** ca, **sarveṣāṃ** vā **puruṣāṇām** **arthaḥ**, tasya **siddhiḥ**" iti vyācaṣṭe so 'py . . .* (DhPr 32, 7f.).

* NB I 1: *samyagjñānapūrvikā sarvapuruṣārthasiddhir iti tad vyutpādyate.*

** NBṬDh 30,1f.: *puruṣasyārthaḥ **puruṣārthaḥ**. arthyata ity **arthaḥ**, kāmyata iti yāvat. heyo '**rthaḥ**, upādeyo vā.* Ibid. 31,1-3: ***sarvā** cāsau **puruṣārthasiddhiś** ceti. **sarva**śabda iha dravyakārtsnye vṛttaḥ, na tu prakārakārtsnye. tato nāyam arthaḥ — dviprakārāpi **siddhiḥ** **samyagjñāna**nibandhanaiveti. api tv ayam arthaḥ — yā kācit **siddhiḥ** sā **sarvā** kṛtsnaivāsau **samyagjñāna**nibandhaneti.*

*** The word *grub par byed pa* here is possibly a translation of *niṣpatti*.

[37] Especially see Mahendrakumar Jain's introdution Vol. 1 pp. 53-62 in SVṬ. According to him, Akalaṅka knew the Buddhist ideas by Arcaṭa, Dharmottara and Karṇaka-

Comparing the passages of Śāntabhadra and Jñānagarbha, I don't find an essential difference between them, setting aside the difference in the wordings. As for the identity of Jñānagarbha, the upholder of *mānasapratyakṣa* as described above, I suppose that there are three possibilities of interpretation: 1) This Jñānagarbha is the same person as the well-known Madhyamaka Jñānagarbha[38], the author of the *Satyadvayavibhāga*; 2) Both of them existed in the eighth century but they were different masters; and 3) Śāntabhadra's idea came to be wrongly attributed to the Madhyamaka Jñānagarbha in later references for some reason. We may as well not exclude even the third possibility until we get a good reason for supporting either of the other possibilities.

IV. Significance of Vinītadeva in the *pramāṇa*-Tradition

It is well known that several views of Vinītadeva's *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* were severely criticized by Dharmottara and the latter came to exert a great deal of influence over succeeding developments in the Buddhist *pramāṇa* theory. This is why Vinītadeva's ideas were not highly appreciated by modern scholars; e.g., after referring to the works of Vinītadeva, Śubhagupta, Arcaṭa, Kamalaśīla and Dharmottara, Frauwallner wrote, "Of these Vinītadeva is a mere commentator without any significance of his own. Important, on the contrary, are Śubhagupta, Arcaṭa and Dharmottara, especially the last"[39].

Indeed, we can say that Dharmottara is more significant than Vinītadeva in the history of Buddhism. However, making too little of Vinītadeva's role in support of Dharmottara cannot be a correct evaluation. On the contrary, Vinītadeva turns out to be a considerably significant commentator when one takes into account the actual philosophical circumstances before the appearance of Dharmottara.

We should regard Vinītadeva as a generalist rather than a specialist, in my conjecture. First, he was not merely a commentator on Dharmakīrti's works but also on Vasubandhu's *Viṃśatikā* and Sthiramati's *Triṃśikābhāṣya*. Further, being not only a commentator, he was also a Vinayadhara[40].

gomin. However, his dating of Dharmottara as being c. 700, as well as of Karṇakagomin as being in the eighth century, is hardly acceptable, although I am not in the position to re-examine the date of Akalaṅka.

[38] For the date and the lineage of Madhyamaka Jñānagarbha see Matsumoto 1978: 110-113.

[39] Frauwallner 1961: 147.

[40] Naudou 1968: 62.

So Vinītadeva's activity is best to be appreciated as a scholar who was quite well versed in a variety of fields of Buddhist academism[41]. Second, Vinītadeva's *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* influenced the formation of Kamalaśīla's interpretations in his *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* regarding several basic points on the theory of direct perception. For instance, Vinītadeva insisted that the term 'non-erroneous' (*abhrānta*) in Dharmakīrti's definition of direct perception should be construed in the sense of 'non-deviating' (*avisaṃvādaka*), the idea later supported by Kamalaśīla but negated by Dharmottara[42]. Precise appreciation of Vinītadeva will also bring about our better understanding of Dharmottara as to how fresh and radical Dharmottara's new interpretations were: Vinītadeva was one of the most important representatives of the Buddhist *pramāṇa*-tradition before Dharmottara.

Appendix: Śāntabhadra and Jñānagarbha on *mānasapratyakṣa*

1. Śāntabhadra

(A) *atrāha śāntabhadraḥ "tatkalpanayā bahirarthe mānasaṃ smaraṇaṃ labdham. na hi tat cakṣurādivijñānajaṃ yuktam*, bhinnasaṃtānatvāt. anyathā devadattānubhūte yajñadattasya smaraṇaṃ bhavet. mānasāt tatpratyakṣāt tatsmaraṇaṃ na virudhyate."* (SVṬ Vol. 1, 129, 6-9)

* *cakṣurādivijñānajaṃ yuktam* (conj.): *cakṣurādi jñādyuktaṃ* (*dijaṃ yuktam*) edd.

(B) *iha śāntabhadreṇa sautrāntikānāṃ mataṃ darśayatā "pūrvaṃ cakṣūrūpe cakṣurvijñānam. tatas tenendriyavijñānena sahajakṣaṇasahakāriṇā tṛtīyasmin kṣaṇe mānasapratyakṣaṃ janyate" iti vyākhyātam.* (DrPr 61, 25f.)

(C) *śāntabhadras tv āha "yady api pratyakṣatas tasya tasmād bhedo na lakṣyate, kāryato lakṣyata eva. kāryaṃ hi nīlādivikalparūpaṃ smaraṇāparavyapadeśaṃ na kāraṇam antareṇa, kādācitkatvāt. na cākṣajñānam eva tasya kāraṇam, saṃtānabhedāt prasiddhasaṃtānāntaratajjñānavat*. tato 'nyad evākṣajñānāt tat kāraṇam. tad eva ca mānasaṃ pratyakṣam" iti.* (NVV Vol. 1, 526, 22-25)

* The citation of the passage in SVṬ Vol. 1 p. 129 fn.1 reads °*vat*, while the original text of NVV reads °*va*.

[41] For the list of Vinītadeva's works preserved in Tibetan see Naudou 1968: 62f. and Jaini 1986: 470 n. 1.

[42] See Funayama 1999: 79-82. For further similarity discernible between Vinītadeva and Kamalaśīla see Funayama 1995a: 195 n. 65.

2. Jñānagarbha

(A) *tad astīti kuto 'dhigatam ity āśaṅkya "vikalpodayāt" iti sādhanam ācāryajñānagarbheṇoktam.* (citation from the commentary called *Tātparyaṭippaṇa* in Malvania's *Ṭippaṇāni* in his edition of DhPr p. 266)

(B) *evaṃjātīyakam itīndriyavijñānasadṛśaṃ tad etad dharmottareṇāgamasiddhaṃ darśayatācāryajñānagarbhaprabhṛtīnāṃ mānasasiddhaye yat pramāṇam upanyastaṃ "vikalpodayāt" iti tadbhaṅgyāvadhāraṇād eva dūṣitam. tair evaṃ vyākhyātaṃ "vyāpāravati cakṣuṣīndriyajñānam utpadyate mānasaṃ ca. na śakyate vaktuṃ dvayor yugapadutpattir nāstīti. yataḥ samānendriyayor nāsti. na bhinnendriyayoḥ. ṣaṇṇāṃ yugapadutpattir iti vacanāt. tataś ca dvayor bhinnendriyayor yugapadutpattiḥ. na ca tatra bhedenānupalabhyamānaṃ mānasaṃ nāstīti śakyate vaktum, samānajātīyanīlavikalpodayāt. yadi ca tan na mānasaṃ syāt, tatpṛṣṭabhāvī nīlavikalpo na syād eva. samānād dhi mānasād manovikalpasyotpattir bhavati, na vijātīyād indriyavijñānād iti. yathā devadattena nīle gṛhīte na yajñadattasya nīlaniścayo bhavati, tathendriyavijñānamanovijñānasaṃtānayor bhinnatvāt. na tathā mānasamanovikalpasaṃtānayor bhinnasaṃtānatvaṃ, dvayor apy anindriyatvāt, manovyapadeśāś ca" iti.* (NBṬṬ 30, 7-17)

(C) *iha pūrvaiḥ "bāhyārthālambanam evaṃvidhaṃ manovijñānam astīti kuto 'vaseyam" ity āśaṅkya "tadabhāve tadbalotpannānāṃ vikalpānām abhāvād rūpādau viṣaye vyavahārābhāvaprasaṅgaḥ syāt" ity uktam. "cakṣurādivijñānenānubhūtatvān na vikalpābhāvaḥ" iti cāśaṅkyābhihitam "devadattenāpi dṛṣṭe yajñadattasyāpi vikalpaprasaṅgaḥ". "saṃtānabhedān na bhaviṣyati" iti ca punar āśaṅkya "atrāpi saṃtānabhedād eva vikalpo na prāpnoti. yata ihāpīndriyāśrayabhedād eva saṃtānabhedo yugapatpravṛtteś ca. dīrghaśaṣkulībhakṣaṇādau hi yugapajjñānapravṛttir dṛśyate. na ca saṃtānasyaikye yugapatpravṛttir nyāyyā. tasmād rūpādivikalpābhāvo mā bhūd ity avaśyam avikalpakaṃ manovijñānam abhyupeyam. etena niścayasmaraṇābhāvaprasaṅgo 'pi ḍhaukanīyaḥ. nirvikalpakaṃ manovijñānaṃ yadi nāsty eva, tadā yogijñānābhāvaprasaṅgaḥ. asty eva nirvikalpakaṃ manojñānaṃ kiṃ tv indriyajñānapṛṣṭabhāvi nāstīti cet. sati sambhave tasyāpy astitve ko virodhaḥ. na hy atra bādhakaṃ pramāṇaṃ dṛśyate, yena tan nāstīti syāt. astitve coktaṃ pramāṇam. tasmād astīndriyajñānapṛṣṭabhāvi manojñānaṃ nirvikalpakam" ity evamādy abhihitam.* (DhPr 62, 29-63, 11)

Note: C's attribution to Jñānagarbha is my conjecture, judged from the similarity to B above.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Hetubinduṭīkā (Arcaṭa)
D	sDe dge Tibetan Tripiṭaka
DhPr	Dharmottarapradīpa
HB	Hetubindu
NB	Nyāyabindu
NBṬ	Nyāyabinduṭīkā (Vinītadeva)
NBṬDh	Nyāyabinduṭīkā (Dharmottara)
NBṬṬ	Nyāyabinduṭīkāṭippaṇī
NPVP	Nyāyapraveśavṛttipañjikā
NVV	Nyāyaviniścayavivaraṇa
P	Peking Tibetan Tripiṭaka
PV I	Pramāṇavārttika I
PVSV	Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti
PVSVṬ	Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛttiṭīkā
Ś	Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā (Śākyabuddhi)
SVṬ	Siddhiviniścayaṭīkā
V	Hetubinduṭīkā (Vinītadeva)
Vip	Vipañcitārthā Vādanyāyaṭīkā

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Nyāyabindu (Dharmakīrti); see *Dharmottarapradīpa.*

Nyāyabinduṭīkā (Dharmottara); see *Dharmottarapradīpa.*

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THE SAIDDHĀNTIKA *PARĀKHYATANTRA*, ITS ACCOUNT OF LANGUAGE, AND THE INTERPOLATION OF THE EIGHTH CHAPTER OF THE PUBLISHED *PAUṢKARĀGAMA*[1]

This article is to announce that a critical edition and annotated translation of the *Siddhāntatantra* most usually known as the *Parākhya*[2] is being prepared, and to present a sample that will give potential readers an idea of the character and interest of this text. My curiosity about the *Parākhya* was first raised by a quotation of a single half-line from its sixth chapter by Aghoraśiva in his commentary on the *Nādakārikā* (ad verse 12), introducing which Aghoraśiva suggested that Rāmakaṇṭha's doctrine of a subtle *nāda* (through which all speech is intelligible) was incompatible

[1] I am most grateful to Mr. Kei Kataoka (of the University of Tokyo) and Dr. Harunaga Isaacson (of the University of Oxford) for their suggestions and for their many corrections, as well as to Dr. Anjaneya Sarma and Mr. Somdev Vasudeva (both of the Centre for Indology of the École française d'Extrême-Orient and of the French Institute of Pondicherry). I would also like to thank Wolfson College, Oxford, which employs me as a Junior Research Fellow, as well as the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project and the institutions whose manuscripts I have consulted for this article: the French Institute of Pondicherry, the Oriental Research Institute in Mysore, the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute in Hoshiarpur, the National Archives of Kathmandu.

[2] For a discussion of its other name, *Saurabheya*, see Goodall 1998: lxv, n. 156. The discovery that chapters 1-6 and 14-15 are transmitted in a single manuscript (M^Y) preserved in Mysore and the intention of preparing for publication an 'annotated transcription of the surviving chapters' were announced (Goodall 1998: xli, n. 94) at a time when I was not confident of being able satisfactorily to edit and interpret enough of the text to attempt an edition and translation. I now think that a critical edition is possible with the help of testimonia, in the form of quotations and borrowings, gathered from other Śaiva literature. At present count, 1862 half-verses are transmitted in M^Y (all but sixteen of which are *anuṣṭubh*), and there is independent testimony in other works for 301 of these, as well as quotations of a few verses that do not fall in the chapters transmitted in M^Y. There is therefore independent testimony for just less than a sixth of the surviving text.

with Saiddhāntika scripture (see footnote 84). Though Aghoraśiva attempts there to show the positions of the *Nādakārikā* and the *Parākhya* to be consistent, an examination of chapter 6 of the latter (the first twenty-eight verses of which I present below) reveals that they are in fact discrepant. Furthermore, we can be certain that the surviving *Parākhya* is not a late South Indian composition, as so many other Siddhāntatantras very probably are[3]. For in the works of the Kashmirian exegetes of the tenth century we find quoted many lines attributed to a *Parākhya*, and almost all of these can be found in our text[4].

Among demonstrably early Saiddhāntika scriptures[5], it is not just the *Parākhya* that seems not to concur with Rāmakaṇṭha in his views about the emanation and nature of sound. This is evident, for example, in the gulf between *Kiraṇa* 3:23cd and Rāmakaṇṭha's *Kiraṇavṛtti* thereon (see Goodall 1998: 84-6 and 289-96), and in that between *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 1:5-8 and its commentary (which includes the *Nādakārikā*). There may in fact be no extant Saiddhāntika scriptural source that presents the emanation and nature of sound in the way that the writers of the mature Kashmirian Śaiva Siddhānta (i.e. Śrīkaṇṭha, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, and Rāmakaṇṭha II) do[6].

Filliozat implied in the introduction to his edition and translation of the *Nādakārikā* (1984: 224) that, though he could identify no single scriptural source for Rāmakaṇṭha's *nāda* theory, he knew of scriptural parallels[7].

[3] For discussion of the relative lateness of parts of the canon see, e.g., Brunner 1992: 32 ff, Sanderson 1992: 291 and Goodall 1998: xxxvi ff.

[4] Kṣemarāja in the tenth chapter of his *Svacchandatantroddyota* quotes from the *Parākhya* (which he refers to as the *Parā* or *Śrīparā*) seventy-eight half-verses that give *nirvacana*s of toponyms, all but four of which are to be found in M^{Y}'s text of chapter 5. (Only the half-verse he quotes ad *Svacchandatantra* 10:243ab and the last three half-verses quoted ad 10:206 are not to be found in M^{Y}'s text, and these too probably belong to *Parākhya* 5, since they provide *nirvacana*s of toponyms for which the text as transmitted by M^{Y} provides none.) Rāmakaṇṭha quotes *Parākhya* 4:45c-46b ad *Mataṅgavidyāpāda* 12:25-27b, pp. 347-8. Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha quotes *Parākhya* 4:35ab ad *Mṛgendravidyāpāda* 11:11, p. 281, and 4:19abc (in the Devakōṭṭai edition with the *Mṛgendravṛttidīpikā* [p. 67] four *pāda*s are given) ad *Mṛgendravidyāpāda* 2:7, p. 59.

[5] For a reasoned account of which Siddhāntatantras we can assume to have been known to the formative tenth-century Kashmirian Saiddhāntika thinker Rāmakaṇṭha II (and to his immediate predecessors) see Goodall 1998: xxxix-xlvii.

[6] For a characterisation of this mature Saiddhāntika view of sonic emanation (*kuṇḍalinī/bindu* → *nāda* → *bindu* → *śabdarāśi*), contrasted with the accounts of the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, the *Parākhya*, and the *Kiraṇa*, see footnote 78 below.

[7] "La source de ces idées est dans les *āgama* śivaïtes du *Śaivasiddhānta*". And later in the same paragraph (1984: 224-5): "L'ouvrage de Rāmakaṇṭha est en fait une synthèse

I have not found passages paralleling the ideas expressed in the *Nādakārikā* in the surviving early Siddhāntatantras that we can assume Rāmakaṇṭha to have known, and I assume that the scriptures Filliozat had in mind post-date Rāmakaṇṭha or are not Saiddhāntika.

Filliozat further refers (1984: 225) to the opinion of M.K. Sivaraman[8] that the source for both the expression and the substance of the ideas of the *Nādakārikā* was the *Pauṣkara*[9]. Filliozat was not convinced by this suggestion, and indeed, as I have argued (Goodall 1998: xliii-xlv), this *Pauṣkara* is probably a late South Indian text with an old title; it was unknown to Rāmakaṇṭha and the writers of his lineage. Part of this late *Pauṣkara* (chapter 6) does indeed defend the existence of a *nāda*/*sphoṭa* (see footnote 84 below); but it is almost certainly the works of the Kashmirian exegetes which served as sources for the *Pauṣkara* rather than the other way round[10].

The oddest feature of the *Pauṣkara*'s account of sound Filliozat did not mention: the *Pauṣkara*'s eighth and final chapter returns to the topic of sound, but there the existence of *nāda* is apparently refuted (8:36ff). This apparent self-contradiction can in part be explained if we assume that the whole of the eighth chapter of the *Pauṣkara* is an interpolation, for which there is, I think, strong evidence, some of which is provided by the discovery of the *Parākhya*:

d'idées dont on trouve l'existence ou la trace dans divers textes âgamiques, mais généralement dans un contexte différent. Il ne nous paraît donc pas possible de dire que le présent ouvrage est fondé sur tel texte particulier plutôt que tel autre".

[8] Filliozat reports the opinion as having been expressed in note 33 on p. 64 of Sivaraman's "The word as a Category of Revelation", a work I have not been able to consult. (Potter (1983: 865) records that it covers pp. 45-64 of *Revelation in Indian Thought. A Festschrift in honour of Professor T.R.V. Murti*, ed. Harold Coward and Krishna Sivaraman, Emeryville, 1977).

[9] "M.K. Sivaraman a cru pouvoir déceler une parenté avec le *Pauṣkarāgama* dans l'expression et la substance. Il ne donne malheureusement pas de référence précise au texte de l'*āgama*. La comparaison que nous avons faite des deux textes nous fait juger l'assertion un peu exagérée. Il est vrai que le *Pauṣkarāgama* a consacré un assez long développement à montrer que le *nāda* est ce qui possède le pouvoir d'expression, thèse principale des *Nādakārikā* (*Pauṣkarāgama*, *puṃstattvapaṭala* 794 sq., p. 484 sq.). Mais il n'y a pas d'emprunts *verbatim* et la démonstration est conduite de façon différente".

[10] I have argued that on one other central point of doctrine – that of what must precede salvific initiation – the *Pauṣkara* presents a late position not attested in the demonstrably early Siddhāntas (Goodall 1998: xxxv, n. 80), and that it uses some late terminology (Goodall 1998: xlv, n. 102).

– half of the forty-five verses of the *Pauṣkara*'s eighth chapter are drawn, with little modification, from the *Parākhya*[11].

– among the borrowed verses there are overlaps with what has been taught in the earlier chapters of the *Pauṣkara* and two contradictions with earlier statements about: 1) the existence of *nāda* (to which we have just referred) and 2) about the parts of Sadāśiva's body: *Pauṣkara* 1:56ab teaches that Īśāna is not the Lord's head (as it is in *Pauṣkara* 8:31a [≈*Parākhya* 2:84c]: *īśānamūrdhā puṃvaktro ghorahṛd vāmaguhyakaḥ*), but his diadem: *īśānaśekharī sā* [scil. *mūrtiḥ*] *ca puṃvaktrā ghorahṛtsthalā*[12].

– Umāpatiśivācārya, the author of the published *Pauṣkarabhāṣya*, includes and gives a full commentary on chapter 8. But Jñānaprakāśa, the author of the unpublished *Pauṣkaravṛtti*, refers to a tradition that it was an interpolation (see footnote 84). Although he does then offer commentary on its verses, his exposition of them is extremely cursory and forms an appendix to his commentary on the seventh chapter.

We have seen that the discovery of the *Parākhya* can explain some difficulties in the *Pauṣkara*. We have also seen that it does not support Rāmakaṇṭha's doctrine of *nāda*. It has further drawn my attention to another anomaly: I have been able to identify no early Saiddhāntika scriptural source that gives an account of the emanation of sound that is consonant with that of the mature Śaiva Siddhānta of the Kashmirian exegetes. The *Kiraṇa* (chapter 11) and *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* (chapter 1) have the phonemes evolve directly from *nāda*, the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* has them evolve from *brahman* (see footnote 78), the *Parākhya* has them evolve from *bindu* (6:2ff); but none of them speaks of a progression from a supreme *vāc* (under whatever label) through *nāda* and then *bindu*, as do the Kashmirian exegetes. Of course these exegetes may well have derived their sequence of emanation from Śaiva sources outside the

[11] *Pauṣkara* 8:11ab ≈ *Kiraṇa* 58:46cd; 8:11cd ≈ *Kiraṇa* 58:58cd and *Netratantra* 21:40cd; 8:12ab ≈ *Kiraṇa* 58:62cd; 8:18c-19b ≈ *Parākhya* 6:6c-7b; 8:19c-20b ≈ *Parākhya* 6:5c-6b; 8:20c-21b ≈ *Parākhya* 6:7c-8b; 8:26c-27b ≈ *Parākhya* 3:7; 8:27c-29b ≈ *Parākhya* 3:9-10; 8:29c-32 ≈ *Parākhya* 2:83-86b; 8:33cd ≈ *Mataṅgavidyāpāda* 1:31ab; 8:34c-36 ≈ *Parākhya* 6:9-11c; 8:37-43b ≈ *Parākhya* 6:14c-19; 8:43c-45b ≈ *Parākhya* 6:22c-23; 8:45c-f ≈ *Parākhya* 6:28c-29b.

[12] Apart from this inconsistency concerning Īśāna, the passage in *Pauṣkara* 1 speaks of this body of mantras being that of Sadāśiva, who is Sakalaniṣkala (cf. *Mataṅgavidyāpāda* 4:18c-30); but in the *Parākhya* and *Pauṣkara* 8 (as in *Kiraṇa* 3:16-21) it is rather the *sakala* form, Īśvara, that is spoken of. Such overlaps and contradictions may not be significant as indicators of alterations in some tantric texts, but the redactor of the *Pauṣkara* makes the impression of having striven to be systematic.

Saiddhāntika canon or from Saiddhāntika sources now lost to us. One might consider also another (not necessarily contradictory) hypothesis: namely that the sequence may have evolved because of the redactors having treated as a *saṃhārakrama* the sequence of the *uccāra* of a mantra (in which *nāda* and *bindu* may appear as a pair), and therefore inverting it to arrive at a *sṛṣṭikrama* (see footnote 78).

Thus far I have made no remarks about the time at which the *Parākhya* can be assumed to have been composed. Elsewhere (Goodall 1998: lxxiv) I have argued for its being one of the very latest of the demonstrably early listed Siddhāntas, and of this I am still convinced. I cannot offer here a complete treatment of all the evidence, but arguments for its lateness come under the following heads: its late terminology, its relatively developed model of the cosmos, its position in the lists of Siddhāntas, its śāstric style and concerns, and the fact that it reflects an awareness of a wide range of rival positions.

Late Terminology. This is by itself an unreliable criterion (cf. Goodall 1998: xxxix, n. 90); but it is worth remarking that the *Parākhya* does occasionally use 'classical' terminology which appears not to be attested in other early Siddhāntas, e.g. (in 2:123d) *pañcakṛtya*, a term common in commentatorial works for the ancient group of Śiva's five cosmic functions (listed, e.g., in *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 1:15ab), but not, I think, attested in other early Siddhāntas with the exception of the (also relatively late) *Mṛgendra* (*vidyāpāda* 3:8d). In 4:20ef we find what may be the earliest instance of the term *pralayākala* in a Siddhāntatantra[13].

The structure of its cosmos. As I have pointed out (Goodall 1998: lii-liii), the text's *tattvakrama* is extremely close to the standardised (but for a few details) list of the developed Śaiva Siddhānta.

Its position in the list of Siddhāntas. The *Parākhya* does not appear in all versions of the list of the twenty-eight primary scriptures of the Śaiva Siddhānta (tabulated by Goodall 1998: 402-3), and on the lists on which it does appear (which are admittedly not avowedly in chronological order, but see Goodall 1998: lxxi-lxxiii) it is consistently last.

[13] My eye skipped over this half line when I first copied the text, which is why this instance of the term was not taken into consideration in the discussion of its usage in Goodall 1998: 184-5, n. 71.

Śāstric style and concerns. Like the *Mṛgendra* and the *Mataṅga*, and unlike most other surviving early Siddhāntas (*Niśvāsa*, *Pārameśvara*, *Kiraṇa*, *Sārdhatriśatikālottara*, *Sarvajñānottara*, etc.), the *Parākhya* is thematically tightly structured, treats theological and philosophical problems in great detail and is written (in part) in what aspires to be the style of philosophical *kārikā*s. The surviving chapters contain: proof of and characterisation of the soul by way of refutation of the views of rival thinkers (chapter 1); proof of and characterisation of God (echoing, in a number of places, arguments that are to be found in the *sambandhākṣepa* and *sambandhākṣepaparihāra* of the *Ślokavārttika*) (2); discussion of revelation and of the *pauruṣeyatva* of Vedic revelation (3); discussion of *māyā* and of what evolves from it (4); description of the *bhuvana*s of the cosmos (5); the emanation of sound, the connection between word and meaning, *mantroddhāra*, the connection between mantra and its effect (6); Śaiva yoga (14); and examination of the importance relative to one another of *dīkṣā* and the four '*sādhana*s' of *kriyā*, *jñāna*, *yoga*, and *caryā* (15)[14].

Although I have not recognised many close verbal echoes of śāstric texts outside the Śaiva tradition, the *Parākhya* very frequently reproduces the arguments of such texts. It is plain that the earliest Siddhāntas (the *Niśvāsa*, the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*, and the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*) borrow much of their fundamental ontology from Sāṅkhya thinkers. Now the *Parākhya* evidently belongs to a later (or at least conceptually later) phase, in which Saiddhāntikas were at pains to bring some of their doctrines into line with certain developments in śāstric thought that we can trace to the writings of quite different rivals: Mīmāṃsakas, Vedāntins and Naiyāyikas. Dharmakīrti's insistence on the *sādhya* and *sādhana* in formal argument being necessarily connected (*avinābhāvaniyama*), i.e. related by *kāryakāraṇabhāva* or by *svabhāva*, (expressed, e.g., in *Pramāṇavārttika*, *svārthānumāna* 31) is presumably behind the following pronouncement of the *Parākhya* (2:6)[15]:

> *na kevalam asau kāryāt svadharmānumitaḥ kvacit*
> *kāraṇenāpi tatkāryaṃ kvacic chabdoktiyuktitaḥ*

The influence of Mīmāṃsaka thought is in evidence in all the *Parākhya*'s philosophical discussions (it is plain, for example, in the text presented below). I suspect that there are conscious echoes specifically of

[14] For a discussion of these in the *Parākhya* see Goodall 1998: lvii, lxiv-lxv and 361-2, n. 588.

[15] Cf. *Mataṅgavidyāpāda* 3:9abc, quoted in footnote 89 below.

Kumārila's discussions, but this is difficult to prove. Consider, for instance, the *Parākhya*'s treatment of the proof of the existence of a creator god. The *Kiraṇa*'s naïve presentation of the argument by which the Lord is inferred from his effect, the universe[16], shows no awareness of Kumārila's objection that if the Lord's creativity is to be compared with the potter's, then the Lord should be perishable and have other such undesirable qualities of the potter[17]. Rāmakaṇṭha, of course, is aware of Kumārila's argument, which he quotes ad loc., and his response is that each craftsman is omniscient and omnipotent within his own sphere of action[18]. Now the same line of response is implicit in the general rule formulated in *Parākhya* 2:29-30b:

nimittam īśvarākhyaṃ tad yad dṛṣṭaṃ sahakāraṇam
upādānaṃ ca yat sūkṣmaṃ sarvakāryeṣu saṃhitam
kāraṇānāṃ trayaṃ tena sarvakāryeṣu saṃhitam[19]

Mīmāṃsā seems even to have influenced the choice of topics: much of chapter 3 (3:23ff) is devoted to an incongruous (for a Śaiva tantra) discussion of whether the *apauruṣeyatva* of Vedic revelation can be proved by any of the six *pramāṇas*[20].

[16] *Kiraṇa* 3:12: *sthūlaṃ vicitrakaṃ kāryaṃ nānyathā ghaṭavad bhavet / asti hetur ataḥ kaścit. karma cen, na hy acetanam.*

[17] *Ślokavārttika, sambandhākṣepaparihāra* 79-80.

[18] *Kiraṇavṛtti* 3:12.26-7 and 30-1: *na ca viruddho hetuḥ ... dṛṣṭānte hi ghaṭādāv ayaṃ hetuḥ svasādhye svakāryasarvajñatvasarvakartṛtvalakṣaṇeneśvaratvena vyāptaḥ siddho yatas tasyāṃśenāpi vaikalyena ghaṭādarśanād avināśitvenāpi kumbhakārātmano nityatvāt tasyaiva ca kartṛtvāt.*

[19] "The instigating cause is that which is called the 'lord'; that which is seen [such as the stick, wheel, etc.] is the auxiliary cause; that which is the material cause is matter. This triad of causes is involved in all effects and can therefore be inferred for every effect". I have followed here the readings and interpretation of the *Śataratnollekhinī* ad *Śataratnasaṅgraha* 15 (=*Parākhya* 2:29); M^{Y} reads *yat tad dṛṣṭaṃ* in 29b and °*kārye 'nusandhitam* in 29d. The point is reiterated in *Parākhya* 2:63-4b: *sādhanāṅgaphalaiḥ sārdhaṃ vetti sarvam idaṃ tataḥ / yathā tantvādikṛt kartā viṣayīkṛtya tāni saḥ / tasmin pravartate kārye* (em.; *kāryya* M^{Y}) *tadvat tasmin paraḥ śivaḥ.* Another echo of Kumārila can, I think, be discerned when the *Parākhya* adverts to the problem of the circularity of God and his scripture proclaiming each other (*Parākhya* 2:71c-72b): *āgamenāpi sarvajño guṇamāhātmyadarśanāt / ubhayor jñāpakatvena doṣas tv anyonyago bhavet.* Compare *sambandhākṣepaparihāra* 60: *na ca tadvacanenaiṣā pratipattiḥ suniścitā / asṛṣṭvāpi hy asau brūyad ātmaiśvaryaprakāśanāt.*

[20] The discussion is introduced by Prakāśa making the following appeal (*Parākhya* 3:23): *na pauruṣam idaṃ vākyaṃ katamena viniścitam / pramāṇena pramāṇānāṃ ṣaṇṇāṃ madhye vada sphuṭam.*

The *Mṛgendra* (in *vidyāpāda* 2:12-14) and the *Parākhya* (in 1:42-50) appear to be the only early Siddhāntas to devote attention to the refutation of a developed Vedāntic *vivartavāda*. I have presented and discussed both passages elsewhere (Goodall forthcoming), and suggested tentatively that, since the undated early Saiddhāntika writer Sadyojyotiḥ appears to have been aware only of a Vedāntic *pariṇāmavāda*[21], it is conceivable that both the *Parākhya* and the *Mṛgendra* post-date him. Thus it seems to me probable that the *Parākhya* is among the latest (if not itself the latest) of the early (i.e. known to Rāmakaṇṭha) listed Siddhāntas to survive.

Sanskrit text of Parākhyatantra 6:1-28

Before presenting the text and translation, it remains only to make a few observations on the sources I have consulted for these few verses. For a fuller account of the sole surviving manuscript, M^{Y}, I refer the reader to my published description of the codex of which it forms a part (Goodall 1998: lxxxix-xci). I need only say here that it is written in a neat, tiny hand in Nandināgarī script, and that the verses presented here below cover f. $33^{r[12]}$–f. $33^{v[3]}$. By comparison with other South Indian manuscripts that I have studied, the codex M^{Y} appears to be the work of a remarkably careful and accurate scribe with remarkably careful and accurate exemplars before him[22]. I transcribed M^{Y}'s text of the *Parākhya* in October 1996, and checked my typed up transcription against the original in September 1998. Some errors may, of course, still not have been eradicated. Double angled brackets enclose restitutions of portions of the text for which there is little or no evidence in M^{Y}. Gaps left by the scribe of M^{Y} are indicated by the symbol [– – –]. Gaps that result from M^{Y}'s being damaged are marked [␣]. Other conventions employed in the edition are, I hope, self-explanatory. Aside from the *Pauṣkara* and its two commentaries, only a handful of sources offer testimony for this portion, all but two of which are published. The unpublished ones are: the *Somaśambhupaddhatiṭīkā* of Trilocanaśivācārya (IFP T. 170), which has been discussed at some length

[21] Observed by Sanderson (1985: 210, n. 41).

[22] Many of my emendations to the text are no more than corrections of what the scribe would probably have regarded as possible orthographies rather than as errors: for example, he regularly omits a *visarga* before *kṣ* and before *sy*, *sv* and other initial sibilants in ligature with semi-vowels – a practice so common among South Indian scribes that it should indeed perhaps be classed as a variant orthography (cf. Goodall 1998: 236, n. 228).

by Brunner (1998: xlix-lii, liv, 422-9), and the *Siddhāntasamuccaya* of Locanaśiva, who may in fact have been the same as the author of the above[23] (IFP T. 284, pp. 127-74). This text, still in line with the old Śaiva Siddhānta, is a useful source of quotations, many of which, since they are not all part of a common stock found cited in many works, this author seems to have chosen himself[24]. Unfortunately the work is very badly transmitted. Readings of the *Pauṣkara* supported by Umāpatiśivācārya's commentary are marked 'PauBhā'; those supported by Jñānaprakāśa are marked 'PauVṛ'. Those which are to be found in MSS which transmit Jñānaprakāśa's commentary and are therefore likely to have been his readings, but for which his brief remarks afford no support are marked 'PauVṛ?'.

In the edition below I have silently normalised the orthography. In my forthcoming publication of the whole text, since my principal source is a *codex unicus*, I shall append a diplomatic transcription to the critical edition.

prakāśa uvāca //
mantroddhāro 'kṣarotpattiḥ padavākyārthayojanā /
mantralakṣaṇasaṅketaḥ[25] śiṣṭamantraphalagrahaḥ // 1 //

sṛṣṭikāle sa sarvajñaḥ puruṣārthaprayojanām[26] /
vyaktiṃ nayati bījārṇaṃ bindoḥ sa parameśvaraḥ // 2 //

binduḥ[27] kṣubdhas tadicchātaḥ śabdarāśir abhūt tadā / [a]
khaṇḍadvayena sañjātaḥ svarādyaḥ khaṇḍabhedataḥ // 3 //
svaraiḥ ṣoḍaśabhiḥ śeṣais[28] trayastriṃśadbhir akṣaraiḥ /
mātṛkeyaṃ matā loke varṇoccārasya mātṛkā // 4 //

[23] A possibility which Brunner does not consider, presumably because she was not aware of the existence of this text, since it is among those texts that are, by some accident, not listed in the card index of the transcripts belonging to the IFP.

[24] The other sources he cites are all early: old Siddhāntas (predominantly *Mṛgendra*, *Mataṅga*, *Kiraṇa*, *Sarvajñānottara*, *Parākhya*, *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*, *Mohaśūrottara*), and works such as that of Somaśambhu (e.g. on p. 174) and those of the *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa*. His conclusion (T. 284, p. 174) tells us that he was the head of a *maṭha* in Sitāraṇya (=Tiruvēṇkāṭu).

[a] **3ab.** *tathā parākhye – binduḥ kṣubdhas tadicchātaḥ śabdarāśir abhūt tadā* / ad *Śataratnasaṇgraha* 25, p. 45. Also quoted in the *Siddhāntasamuccaya* of Locanaśiva (IFP T. 284, p. 157) and (without attribution) in the *Somaśambhupaddhatiṭīkā* (IFP T. 170, p. 34).

[25] °*saṅketaḥ*] conj.; °*saṃveśaḥ* M[Y].
[26] °*prayojanām*] em.; °*prayojanā* M[Y].
[27] *binduḥ*] ŚaRaU; *bindu* M[Y], ŚaRaU v.l., SiSa, SoŚaPaṬī.
[28] *śeṣai*°] conj; *śeṣa*° M[Y].

bindor iyam abhivyaktā kāraṇecchānimittataḥ /
upādānam ato bindur yasmād varṇā na tad vinā[29] // 5 // [b] [c]

bahusaṃkhyāḥ smṛtā yasmāt[30] kṛtās te 'cetanāvataḥ[31] /
nimittam īśvaras teṣām upādānaṃ sa bindurāṭ // 6 // [d]

nṛkarma[32] sahakāri syāt kāryam etat trihetukam[33] /
varṇāś ca svarasaṃyogāt padaṃ tair vākyam iṣyate // 7 // [e]

tasmād arthapratītiḥ[34] syād vyavahāranibandhanā[35] /
vyavahāro 'nyathānyāyyaḥ[36] padoccāravidhiṃ vinā // 8 //

pratoda uvāca //
varṇānāṃ kṣaṇavidhvaṃsāt sphoṭo 'rthapratipādakaḥ / [f]
varṇavyaṅgyo vibhur nityaḥ so 'rthaṃ sphoṭayate kila // 9 //

[b] **5c-6d.** *tad uktaṃ śrīmatparākhyādau – upādānam ato bindur yasmād varṇā na tad vinā / bahusaṃkhyā* (em.; *bahusaṃkhyāya* MS) *smṛtā yasmāt kṛtās te* [']*cetanāvataḥ / nimittam īśvaras teṣām upādānaṃ sa bindurāṭ / Siddhāntasamuccaya* IFP T. 284, p. 156.

[c] **5c-6b.** Cf. *Pauṣkara* 8:19c-20b: *upādānam ato bindur yasmād varṇā na tad vinā / bahudhā saṃsthitā varṇāḥ kṛtakā "cetanā yataḥ.*

[d] **6c-7b.** *yathātraivāraṇeyapaṭale – nimittam īśvaras teṣām upādānaṃ sa bindurāṭ / nṛkarma sahakāri syāt kāryam etat trihetukam / Śataratnollekhinī* ad 15, p. 25. 6ab alone are quoted (prefaced by *taduktaṃ parākhye*) in the *Śivapūjāstavavyākhyā*, pp. 8-9, by Aghoraśiva (prefaced by *taduktaṃ śrīmatparākhye*) ad *Tattvaprakāśa* 25, p. 47 and, without attribution, in the second chapter of the *Śaivaparibhāṣā* (p. 85). The whole unit (6c-7b) reappears in the *tantrāvatārapaṭala* of the South Indian *Pauṣkara* (8:18c-19b).

[e] **7c-8b.** Cf. *Pauṣkara* 8:20c-21b: *varṇāś ca svarasaṃyogāt padaṃ tair vākyam iṣyate / tasmād arthapratītiḥ syād vyavahāranibandhanā.*

[f] **9-11b.** Cf. *Pauṣkara* 8:34c-36 (as read in the *bhāṣya*): *varṇānāṃ kṣaṇavidhvaṃsāt sphoṭo 'rthapratipādakaḥ / varṇavyaṅgyo vibhur nityaḥ so 'rthaṃ sphoṭayate kila / na varṇavyatirekeṇa sphoṭasyārtho 'ntare sthitaḥ / sa ca bhinno na bhinno vā tadbhinno nārthavat sthitaḥ / varṇa eva na bhedena tasmāt sphoṭo na vidyate.*

[29] *na tad vinā*] SiSa, Pau; *nna tad vinā* M^{Y}.

[30] *bahusaṃkhyāḥ smṛtā yasmāt*] em.; *bahusaṃkhyā smṛtā yasmāt* M^{Y}, SiSa; *bahudhā saṃsthitā varṇāḥ* Pau.

[31] *kṛtās te 'cetanāvataḥ*] SiSa; *kṛtās te cetanā yataḥ* M^{Y}; *kṛtakā "cetanā yataḥ* Pau.

[32] *nṛkarma*] M^{Y}, ŚaRaU; *na karma* PauBhā; *svakarma* PauVṛ?.

[33] *kāryam etat trihetukaṃ*] ŚaRaU; *kāryam etatrihetukaṃ* M^{Y}; *kāryaṃ tasmāt sahetukaṃ* Pau.

[34] °*pratītiḥ*] Pau; °*pratīti* M^{Y}.

[35] °*nibandhanā*] M^{Y}, PauVṛ, PauBhā; °*nibandhanāt* Pau ed. (not supported by commentaries).

[36] °*nyathānyāyyaḥ*] conj.; °*nyathonyāyaḥ* M^{Y}.

prakāśa uvāca //
na varṇavyatirekeṇa sphoṭasyārthāntarasthitiḥ[37] /
sa vibhinno[38] na bhinno vā tadbhinno nārthavat sthitaḥ[39] // 10 //

varṇā eva na bhedena[40] dvirūpeṇa samā śrutiḥ[41] /
bahuvarṇair abhivyaktaḥ sphoṭo 'rthapratipādakaḥ[42] // 11 // [g]

ekasmād bahavo vyaktāḥ kiṃ na dṛṣṭāḥ pradīpataḥ /
varṇair uccaritaiḥ sadbhir na deśe 'nyatra tadgrahaḥ // 12 //

anyadeśabhavo dṛṣṭo vṛṣṭigandhagraho[43] na kim /
satyaṃ[44] vidhvaṃsino varṇāḥ saṃskāro varṇajaḥ[45] sthitaḥ // 13 // [h]

pūrvavarṇajasaṃskārayukto 'ntyo 'rṇo 'bhidhāyakaḥ / [i]
na <<varṇāḥ saṃha>>tiṃ yānti[46] yena tatsmaraṇaṃ bhavet // 14 // [j]

yadi no tatsmṛtis[47] tasya katham arthaṃ vivicchati[48] /
tasmād arthapratītiḥ[49] syāt saṃskārād arthanirṇayāt // 15 //

[g] **11cd.** Cf. *Pauṣkara* 6:315ab: *tato varṇair abhivyakto nādaḥ syād arthavācakaḥ.*

[h] **13c-14b.** Cf. *Pauṣkara* 8:37 (as read in the *bhāṣya*): *kṣaṇavidhvaṃsino varṇāḥ saṃskāro varṇataḥ sthitaḥ / pūrvavarṇajasaṃskārayukto 'ntyo 'rṇo 'bhidhāyakaḥ.*

[i] **14ab.** … *śrīmatparākhye – pūrvavarṇajasaṃskārayukto 'ntyo 'rṇo 'bhidhāyakaḥ ity uktam* / Aghoraśiva ad *Nādakārikā*12.

[j] **14c-19.** Cf. *Pauṣkara* 8:38-43b (as read in the *bhāṣya*): *na varṇāḥ saṃhatiṃ yānti yena tatsmaraṇaṃ bhavet / yadi tatra smṛtis tasya katham arthaṃ vimuñcati / tasmād arthe pravṛttiḥ syāt saṃskārād arthanirṇayāt / saṃskāro varṇajaḥ śaktau śaktir ekārthasādhane / taiś ca śaktiyutair varṇair vyavahāro 'rthavācakaiḥ / śabdasyārthena sambandhaḥ kathaṃ no niścito bhavet / na sambandhojjhito yasmāc chabdaḥ svārthābhidhāyakaḥ / na kārya-kāraṇo yogo yato 'sau nārṇahetujaḥ / bhūmāv artho mukhe śabdaḥ samavāyo na saṃsthitaḥ / na sādhyasādhanānveyaḥ sa tu bandhanavatsthitaḥ / pratyeyapratyayākhyas tu sambandhāntarapūrvakaḥ /.*

[37] *sphoṭasyārthāntarasthitiḥ*] conj. Isaacson; *sphoṭasyārtho 'ntare sthitaḥ* PauBhā; *tatsphoṭasyāntarā sthitiḥ* $\mathrm{M^Y}$; *sphoṭasyārthāntarā sthitiḥ* PauVṛ?.

[38] *vibhinno*] $\mathrm{M^Y}$; *ca bhinno* Pau.

[39] *nārthavat sthitaḥ*] Pau; *nānavasthitaḥ* $\mathrm{M^Y}$.

[40] *varṇā eva na bhedena*] $\mathrm{M^Y}$, PauBhā; *varṇa eva na bhedaś cet* PauVṛ?.

[41] *dvirūpeṇa samā śrutiḥ*] $\mathrm{M^Y}$; *tasmāt sphoṭo na vidyate* PauBh; *tasmād bhedo na vidyate* PauVṛ?.

[42] °*rtha*°] x *kta* x *rtha*° $\mathrm{M^Y}$.

[43] °*graho*] em.; °*gṛho* $\mathrm{M^Y}$.

[44] *satyaṃ*] $\mathrm{M^Y}$; *kṣaṇa*° Pau.

[45] *varṇajaḥ*] PauVṛ?; *varṇagaḥ* $\mathrm{M^Y}$; *varṇataḥ* PauBhā.

[46] *na varṇāḥ saṃhatiṃ yānti*] Pau; *na* □ *tiryāti* $\mathrm{M^Y}$.

[47] *no tat*] $\mathrm{M^Y}$; *tatra* Pau.

[48] *vivicchati*] conj.; *viviṃcchati* $\mathrm{M^Y}$; *vimuñcati* Pau.

[49] *tasmād arthapratītiḥ*] conj.; *tasmād arthapratīta* $\mathrm{M^Y}$; *tasmād arthe pravṛttiḥ* Pau.

saṃskāro varṇajā śaktiḥ śaktā yenārthasādhane[50] /
taiḥ svaśaktiyutair[51] varṇair vyavahāro ’rthavācakaiḥ // 16 //

pratoda uvāca//
śabdasyārthena sambandhaḥ katamo[52] niścito bhavet /
na sambandhojjhito yasmāc chabdaḥ[53] svārthābhidhāyakaḥ // 17 //

prakāśa uvāca //
na kāryakāraṇo yogo yato ’sāv anyahetukaḥ[54] /
bhūmāv artho mukhe śabdaḥ samavāyaś ca na sthitaḥ[55] // 18 //

na sādhyasādhano yogo[56] niyato na vyavasthitaḥ[57] /
pratyāyyapratyāyakākhyaḥ[58] sambandhāntarapūrvakaḥ[59] // 19 //

vinā bhāvena no yasmād dhūmo[60] vahninidarśanam /
pratyāyyapratyāyakākhyo yo na dṛgrūpayor iva // 20 //

svata eva na śabdo ’yam arthaṃ pratyety ayojitaḥ /
lipyakṣareṇa vā bodho na ca tatrāsti yojanā // 21 //

yojakaḥ[61] smaryate tatra yato buddhyabhiyojitaḥ[62] / [k]
na yojako bhavec chabdaḥ puruṣas tatra[63] yojakaḥ // 22 //

[k] **22-23.** Cf. *Pauṣkara* 8:43c-45b (as read in the *bhāṣya*): *yojakaḥ smaryate yatra tato buddhyekayojitaḥ / na yojako bhavec chabdaḥ puruṣas tatra yojakaḥ / yo varṇaḥ kenacit khyātas tasminn arthe sa vācakaḥ / tāvad arthaṃ na gṛhṇāti parasaṅketavarjitaḥ.*

[50] *varṇajā śaktiḥ śaktā yenārtha°*] M[Y]; *varṇajaḥ śaktau śaktir ekārtha°* PauBhā; *varṇajaḥ śaktaḥ śaktāv ekārtha°* PauVṛ.

[51] *taiḥ sva°*] M[Y]; *taiś ca* Pau.

[52] *katamo*] M[Y]; *kathaṃ no* Pau.

[53] *°jjhito yasmāc chabdaḥ*] Pau; *°jhito yasmāc chabda* M[Y].

[54] *°sāv anyahetukaḥ*] M[Y]; *°sau nārṇahetujaḥ* PauBhā; *°sāvarṇahetujaḥ* PauVṛ.

[55] *samavāyaś ca na sthitaḥ*] conj.; *samavāyo ca na sthitaḥ* M[Y]; *samavāyo na saṃsthitaḥ* Pau.

[56] *na sādhyasādhano yogo*] em.; *na sādhyasādhano yogaḥ* M[Y]; *na sādhyasādhanānveyaḥ* PauBhā; *na sādhyasādhano bhāvaḥ* PauVṛ.

[57] *niyato na vyavasthitaḥ*] M[Y]; *sa tu bandhanavatsthitaḥ* Pau.

[58] *pratyāyyapratyāyakākhyaḥ*] em.; *pratyāyyapratyāyakākhya°* M[Y]; *pratyeyapratyayākhyas tu* Pau.

[59] *sambandhāntarapūrvakaḥ*] M[Y], PauBhā; *sambandho ’ntarapūrvakam* PauVṛ.

[60] *no yasmād dhūmo*] conj.; *ro yasmād dhūma* M[Y].

[61] *yojakaḥ*] Pau; *yojaka* M[Y].

[62] *tatra yato buddhyabhi°*] M[Y]; *yatra tato buddhyeka°* PauBhā; *yatra tato buddhyaiva* PauVṛ?.

[63] *puruṣas tatra*] M[Y], PauBhā; *puruṣas tv atra* PauVṛ?.

yāvan na[64] kenaci<<t khyātas ta>>sminn arthe sa[65] vācakaḥ /
tāvad arthaṃ[66] na gṛhṇāti parasaṅketavarjitaḥ // 23 //

saṅketaḥ kṛtako dṛṣṭo lokasaṃvyavahārataḥ /
na saṅketād ṛte lokas tam arthaṃ pratipadyate // 24 //

pratoda uvāca//
jagad etad yathāsaṃsthaṃ saṅketo 'pi sthitas tathā /
na tu[67] kartā krameṇāpi saṅkete[68] yugapan na ca // 25 //

prakāśa uvāca//
jagad etad yathā sṛṣṭam icchayā kramavarjitam / [l]
saṅketo 'pi tathā sṛṣṭo janair jñātas[69] tadicchayā // 26 //

asvatantraṃ jagad yasmāt karmapāśatamovṛtam[70] /
yā kācit tadgatā ceṣṭā sā sarvā tatkṛtā yataḥ // 27 //

tena saṅketakṛc charvo mūlahetur yataḥ[71] sthitaḥ /
mantrāṇām api saṅketās tenaiva parikalpitāḥ[72] // 28 // [m]

[l] **26-28.** *tad uktaṃ śrīmatparākhye – jagad etad yathā dṛṣṭam icchayā kramavarjita[m] / saṅketo pi tathā sṛṣṭo janair jātas tadicchayā / asvatantra[ṃ] jagad yasmāt karmapāśatamovratam / yā kācit tadgatā ceṣṭā sā sarvā tatkṛtā yataḥ / tena saṃketakṛt sarvo kulahetur yatāsthitaḥ / mantrāṇām api saṃketās tenaiva parikalpitāḥ. Siddhāntasamuccaya* of Locanaśiva, IFP T. 284, p. 158.

[m] **28c-29b.** Cf. *Pauṣkara* 8:45c-f: *saṅketās tatra mantrāṇāṃ tenaiva parikīrtitāḥ / bahavas tena saṃsiddhāḥ śāstre vai kāmikādike.*

[64] *yāvan na*] M^{Y}; *yo varṇaḥ* Pau.
[65] *kenacit khyātas tasminn arthe sa*] Pau; *kenaci* [– – –]*smin nārthe na* M^{Y}.
[66] *tāvad arthaṃ*] Pau; *tāv arthaṃ* M^{Y} (unmetrical).
[67] *na tu*] conj. Isaacson; *sa tu* M^{Y}.
[68] *saṅkete*] conj. Isaacson; *saṃketo* M^{Y}.
[69] *janair jñātas*] M^{Y}; *janair jātas* SiSa.
[70] °*vṛtam*] M^{Y}; °*vratam* SiSa.
[71] *saṅketakṛc charvo kulahetur yataḥ*] M^{Y}; *saṃketakṛt sarvo kulahetur yatā* SiSa.
[72] *mantrāṇām api saṅketās tenaiva parikalpitāḥ*] M^{Y}, SiSa; *saṅketās tatra mantrāṇāṃ tenaiva parikīrtitāḥ* Pau.

Prakāśa spoke:

[The topics of this chapter are:] the raising of mantras, the arising of the phonemes, the connection of words and sentences with meaning, the defining characteristic of mantras and their convention, how the fruits of particular mantras are attained[73] (1).

At the time of creation that omniscient one, the supreme Lord, makes manifest from the drop (*bindoḥ*) the seed sound[s][74], [and this making manifest is] for the sake of [enabling the attainment of] the goal of souls (2).

The *bindu* was shaken because of His will; then there came into being the totality of sounds. It came into being in two parts, [that is to say] as vowels and [as consonants], through its division into [two] parts (3).

With its sixteen vowels and with its remaining thirty-three consonants[75], this is [known] in the world [as] the "mother", [being] the matrix of the utterance of sounds[76] (4).

It is made manifest out of *bindu* because of the will of the [supreme] Cause. And so the material cause is *bindu*, since phonemes [can]not [exist] without that (*tad vinā*) (5).

[73] Like 1:15 and the initial verses of subsequent chapters, this verse gives an agenda of the topics that are next to be discussed; this time, however, the list is neither comprehensive nor in order: the raising of mantras is covered in 6:29-39, the arising of the phonemes in 6:2-8, the connection of words and sentences with meaning in 6:9-28, the characteristic of mantras and their convention (i.e. that they have a convention) in 6:40-50, how the fruits of mantras are attained covers from 6:51-80, after which there are two verses that conclude this chapter and introduce the next.

[74] *bījārṇaṃ* could perhaps be emended to *bījārṇān*. It is furthermore possible that *bīja* is here a technical term for the vowels and *arṇa* for the consonants. For this use of *bīja* see, e.g., *Mālinīvijayottara* 3:10, *Ajita* 1:15c, 1:21-2, and *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 5:3 (quoted in footnote 78 below) and for this use of *varṇa* (=*arṇa*) compare 7c and 45c below and see footnote 80 below.

[75] It is more usual to count *kṣa* too and thus arrive at a total of fifty. Cf., for example, *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 5:3 (quoted in footnote 78 below) and *Kiraṇa* 11:4-5. Cf. also *Pauṣkara* 8:13ab: *tābhyaḥ* [scil. *ambikādibhyaḥ śaktibhyaḥ*] *sarve samutpannās triṃśad varṇāḥ saviṃśatiḥ*. Note, however, that Umāpatiśivācārya ad loc. (p. 572) understands the fiftieth letter to be not *kṣa* but *ḷa* (the letter *ḷa* is also reckoned as the fiftieth elsewhere, e.g. in *Ajitāgama* 1:20c).

[76] Accounting for the name *mātṛkā* in this fashion is commonplace in such contexts: compare, for example, *Kiraṇa* 11:6a *māteva mātṛkā saiva*; *Pauṣkara* 8:21cd *sarvajñā mātṛkā jñeyā jagato mātṛvat sthitā*; *Pauṣkara* 8:24cd *jñānaśaktis tathā jñeyā mātṛkā lokamātṛkā*. In the light of the first two of these parallels one might consider emending either to *mātṛkeva matā loke* or to *mātṛkeyaṃ yathā loke*.

The phonemes are held to be plural, [and,] since they are insentient, they are effects[77]. The instigating cause of them is the Lord; the material cause is the great *bindu* (*bindurāṭ*)[78] (6).

[77] It is clear that the text here speaks of the supposed invariable concomitance of plurality and insentience with the fact of being an effect, which is a tenet of the Śaiva Siddhānta. Cf., for example, *Mṛgendravṛtti* ad *vidyāpāda* 2:15ab, p. 72: *yac cācaitanye saty anekaṃ, tat kāraṇāntarapūrvakam* and *Mṛgendravidyāpāda* 9:6ab (and commentary ad loc.), p. 190: *yad anekam acit tat tu dṛṣṭam utpattidharmakam*. Jñānaprakāśa offers no commentary on this half-verse when it occurs in the *Pauṣkara* (8:20ab), but Umāpatiśivācārya interprets it in this way, and one might consider adopting his reading into the text here: *bahudhā saṃsthitā varṇāḥ kṛtakā 'cetanā yataḥ* (this reading's *aiśa* double sandhi is an awkwardness that is in its favour – for a brief discussion of *aiśa* language see Goodall 1998: lxv-lxx). Umāpatiśivācārya comments as follows (p. 575): *varṇāḥ kṛtakā ity arthaḥ. supāṃ sulug ityādinā jaso luk chāndasaḥ. yataḥ yasmāt bahudhā anekatvena saṃsthitāḥ acetanāś ca ata ity arthaḥ. varṇāḥ kṛtakāḥ, anekatve sati jaḍatvād ity anumānaprayogo draṣṭavyaḥ.* I have nevertheless hesitated to adopt Umāpatiśivācārya's reading, because I suspect that it is a clarificatory improvement (*kṛtakāḥ* being clearer than *kṛtāḥ*) of what we find in the *Siddhāntasamuccaya* and (corrupted) in M^{Y}, a reading which is especially unsatisfactory because it requires understanding *cetanāvataḥ* as though it were nominative plural.

[78] In the developed accounts of the emanation of sound of Śaiva exegetes (e.g. Śrīkaṇṭha's *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's *Mṛgendravṛtti* ad *vidyāpāda* 13:160c-162b, Rāmakaṇṭha's *Kiraṇavṛtti* ad 3:23cd) this label would be ambiguous, because there are two *bindu*s: from the supreme *bindu* (also referred to variously as *kuṇḍalinīśakti*, *mahāmāyā*, *paranāda*, *aghoṣā vāk* – these, and other synonyms, are listed in *Nādakārikā* 16c-17) there first evolves *nāda*, and from that in turn there evolves a further *bindu* (for a fuller presentation see Goodall 1998: 290-6). The sequence is succinctly delineated in *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* 171c-173b – and this may be among the earliest (perhaps the earliest surviving) Saiddhāntika work in which it appears:

jñānaṃ parāmṛtopāyahetuḥ parikaraḥ paśoḥ // 171 //
tac ca śabdānuvedhena śabdarāśer abhūd asau /
śabdarāśiś ca bindūttho bindur nādād asāv api // 172 //
bindor anāhatād eṣa kāraṇaṃ śuddhavartmanaḥ /

'For the bound soul scripture is the wherewithal that is the cause of [understanding] the means to [attain] the supreme nectar [of liberation]. And that [scripture], because it is permeated by language, arose from the alphabet, and that alphabet arose from *bindu*, and *bindu* arose from *nāda*, and that (*asāv api*) arose from the unsounded *bindu*. That is the [material] cause of the pure path [of the universe]'.

In what survives of the *Parākhya*, however, there seems to be no clear evidence of such a progression. The possibility cannot be ruled out that the *Parākhya* presupposed knowledge of the progression (*Parākhya* 5:154ab might be supposed to suggest this: *sadāśive sthito brahmā bindunādakalāśrayaḥ*); but *Parākhya* 6:3 leads one to understand that there is a single *bindu* from which the *varṇa*s directly evolve, and there is no statement in the rest of the chapter or in the rest of the surviving text that contradicts this.

The effort of the individual [speaker] (*nṛkarma*) is an auxiliary cause. [Thus] this effect [that is the totality of sound thus] has three

Moreover the accounts of the emanation of sound in other demonstrably early listed Saiddhāntika scriptures are similarly bald and do not obviously display knowledge of this progression. The account of the *Parākhya* makes no mention of *nāda*, that of the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* (chapter 1) makes no mention of *bindu*, and that of the beginning of chapter 11 of the *Kiraṇa*, though difficult to interpret in all its details, plainly does not have the classical progression. That of the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* makes no mention of either *bindu* or *nāda* (*Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 5:1-5):

athādāv abhavac chabdaḥ kāraṇād akṣaraṃ tataḥ /
kāraṇaṃ mokṣadaṃ, brahman, 'brahma' brahmavido viduḥ // 1 //
tasmāt sarvaprado devaḥ śabdarāśir iti śrutaḥ /
navaparvaśatārdhātmā yonibījātmakaḥ paraḥ // 2 //
akārādivisargāntaṃ bījaṃ tat ṣoḍaśākṣaram /
śeṣā yoniś catustriṃśad avyayā hy akṣarātmikāḥ // 3 //
sā śaktir devadevasya tayā vyāptam idaṃ jagat /
jñānaṃ śaivaṃ paraṃ sūkṣmaṃ yat tat tārakam uttamam // 4 //
vedādijñānabhedena śivajñānavibhedataḥ /
cintāmaṇir ivātrāsau sthitaḥ sarvasya kāraṇam // 5 //

• 3d °*tmikāḥ*] em.; °*tmikā* M^Y Ed. • 4c *śaivaṃ*] M^Y; *caivaṃ* Ed. • 5c *ivātrāsau*] M^Y; *ivātrāsmai* Ed. (Immediately following this is the account of the Saiddhāntika canon quoted in Goodall 1998: 412-13.)

It would be wrong to conclude from this, however, that the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* does not know of the pair, for it is included in its chapter on yoga, where it is taught that the *sādhaka* can aim for different achievements by meditating upon Śiva as six different things: *vigraha*, *bhuvana*, *mantra*, *bindu*, *nāda*, and, at the highest level, *vyoman* (*Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 20:38-43). The pairing of *bindu* and *nāda* is indeed unquestionably old; I am observing only that it is not found in early Saiddhāntika accounts of the emanation of sound. It is not impossible that its appearance in later accounts of emanation results from understandable systematising attempts to harmonize accounts of, for example, *mantroccāra* (in which *bindu* and *nāda* might once but need not now be interpreted quite differently) with accounts of emanation. In the elaborate *uccāra* of *Kiraṇa* 58, for example, the first sound of the mantra begins (in the heart) with *brahman* (32), in the course of enunciation it then passes through Viṣṇu (37), Rudra (44), Sureśvara (45), *bindu* and *nāda* (56), Kuṇḍalinī (59), *śakti* (61) and culminates in *niṣkala* (63).

By contrast the account of the opening verses of chapter 11 of the *Svacchanda*, though it speaks of the first stage as *vyoman* (11:4b) and does not use one of the more usual synonyms, and though it elaborates the other stages, may be considered to reproduce a version of the emanation of sound that came to be accepted by the post-scriptural exegetes of the Śaiva Siddhānta.

The *Pauṣkara*'s account of the emanation of sound is more difficult to reconstruct with certainty. *Pauṣkara* 7:72cd charts a course of development typical of late systematised accounts: *nādasya bindoḥ prasṛtiḥ, śabdānāṃ niḥsṛtis tataḥ*. In its eighth chapter, however, it begins with *brahman* (8:2), which is probably here to be understood to be identified with

causes[79]. And these consonants (*varṇāś ca*) [become] word[s] from conjunction with the vowels[80]; and with these [words] we maintain [that] sentence[s arise] (7).

From these [sentences] (*tasmāt*) comes about the understanding of meaning, which is the basis for worldly interaction[81]. Worldly interaction cannot otherwise be accounted for without the act of uttering words (8).

Pratoda spoke:

Since phonemes perish in an instant, *sphoṭa* must be that which effects the understanding of meaning. This all-pervading, eternal entity, manifestable by the phonemes, is, they say (*kila*), what makes the meaning clear (9).

Prakāśa spoke:

There is no proof of *sphoṭa* existing as another entity (*arthāntarasthitiḥ*[82]) separate from the phonemes. [If such a thing exists] it [must be either] distinct [from them] or not distinct. [If it is] separate from them, it

kāraṇaṃ parameśvaraḥ (8:3d), then *śāstra* as *nāda* (8:6b: *śāstraṃ nādasvarūpataḥ*), then a (four-fold) *bindu* (8:7), from that a power called Ambikā (8:8ab), from that Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, and Raudrī and a group of sixteen other powers (8:9-12) – Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā, Aparājitā, Nivṛtti, Pratiṣṭhā, Vidyā, Śānti, Indhikā, Dīpikā, Rocikā, Mocikā, Vyomarūpā, Anantā, Anāthā, Anāśritā; from these arise the fifty phonemes.

Considerations of space restrain me from quoting and discussing here the archaic accounts of the emanation of sound to be found in the *Sarvajñānottara* ('*mantratantrotpattiprakaraṇa*' IFP T. 334, p. 23) and the *uttarasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (f. 24r).

79 The necessity of there being three causes for an effect was taught in *Parākhya* 2:29-30b (quoted above on p. 333).

80 The use of *varṇa* to refer only to consonants as opposed to vowels may seem anomalous, but both commentators on the *Pauṣkara* also interpret the line in this way, and furthermore the usage is paralleled in the *Sarvajñānottara* in the fifth and in the last and eighth verse (in numeration of IFP T. 334) of its *mantratantrotpattiprakaraṇam* and in verses 1-2 of the following *sthūlavarṇamantroddhāraprakaraṇam* (IFP T. 334, p. 23). Cf. also *Kiraṇa* 12:6, in which *svara*s are distinguished from *arṇa*s.

81 The feminine ending leads us to expect that this word is a *bahuvrīhi*, but the sense requires that it be a *tatpuruṣa*. The usage is paralleled in 6:45b and in a number of places in other chapters of the *Parākhya*.

82 *ex conj.* The reading ascribed to the *Pauṣkaravṛtti* (on which this conjecture is partly based) is that of the MSS B and C that transmit the *Pauṣkaravṛtti*; it receives no commentary from Jñānaprakāśa. Following the text and (somewhat forced) interpretation of Umāpatiśivācārya, we might translate: 'There is no purpose in there being, separate from the phonemes, a *sphoṭa* that is in the middle, [between the grasping of the phonemes and the grasping of the meaning]'. The *Pauṣkarabhāṣya* ad loc. reads (pp. 581-2): *varṇavyatirekeṇa varṇān vinā antare varṇapratītyarthapratītyor madhye abhivyajyamānasya sphoṭasya nārthaḥ prayojanaṃ na. madhye sphoṭāṅgīkāro vyarthaḥ, arthapratipādanasya varṇair eva sambhavād iti bhāvaḥ. kiṃ cānupalambhabādhaś cety āha sa ceti. sa ca sphoṭaḥ varṇebhyo bhinno vā na bhinnaḥ abhinno vety arthaḥ…*

is not established to exist [as an ontologically independent thing] in the way that external objects exist. [Therefore] there are just the phonemes. We do not hear [a word] separately as two things [both *sphoṭa* and phonemes] in the same way[83] (10-11b).

[Objection of a *sphoṭavādin* opponent:] It is *sphoṭa* manifested by the many sounds that conveys meaning. Do we not directly experience that many things can be revealed from a single lamp? [Just] by the phonemes when uttered we would not grasp the meaning in another place [than their place of utterance] (11c-12).

[Reply of the Siddhāntin:] Do we not experience that perceiving the smell of rain [is possible] in another place [than where the rain has fallen]? Admittedly the phonemes perish [as soon as they are enunciated]; [but] there is a trace that is born of the phonemes. The final phoneme, together with the traces born of the previous phonemes, conveys the meaning[84] (13-14b).

[83] If this interpretation is correct, the text is awkward here. Prakāśa seems to intend a refutation of *sphoṭa*, which is what the clearer (and therefore probably secondary) reading of the *Pauṣkara* here expresses: *varṇa eva na bhedena tasmāt sphoṭo na vidyate.* '[Otherwise] it is just the sound itself without any difference, and so there is no *sphoṭa*'.

[84] This is a paraphrase of a well-known statement in the *Śābarabhāṣya* (p. 38, line 13): *pūrvavarṇajanitasaṃskārasahito 'ntyo varṇaḥ pratyāyakaḥ*. This Mīmāṃsaka view runs counter to Rāmakaṇṭha's position as outlined in the *Nādakārikā* (see particularly verses 11 and 12). Although Aghoraśiva goes to some length ad *Nādakārikā* 6-7 to refute *sphoṭa*, Rāmakaṇṭha's theory of *nāda* as the entity that conveys meaning is a sort of *sphoṭavāda*, and indeed both Jñānaprakāśa (as is clear from his commentary on *Pauṣkara* 8:35c-36) and Umāpatiśivācārya (for example, in his alternative interpretation of *Pauṣkara* 8:20ab [=*Parākhya* 6:7cd], p. 575: *svarasaṃyogād iti varṇavyaṅgyanādarūpasphoṭadvārety arthaḥ*) appear to understand the terms *nāda* and *sphoṭa* to be interchangeable. Aghoraśiva is aware of the discrepancy, for he cites *Parākhya* 14ab ad *Nādakārikā* 12: *katham punaḥ śrīmatparākhye "pūrvavarṇajasaṃskārayukto 'ntyo 'rṇo 'bhidhāyakaḥ" ity uktam? nādābhivyañjakatvenopacārād ity adoṣaḥ*. 'How is it then that the venerable *Parākhya* teaches that "The final phoneme, together with the traces born of the previous phonemes, conveys the meaning"? There is no fault [in the position here], because [the *Parākhya* speaks] figuratively [of the final phoneme being that which conveys meaning] because of the fact that it makes *nāda* [which is in fact the conveyer of meaning] manifest'. In fact Aghoraśiva is misrepresenting the position of the *Parākhya*, according to which the *varṇa*s are emanations of *bindu* which themselves convey meaning. Aghoraśiva's characterisation of the view of the *Parākhya* is exactly that of the opponent in 11cd above, and it is exactly the view of an earlier portion of the *Pauṣkara*: *tato varṇair abhivyakto nādaḥ syād arthavācakaḥ* (*Pauṣkara* 6:315ab)...*saṃskṛto 'rṇas tu paścimaḥ / arthānāṃ vācako bhūyād iti cet tan na śobhate* (*Pauṣkara* 6:316c-317b)...*tataḥ sthūlais tathā varṇair vyakto nādas tu vācakaḥ*. The eighth chapter of the *Pauṣkara*, however, does not clearly support this view, and, as has been mentioned above, the chapter has long been regarded as suspect, for Jñānaprakāśa prefaces his commentary on it by observing that predecessors of his had wished to expunge it on the grounds that it repeats much from the text of a chapter of the *Kāmika*:

[Rejoinder of the *sphoṭavādin* opponent:] [But] the phonemes do not come together into a unit in such a way that memory of them would be possible. If memory of this [previously enunciated group of phonemes] is not possible, how will it [viz. the final phoneme] release the meaning? (14c-15b).

[Reply of the Siddhāntin:] Therefore [we know] by an *arthāpatti*-type inference (*arthanirṇayāt*) [that] understanding of the meaning must come about through a trace [of the previously enunciated phonemes] (15cd).

The trace is a power born of the phonemes through which they are empowered to achieve the [revealing of the] meaning. By means of these phonemes, which are equipped with their own powers and which convey meaning, worldly interaction is possible (16).

Pratoda spoke:

Which [among the various types] is determined to be the connection between word and meaning? For devoid of a connection words cannot denote their objects[85] (17).

Prakāśa spoke:

It is not the connection that exists between cause and effect[86], since meaning (*asau*) has another cause [than the word][87]. [Since] the object denoted

punaruktibāhulyāt na pauṣkarapaṭalaḥ, kin tu kāmika†vaktāra†tantrāvatārapaṭala evātra kaiścit prakṣipta iti sphuratīti guravaḥ kathayanti. praśnottaroktiḥ kathañcit kiñcitprakārāntaragītimatīti na punaruktitvaṃ kṣamata iti punaḥ kathayanti kecit.

• *kāmikavaktāra°*] BD; *kāmikavartāra°*] AC; • *sphuratīti*] BCD; *spurantīti* A; • *praśnottaroktiḥ*] ABD; *praśnoktaroktiḥ* C; • *°prakārāntara°*] ABC; *°prakarāntara°* D

Jñānaprakāśa's manner of phrasing this remark suggests that he might not himself have been aware of the overlapping passage, and indeed I have not located such a passage in the various versions of the *Kāmika* at my disposal (*Pūrva-Kāmika*, *Uttarakāmika* or in the two transcripts of the so-called *Kāmikavidyāpāda* (both in IFP T. 830)); but the chapter is certainly plagiaristic, for, as we have seen, it draws half of its 45 verses from the *Parākhya*. It is unlikely, but perhaps just conceivable, that the *Parākhya* in turn was drawing on the now lost Ur-*Kāmika* known to us only from quotations in the works of Kashmirian commentators (see Goodall 1998: xlv, n. 103).

[85] The ensuing discussion derives (directly or indirectly) from the *Śābarabhāṣya* (pp. 36ff).

[86] Both the commentators on *Pauṣkara* 41c are aware of the awkwardness of the syntax of this *pāda* and both explain it away in the same fashion: *bhāvanirdeśa iti kārya-kāraṇabhāvaḥ* (Jñānaprakāśa); *ayaṃ ca bhāvapradhāno nirdeśaḥ; kāryakāraṇabhāva ity arthaḥ* (Umāpatiśivācārya, p. 584). The construction recurs in 6:19a.

[87] I assume that this *pāda* is intended to formulate the same idea as *Pauṣkara* 8:41d, as read and understood by Umāpatiśivācārya: *yato 'sau nārṇahetujaḥ*: 'since that [meaning] is not born of the cause that is the sounds'. Jñānaprakāśa's odd reading (*yato 'sāv arṇahe-*

is on the ground and the word is in the [speaker's] mouth, [it cannot therefore be the connection of *saṃyoga*]. And it is not the relation of inherence[88] (18).

It is not the relation of that which proves and that which is proved, [since the connection between word and meaning] is not established to be invariable[89]. [Now] the relation of that which causes one to understand and that which is to be understood[90] depends on a further connection, since without a relation (*vinā bhāvena*[91]) [between the two] smoke could not be a pointer to the existence of fire. This [particular instance of a] relation of that which causes one to understand and that which is to be understood is not [direct] like [that between] sight and form[92] (19-20).

tujaḥ) he interprets as follows: *yato 'sau arthaḥ na varṇajaḥ, kin tv arṇahetujaḥ: varṇanimittākāśavāyvādijanyaḥ*. 'Since the object is not born of the phonemes, but is rather born of the causes that give rise to the phonemes, [i.e.] born of [the elements], starting with ether and air, which are the causes of the [gross] phonemes'.

[88] Cf. *Śābarabhāṣya*, p. 36, line 23, p. 38, line 1: *mukhe hi śabdam upalabhāmahe, bhūmāv artham. "śabdo 'yaṃ na tv arthaḥ, artho 'yaṃ na śabdaḥ" iti ca vyapadiśanti. rūpabhedo 'pi bhavati. "gaur" iti imaṃ śabdam uccārayanti, sāsnādimantam artham avabudhyante.*

[89] Cf. *Ślokavārttika, sambandhākṣepavāda* 16-19. The same idea lies behind the versions of our half-verse that are transmitted in the *Pauṣkara*: instead of *niyato na vyavasthitaḥ*, the *Pauṣkara* reads *sa tu bandhanavatsthitaḥ*. Umāpatiśivācārya comments (p. 585): *sa tu sambandhaḥ bandhanavatsthitaḥ pūrvoktasambandhadvayavatsu sthitaḥ. tad uktam* [*Mataṅgavidyāpāda* 3:9abc] *'dharmeṇa sādhyate dharmī kvacit kāryeṇa kāraṇam / kāraṇena kvacit kāryam' iti*. Jñānaprakāśa's commentary here is essentially the same and concludes with the same quotation: *sa tu bandhanavatsthitaḥ pūrvoktadvisambandhavatsu sthitaḥ. tad uktam 'dharmeṇa sādhyate...'*. I understand the commentators to mean that the relationship in a formal argument between the *hetu* and the *sādhya* must always in turn depend either on a relationship of cause and effect (thus smoke, which is caused by fire, allows one to infer the presence of fire) or on a relationship of inherence (thus the taste of a mango, which inheres in a mango, causes one to infer that the fruit one eats in pitch darkness must be a mango). (Although the two commentators seem throughout the rest of the chapter to diverge so much from each other and without ever referring to each other's interpretations, here one suspects that there may have been some relationship between their texts.)

[90] This *pāda* (19c), as well as 20c, has a *ra-vipulā* but without the required caesura after the fourth syllable. This perhaps accounts for the alteration of the corresponding half-verse in the version of the *Pauṣkara*.

[91] This is an anomalous use of *bhāva* to mean 'relation', extrapolated presumably from such usages as *kāryakāraṇabhāva*, which comes to be used in the sense of 'the relationship between cause and effect', but literally means 'the being cause and effect [with respect to each other of two things]'. This passage is not in the *Pauṣkara*, but the same usage occurs in Jñānaprakāśa's reading of *Pauṣkara* 8:42c (≈ *Parākhya* 6:19a) above.

[92] Prakāśa is acknowledging that this is the kind of relation between word and meaning, but asserts that it requires convention to link it. Jñānaprakāśa is happy to accept

Words do not of themselves without their having been connected cause one to understand[93] objects [that they denote] (21ab).

[Objection:] But if you say that (*vā*), [one might reply that] understanding can arise from a written letter and there is no link [with the meaning] in that (21cd).

[Siddhānta:] In that case [of writing] we know that there was a creator[94]. Since [the connection of word and meaning is] created by the intellect, the creator of the connection cannot have been the word; the creator of the connection between them is a person (22).

Until someone has declared that [a particular word] is used to denote a [particular] meaning, [another person,] who does not know the other's convention, does not grasp the meaning (23).

[Such] convention we know from direct experience in worldly interaction can be artificial. Without convention people cannot understand a particular meaning (24).

Pratoda spoke:

The world has [always] been just as it is; convention too must [always] have been just as it is. Now a [supposititious] creator of convention could not [have created it] either gradually or all at once[95] (25).

this straightforward interpretation: *tarhi paryavasitaḥ sambandhaḥ ka ucyate? antarapūrvakaṃ saṃketādivivekapūrvakaṃ pratyeyapratyayākhyas tu jñāpyajñāpakalakṣaṇas tu sambandhaḥ.* Umāpatiśivācārya, however, wishes to have the text accept *saṃketa* itself as a distinct fifth type of *sambandha*, and so interprets as follows (p. 585): *turīyapakṣaṃ dūṣayati pratyeyeti: pratyeyapratyayākhyo hi jñāpyajñāpakabhāvaḥ. sa ca sambandhāntarapūrvakaḥ hastihastipakāder iva sambandhāntaram antareṇa jñāpyajñāpakabhāvādṛṣṭer iti bhāvaḥ. evaṃ pakṣāntarāṇi nirākṛtya pauruṣeyasaṃketa eva sambandha iti vaktuṃ tatra lokadṛṣṭaṃ hetum āha: yojaka iti…* The recognition of *saṃketa* as the crucial factor that links words and meaning allies the *Parākhya* with the Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas (see *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 7.2.15-24 [Candrānanda's text] quoted, discussed and translated by Houben 1995: 48-53).

[93] This anomalous use of *pratyeti* with causative sense is paralleled in 6:61d below.

[94] Literally 'In that case [of writing] a creator is remembered'; but it seems unlikely that the text refers to a tradition or myth about a particular creator of writing. Presumably the redactor was familiar with the use of a variety of scripts and regarded it as obvious that script was conventional, and so what must instead be meant is that there must have been a creator. Note that the *Pauṣkara*'s text has dropped verses 20-1 (perhaps deliberately), so that it cannot help us here to reconstruct the intended argument.

[95] This is presumably a compressed reformulation of the line of attack that Kumārila begins in *sambandhākṣepaparihāra* 13: *samayaḥ pratimartyaṃ vā pratyuccāraṇam eva vā / kriyate jagadādau vā sakṛd ekena kenacit.* In our text, however, these problems are not followed up, for Prakāśa responds with a dogmatic statement of the Śaiva position.

Prakāśa spoke:

Just as this universe was created all at once by the will [of the creator], so too was the convention created; people learnt it by His will (26).

Since creatures (*jagat*) are not capable of independent action, being occluded by the darkness of the bonds, whatever action is found in them is produced by Him, and so (*yataḥ* / *tena*) Śarva was the creator of the convention [that connects words with their meanings in language], since he is established to be the root cause. And the conventions of mantras too were forged by Him alone[96] (27-8).

ABBREVIATIONS

EFEO	École française d'Extrême-Orient
IFP	Institut français de Pondichéry/French Institute of Pondicherry
T	Transcript

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[96] In the following section (up to verse 34), the composition of mantras is homologised with grammatical analysis of worldly language, and the central mantras of the cult are raised.

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ART AND RELIGIOUS DOCTRINE: SOME COMMENTS ON THE HIDDEN AND SECRET IN MEDIEVAL INDIAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

The study of religious art often leads scholars beyond the art objects themselves to the world of ideas with which they assume the objects to be associated, the complex of religious doctrines known primarily from written sources. The scholarly pursuit of these connections has taken many forms; it often begins with iconography, the identification of the subject matter, and proceeds from there to an effort to understand the circumstances of the cult and ritual connected with the deity that has now been identified. In such a search scholars hope for a close relationship between text and object; indeed the unambiguous identification of a deity relies on such a close agreement. There have also been broader efforts to connect art objects and the subjects they represent with some of the more abstract elements of religious belief; I think for example of the discussion of the scene of the Buddha preaching in heaven in which an effort is made to see in the presence of this scene a connection to the new movement of Mahāyāna or to sects regarded as proto-Mahāyāna, which it is said emphasized the trans-human aspects of the Buddha[1]. Similar attempts have been made to link complex reliefs like the famous Gandharan relief from Muhammad Nari to abstract doctrine. The reliefs show a central Buddha in a preaching gesture, surrounded by a host of figures. It has been suggested that such reliefs capture the spirit of early Mahāyāna *sūtras* in which the preaching of the text to a myriad of creatures is described[2]. In these cases

[1] Klimburg-Salter 1988: 189-215.

[2] For illustrations see Rosenfield 1967: plates 90-92; for a discussion of the reliefs see *ibidem*: 236 ff.

an exact parallel between art object and text is not even suspected; art objects are thought to embody ideas in a more general and flexible manner. In this paper I would like to question the very concept of how a concrete, sensible object was thought to be capable of carrying meaning in Buddhism and in other Indian religious traditions. I will be asking what kinds of objects are said to carry religious meaning according to the texts that we have and what significance the comments of the texts may have for us as we seek to link the world of art objects and texts.

I should say from the outset that by "meaning" I am looking for abstract meaning. That the image of the Buddha in the temple was not an abstraction but a concrete living presence has now been adequately documented; the Buddha was the owner of property, the possessor of legal rights. The same point has repeatedly been made for Hindu and now Jain images. Some of the evidence for seeing in images the concrete presence of the god or the Jina or the Buddha himself is provided by a corpus of texts that were addressed directly to images, for example the significant body of hymns that were recited by devotees on pilgrimage to famous images[3]. Further evidence comes from the language of donative inscriptions, in which offerings are made directly to the image in the temple. Such inscriptions clearly regard the image as the deity to whom the offerings are made. Elements of daily ritual strengthen this understanding of the image as a living presence; the image is awakened, bathed, fed, put back to sleep and so forth. The rich miracle stories in all the traditions that center around religious images further demonstrate that images were powerful and dynamic presences; images as well as gods may appear to devotees in dreams; they may walk and they may bleed, as other living beings do. There is no question, then, that images are religiously powerful. But this is not the religious meaning with which I shall be concerned in this paper[4]. Here I limit myself to a discussion of how physical objects, which may include images, were thought to be capable of carrying abstract or philosphical meaning[5].

[3] Schopen 1990; Granoff 1993: 66-94; and Granoff 1998[a]: 55-97. Compare also the comments of Jas Elsner on Roman religious art: "Art did not provide a commentary on religion, it was religion" (Elsner 1998: 206).

[4] See the essays in Davis 1998.

[5] I assume that the tradition makes this distinction in other ways as well, not just in the language of the hymns and miracle stories that deal with images as concrete physical presences as opposed to symbols or bearers of abstract meaning. Thus for example in the tradition of the Pāñcarātra, which was intimately concerned with temple building, image

There is no doubt that the notion that an object can embody an abstract concept can be found in the textual traditions of the various Indian religions. But in the texts with which I am most familiar, the object in question is of a somewhat different sort from the objects with which art historians or scholars of religion who look at religious art are normally concerned. In this paper I shall suggest that often the object that is so laden with abstract meaning in the texts is what I would call a "visionary object"; it is either an object of meditation in a practice of meditation described in a given text, or it is a secret hidden reality that lies beyond the simply perceptible and is said to be accessible only to a very select few in a visionary experience[6]. I would like to begin my exploration of the "visionary object" as purveyor of religious meaning with some comments on a relatively early Buddhist meditation text.

Among the Turfan finds at the beginning of this century was a manuscript of a Buddhist meditation text that has been edited and translated into German by Dieter Schlingloff[7]. The text was found in Qyzil and belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school. It has been dated to the Gupta period on the basis of paleography. The text gives numerous

making and ritual worship of images, while there is considerable abstract discussion of the meaning of the *vyūhas*, a separate category comes to be reserved for images, namely the category of the *arcāvatāra*, in which the god directly takes on the form of the image. One of the ways, I think, in which we can understand this distinction between image, *arcā* and *vyūha*, is as a statement that abstract meaning and concrete physical images are to be seen as belonging to separate worlds of discourse.

[6] I have explored the notion of a visionary object with respect to sacred space in a number of papers: Granoff 1998[b], Granoff forthcoming[a], Granoff forthcoming[b].

[7] Schlingloff 1964. I thank Professor Ernst Steinkellner for directing me to this text. Schlingloff has discussed this text and its implications for an understanding of early Buddhist art in a paper, "Die Bedeutung der Symbole in der Altbuddhistischen Kunst" (Schlingloff 1987). Unfortunately I came upon the article only after I had completed this paper and I now add this reference. In his paper Schlingloff makes the challenging suggestion that there was a close connection between meditation practices and early so-called aniconic Buddhist art; the symbols in early Buddhist art, he argues, were chosen not because artists could not or would not make images of the Buddha, but because they were a natural choice. Such symbols were familiar to the monks from their meditation practices in which various objects were associated with particular doctrinal meanings. This reading of early Buddhist art as closely connected to meditation practices greatly strengthens what I hoped to say in this paper, namely that there is considerable evidence in medieval Indian religious texts that the meaning of an object of art or even a holy site was a meaning that was not necessarily obvious from the physical object itself; it was a meaning accorded to the object or place in texts on visions and contemplation practices.

examples of objects that figure in meditation and to which are assigned varying levels of abstract meaning. In his introduction to the text Schlingloff discussed two terms that Buddhists used to denote the relationship between object and abstraction. In one case the object serves as the symbol or perhaps as the sign, the *nimitta*, of the idea; in another it is the *adhipatirūpa*, the 'Verkörperung' or embodiment of that idea[8]. The text is replete with examples of objects, animate and inanimate, which present abstract concepts in concrete form to the meditator. Thus we read how the yogin sees the six elements in embryonic form. He sees four snakes of four different colors; in the midst of these is a shell which represents the element Ether; and in this he sees the face of a young boy, as a symbol of the element of consciousness[9].

In some cases the assignment of a particular abstract concept or entity to a concrete object seems to us to be entirely arbitrary; in other cases we are fortunate in being able to trace the concrete object of meditation in this text back into canonical passages where the object appeared as a simile. Thus the personification of one of the Buddha's virtues, his attentiveness or *smṛtyupasthāna* ('Aufmerksamkeit') takes the form of three men with weapons carrying dishes of oil. Schlingloff quotes both canonical texts and a beautiful passage from Śāntideva, in which the practitioner is warned that he must be as careful in his religious practice as if he were carrying a dish of oil and were followed by a man with a sword, ready to chop off his head if even one drop of oil were to spill from the dish[10]. From this admonitory simile the meditation text has combined the bearer of weapons and the bearer of the oil dish into one figure; men carrying weapons and an oil dish now stand for or somehow incorporate the Buddha's careful attention to religious practice. Other objects incorporating abstract concepts may be simpler; thus elsewhere in the text the meditator sees the ten powers, the *daśa bala* of the Buddha, as ten elephants with the discs of the sun; there are Buddha images on the elephants[11]. In many cases, as

[8] See in particular Schlingloff 1964: 48-49.

[9] Text 129V5, p. 87: *punaḥ kalalāvasthaṃ dhātuṣaṭkaṃ paśyati. tatra cāśīvisā... dhātu-varṇāḥ taṃmadhye śamkham ākāśadhātunimittam tadaṃtargataṃ bāladārakamukhaṃ paśyati vijñānadhātunimittam.*

[10] Schlingloff 1964: 50.

[11] *Ibidem*: 169.

Schlingloff notes, the author of the text seems to have exercised a certain creative freedom in his assignment of objects to ideas. I would like to suggest that this freedom is fundamental to the context in which the connection between object and idea is here being made, namely meditation, and to the peculiar nature of the object in question, a visionary object, something realized during meditation. By their very nature visions could be both conventional and innovative; that is, the meditator could concentrate his mind on objects as described in a particular text, or he could follow his own bent. This one text has examples of both the entirely conventional and the more innovative. I would also venture to suggest as a working hypothesis that as time progressed the balance was to shift; visions became more often personal and innovative, like some of the visions we associate with later Tantric practitioners that came to be the foundation of the various *sādhanas* and diverse medieval ritual techniques[12]. Visions also tended to become increasingly private, at least in the sense of shared only between a small group of initiates, as opposed to being open to the larger public[13].

In the meditation text from Turfan there is no question that it is the visionary object that carries religious or doctrinal meaning and not some physical object of the ordinary world that is directly accessible to the senses. Visionary objects have certain important characteristics that are different from those of ordinary objects, not the least of which is their unique epistemological status. They are seen by the person who has the vision and are accessible only to those who would follow suit and cultivate a similar visionary experience. This has a number of obvious implications for the scholar who would study the relationship between object and religious meaning; he must ask himself first of all: what is the

[12] One could cite for example the abundant autobiographical passages in literary works in Sanskrit and vernacular languages in which the poet describes a vision of a deity that prompted him to undertake his writing: I have discussed some of these in Granoff 1992: 1-97, particularly notes 20-29. Tantric texts often speak of the transmission of the text in visionary language; see for a Jain example the vision of Malliṣeṇasūri in the *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa*. The Buddhist *Sādhanamālā* also has a number of examples. In the Jain and Buddhist cases a personal vision seems to have become the basis of distinctive ritual/meditative traditions.

[13] There is an interesting article by Grinshpon (1997), that deals with what Grinshpon has called the conservative attitude of the orthodox texts on meditation towards the private visionary experience and the use of powers gained from meditation. While Grinshpon concentrates mostly on the powers, the *siddhi*s, much of what he says could just as easily be applied to the meditations themselves.

nature of the object to which Indian religious traditions were most likely to assign doctrinal meaning? I would like to suggest that the meditation text provides us with an important clue or at least a partial answer to the question; it was the visionary object to which such meaning was most readily assigned. While I cannot prove this, I would like to offer in what follows a number of different examples from medieval Indian religious traditions that suggest that what you see is not at all what you get; the important reality is somehow concealed from view; religious meaning, if by that we mean doctrinal meaning, is embedded in a special way of seeing, a visionary seeing, that may start with a sensible object, but that transcends the object and is not tied to its distinctive physical characteristics. To be even more blunt, I hope to suggest that at least in some cases when we are trying to see in an object doctrinal change or doctrinal import we may actually be looking at the wrong object; the image that we as scholars see before us may not be the conveyer of doctrinal meaning in quite the way in which we would like it to be. What was the conveyer of meaning in medieval Indian religion was the transformed or concealed object of the religious vision. I do not by any means want to deny the importace of images in Indian religious traditions, only to repeat what I said when I began, namely that the physical image had its own sphere of activity. As a ritual object, it was regarded as the God himself, active, powerful, present, often occupied with such seemingly trivial pursuits as eating, sleeping, being dressed and being solicited for help from numerous quarters. For the subtleties of doctrine, for statements on theology, we need to look at the object as it was revealed in visionary experiences.

In the paradigm I am suggesting, then, images as ritual objects and visionary objects as special purveyors of doctrinal meaning, operate differently. The two categories could of course cross; in a story that occurs in a late medieval religious biography, we see that specific ritual objects like famous images could indeed become the objects of visions. Jagannātha, the image at Purī, comes from his temple at night and appears in a dream to the Assamese *vaiṣṇava* leader Śaṅkaradeva. An important theological statement is made by the visionary Jagannātha, who by appearing in this vision proclaims that Śaṅkaradeva is the supreme God. Later Jagannātha will travel to Assam, where he will appear to Śaṅkaradeva and his devotees, proclaiming thereby the supremacy of Assam over Purī and the primacy of reciting the name over temple worship. The meaning the tradition gives to the image of Jagannātha in the temple is conveyed by the visionary object and has

nothing to do, I might add, with the specific physical characteristics of the image itself[14].

In what follows I would like to look briefly at a number of examples in which religious meaning is assigned not to what we directly perceive but to what is hidden behind perceived reality. By doing so I would like to suggest that there is a consistent pattern in medieval Indian religions that links doctrine not with what we do see, but with what we do not see, with something more akin to the visionary world of meditation.

II. The hidden in Indian religions

There is rich documentation from a wide variety of religious texts in medieval India that suggests that the physical place that was visible to the senses in ordinary perception was not in fact the holy place that the religious devotee should seek; similarly there are texts that tell us that the main god at the holy site, even where the site was visible, could not be seen by everyone who came to the site. We are thus confronted with a situation in which either a holy place in its entirety may be hidden from view and accessible only to devotees in a visionary experience, or the god at the visible holy place may be invisible except to select devotees who practice some form of meditation. A startling example of the invisible god in the visible temple is familiar from a number of different genres of medieval Sanskrit texts that tell us that the famous dancing Śiva at Vyāghrapura, Cidambaram, could not be seen by just anyone. Only those who were pure in mind could see Śiva's dance. This vision of the Dancing Śiva is achieved after appropriate rituals of purification and by those who have gained thereby "divine sight"[15]. The texts that speak of this esoteric vision range from purāṇic accounts to medieval hagiographies of famous philosophers who are said to have visited the site, suggesting that the tradition of the esoteric vision surrounding this image was widely known.

The concept of a hidden holy site or hidden religious object seems to have been pan-Indian. If we turn to the Jain tradition, we find that there is an entire range of holy objects on the Jain holy places, Mt. Girnar and Śatruñjaya, that are hidden from ordinary pilgrims and accessible only

[14] See Granoff forthcoming[b]. Work on Buddhist meditation texts, for example, the many articles by Paul Griffiths, has also suggested that the description of the Buddha in meditation may well have been modeled on the appearance of the Buddha image.

[15] *Śaṅkara Digvijaya*, 14.63; *Sūtasaṃhitā*, 3.9 cited in Granoff 1998[b].

after a process of ritual cultivation. The mountain that you see is not what the pilgrim seeks; what the pilgrim seeks in these accounts is the wells of elixir and the magical images that are entirely invisible without divine guidance and ritual preparation[16].

The notion of a hidden holy place or hidden object seems to have been the dominant understanding of holy places and objects in late medieval times. Late medieval Hindu Purāṇas that deal with regional holy sites offer us abundant examples. In a text dealing with Orissa, the *Kapila Purāṇa*, for example, we are repeatedly told that the *tīrtha*s are hidden or secret (*guhya; rahasya*). Indeed Ekāmravana is said to be so secret that even the Gods do not know about it (11.13-16). What one sees at the place, the visible rivers, rocks and trees are not always the holy place; it requires special knowledge and special sight to see the hidden sacred place beyond the visible reality. The parallels to late texts that deal with Vṛndāvan as the paradisiacal forest in which Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā sport are obvious; Vṛndāvan could also be described as a numinous reality and not the ordinary place that the uninitiated sees.

Sometimes it is not only the physical features of a holy place or the god at the site that are hidden from ordinary view; it may even be the company of worshippers. Thus in the *Aruṇācala Māhātmya* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* we are told that the gods and siddhas circumambulate the mountain, although they are not visible. Every pilgrim must be careful not to jostle them in the crowd (1.3.39). In the Oriya tradition of the Pañca Sakhās, the five *vaiṣṇava* poets, it is often said not that the devotees are entirely invisible but that they are none the less concealed; people do not recognize each other as devotees. *Sādhu*s may be gathered in a particular place but they do not know each other to be *sādhu*s[17]. The world of religious meaning is a hidden world that is not obvious from the physical features of the world that we see.

When we turn to the hidden god, the evidence to support a belief in the importance of concealment in Indian religious traditions is even stronger. Stories of God in disguise abound in Indian religious texts and from a very early time; one need mention only the story of Arjuna meeting Śiva in the guise of the hunter as an early example, and the account of Śaṅkara meeting Vyāsa disguised as a Caṇḍāla in the late medieval biographies of Śaṅkara as a later example; there is also the well-known and early purāṇic

[16] See Granoff forthcoming[a].

[17] From the *Yaśovanta Mālikā* or *Varṇṇa Ṭīkā*: 13.

story of Viṣṇu tricking Bali by disguising himself as a dwarf. In a Buddhist text, the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (p. 268), the intentional disguise is potentially even more confusing; here we are told that the Buddha teaches the doctrine to those who believe in Nārāyaṇa as Nārāyaṇa; to those who believe in Śiva he appears as Śiva and so forth. The visible form of the god is irrelevant as a clue to his identity or the identity of the doctrine he teaches. What all these stories have in common and what makes them relevant to the present discussion is that they imply that the bearer of religious meaning is not what you see, but what you do not see; it is not the hunter or the outcaste, but the god who only reveals himself later.

I have given these examples of hidden holy sites, invisible gods, gods in disguise and devotees gone unrecognized to try to show that there is ample evidence in Indian religious traditions of a predilection to go beyond the visually obvious to some other reality that is not so readily apparent and that then becomes religiously significant. The examples of the disguised god, which are early, I hope suggest that we may not just be dealing with an understanding of the religiously significant that is late and perhaps associated with the esoteric traditions that are growing in importance in medieval India. When we do turn to esoteric literature, we see that the practice of assigning religious meaning to something hidden is abundantly documented. In her recent study of the Kanphata monastery at Caughera in Nepal, Véronique Bouillier speaks of a dialectic between the publicly accessible and the hidden or secret. Thus, the secret rites of the group are publicly enacted at times of public celebrations when the monastery is crowded with onlookers. The sacred object, the reliquary of the founder Ratannāth, is brought out, draped in rich cloth, garlanded with flowers, and yet the sacred object within the reliquary keeps its secret: no one even knows what it is[18]. In the final analysis, the publicly visible gives no clue as to the religious truth hidden within.

The same play between perceptible reality and hidden truth is evident in my next examples, taken from the writings of the esoteric Oriya *vaiṣṇava* poets, the Pañca Sakhā, whom I mentioned above. These poets flourished in the 16th century in Orissa. Their writings give examples of hidden meanings in words, of hidden holy places, hidden gods and hidden fellow devotees. In their writings these poets appear to be almost obsessed with secrecy and the need for secrecy. Even the genres in which

[18] Bouillier 1997: 19.

they write proclaim the secret nature of their teachings. Many of these poets wrote accounts of the future, of the decay in the Kali *yuga* and the ultimate destruction of the wicked. These accounts go beyond the formulaic descriptions found in the various Sanskrit Purāṇas to describe a complex battle at the end of the world, complete with the names of kings and dates[19]. Perhaps no knowledge is so hidden from ordinary individuals as the knowledge of the future. In addition, the Pañca Sakhā poets often described their works as *Gītā*s, considering them the esoteric reading of the *Gītā* that God spoke to Arjuna on the battlefield at the time of the *Mahābhārata* war[20]. When we look into the texts we read of hidden holy places, hidden gods, and hidden devotees. Almost nothing is what it seems.

In their accounts the Pañca Sakhā poets consider Jagannātha Pīṭha, the area around Purī, to be something radically different from what we actually think we see. Jagannātha Pīṭha is actually *nityagoloka*, eternal heaven, and there Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are eternally united and eternally present. A person just has to be able to see this all, and that seeing is a kind of visionary experience[21]. Yaśovanta Dāsa, for example, in his *Premabhaktibrahmagītā* describes the temple at Purī as a hidden holy place, a *guptasthāna*. The holy place is not in fact the visible physical temple itself; the holy place is the heaven of Viṣṇu, Vaikuṇṭha, that is hidden there. In chapter 5 of the *Premabhakti* Yaśovanta explains what he means; the road that runs from the chariot house to the main temple is the river Ganges. The Garuḍa pillar is mount Meru. The two lions at the gate are Jaya and Vijaya, Viṣṇu's gate keepers. Brahmā, Śiva and Indra along with the siddhas and gods are lining the steps to the temple, reminding us of the invisible gods circumambulating Mt. Aruṇācala in the *Skanda Purāṇa* cited above. The goddess Lakṣmī cooks the food for Jagannātha, while the Ganges is the one who serves it. Inside the temple, the jewelled *vedi* on which the images are placed is the syllable *Om*; it is also the cosmic serpent Ananta. It also has billions of *śālagrāma* stones, sacred to Viṣṇu, on it. None of these can be seen; they are all hidden. The stone slabs under the images are heaven, earth and the netherworld. The language of the text makes it clear that these are not simply symbolic equivalents; the text says that earth, heaven and the netherworld have

[19] See the *Yaśovanta Mālikā* or *Varṇṇa Ṭīkā*.

[20] See the *Garuḍa Gītā*, p. 6. See also the *Gupta Gītā*, p. 5.

[21] *Yaśovanta Dāsankar Premabhakti-brahmagītā*; this contains a lengthy introduction in Oriya and the text of the *Premabhakti Brahmagītā*.

taken birth in the form of the *vedi*[22]. As Yaśovanta explains the holy site and holy objects, he warns his listener again and again not to divulge the information but to keep it secret. It seems essential to the text, then, that there be no obvious visual clues for these identifications. This is a level of meaning that is not derivable from perceptible clues, something that might have compromised its secret nature. When we move to a discussion of the actual images themselves, we are told that Subhadrā is Brahmā, who has taken on this female form and that morever Rādhā is also concealed within Subhadrā. The Pañca Sakhā theology views Kṛṣṇa as Parama Brahma and Rādhā as the individual soul; their ultimate union is the absolute truth that the devotee seeks to experience. Thus the absence of Rādhā among the icons seems to have posed a problem for the poets; they resolved it by asserting that Rādhā is there; she just cannot be seen by any ordinary means of perception. The text also explains the presence of mantras in the images; Subhadrā is the syllable *ha* while Baladeva is the syllable *re*. Jagannātha is all the sixteen mantras. This reminds us of another widespread and pan-Indian belief in hidden mantras. It is well known that some hymns were regarded as containing embedded with them hidden mantras that in many cases were totally unconnected with the apparent meaning of the verses of the hymns themselves, just as in the present case the mantras cannot obviously be connected with the visual features of the images; nor can their existence even be known to the unitiated[23].

Returning to the Jagannātha temple at Purī, in the *Premabhakti* the temple is conceived as the body of Ananta. The superstructure is his neck, while its upper parts are his hood. The capping structures are a love bed for Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, while the *kalaśa* at the top is Rādhā. Above that is the Nīlacakra and that is Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā are hiding there by assuming those forms.

The text finds Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā or heaven and sacred rivers in many other ways, all hidden and none obvious from any visual or sensory cue. A mantra may even be a sacred place. Even the origin myth of the sacred images that Yaśovanta Dāsa tells in the *Premabhakti* is a story of concealment. At an early stage of the creation, Rudra, Viṣṇu and Brahmā

[22] *Ibidem*: 78. One might compare these descriptions with accounts of the ritual meditative construction of the throne of the god in the Āgamas.

[23] Some of the examples I know best come from the Jain tradition of hymns to Pārśvanātha. They have been collected by Sārābhāi Maṇilāla Navāb in *Śrī Pārśvanātha Upāsanā*. Examples also exist of hymns to Hindu gods which incorporate mantras. See the comments in the introduction to the *Śrībhuvaneśvarīmahāstotra*.

have been born from Yogamāyā. While Viṣṇu and Brahmā busy themselves appropriately, Śiva and Yogamāyā have sex together. Brahmā upbraids his mother for this unseemly act of incest and she curses them all. Brahmā will go to earth concealed in the form of a woman; Viṣṇu will be born again and again. This is why the three brothers are now in hiding in Puruṣottama. Śiva is Balabhadra; Brahmā is Subhadrā and Viṣṇu is Śrī Jagannātha. The revelation of these truths is part of a secret transmission; it is also part of a process of Yoga that identifies further these external elements of a secret cosmology and theology with the practitioner's body. We are squarely in the world of secrets, meditations, and religious meaning that belongs not so much to physical objects as to a whole world that is superimposed on the objects, a world of new transformed objects that can be seen in meditation and that embody religious doctrine and meaning. These transformed objects then participate in a larger discourse on cosmology and salvation.

It should be noted that the assignment of a meaning that is not readily apparent to physical objects, such as we see in these Oriya texts, is neither new to them nor unique to them. Earlier ritual texts like the Vaikhānasa and Pāñcarātra texts, for example, had described Viṣṇu and his attributes and weapons in a similar fashion. These texts readily identified Viṣṇu's weapons and attributes with some of the various categories into which they analyzed their universe. Both Vaikhānasa and Pāñcarātra texts follow a basic Sāṃkhya metaphysics; the weapons of Viṣṇu become either the various physical elements (*mahābhūtas)* of the Sāṃkhya system, or in some cases the earlier Sāṃkhya evolutes, the intellect (*buddhi*), the ego and even the material principle, the *pradhāna,* itself[24]. Thus, the attributes of Viṣṇu that we see are not exactly or not entirely as we see them; it requires the knowledge transmitted through the texts for us to see them as they actually are, as the basic physical elements or the other Sāṃkhya evolutes that coexist with Viṣṇu, disguised, as it were, as his weapons and attributes.

It is also important to note that the world of assigned meanings and concealed forms is often said to be inherently unstable. The *Garuḍa Gītā,* ascribed to Acyutānanda Dāsa, another of the Pañca Sakhā Vaiṣṇava poets, in many ways shows how this esoteric tradition has transformed yet another genre of traditional text, the *māhātmya*, to create a world of secret places and secret meaning. In the traditional *māhātmya*, the act that sanctifies the

[24] See for example, the *Khilādhikāra* of the Vaikhānasas and the *Viṣṇusmṛti* of the Pāñcarātra, cited in Colas 1996:105.

holy site has taken place in some remote past. Whatever the event, however, it has left some visible mark on the site, perhaps a river, perhaps a tank, that becomes the focus of worship. In the *Garuḍa Gītā,* which is in many ways a *māhātmya* of the Yājapura area, the focus is not on the past but on the future; the emphasis is not on the visible traces of the past but on the invisible happenings of the future. The holy sites are where the righteous will gather at the time of the destruction of the world. Their presence there will be unknown to others, and often to each other. In addition to this transformation of the traditional *māhātmya*, the text also reenvisions the traditional holy site. It opens with an invocation to Jagannātha and a description of some holy places. At the start of the text, the poet praises Jagannātha, but a Jagannātha who is in hiding, so to speak. Gods hide in these texts by assuming the forms of something or someone else. Here Jagannātha, who abides in Nīlagiri, has taken on the form of the Buddha:

> *Śrī nīlakandare vije kariaccha bauddharūpa vahiccha*
> *bhakata nimante tumar esabu bhiāṇa prabhu śrīvatsa //*

> "You reside in all your splendour in the form of the Buddha in the cave on Nīla mountain; for the sake of your devotees, O Śrīvatsa, you have created all of this" (3).

The *Garuḍa Gītā* goes on to make a series of statements about the holy sites of Orissa; Yājapura is the foot of the god while Kaṭak is his waist and Bhuvaneśvara is his navel; the eighteen span bridge on the road to Purī is the altar for the sacred basil plant and the main road is the essence of the Vedas. The dust on the road is grains of gold. Yogamāyā is present in the building called the *guṇḍīcāghara,* while sages in yoga are also present there, though presumably unseen. Such is the glory of God, but the text tells us, his power is also such that he can in an instant change everything there is into something else:

> *emanta mahimā vikāśa karicchu sabu aśe khela tora*
> *kṣanaka madhyare an karipāru tuhi sinā dāmodara //*

> "Such are the wondrous powers you display; all of this is your play.
> O Damodara, in a single instant you could change it all into something else" (21).

The holy place is fraught with hidden significance, but it is a significance that is not fixed. Like the objects of meditation with which I began this discussion, these objects are fluid; the meditator who imbues them with significance, in this case, God, can at any moment change that

significance and with it change the very appearance of the objects themselves. The relationship between object and meaning is both secret and in some sense indeterminate.

While the Oriya *vaiṣṇava* texts I have cited are all late in date, the parallels they present to earlier ritual culture are striking. I have noted just above that ritual texts like those of the Vaikhānasa and Pāñcarātra in an analogous manner assign various meanings to the attributes of Viṣṇu, but it is possible to trace this process even further back into the earliest strata of Indian ritual culture, to the world of symbolic equivalents and substitutions of the sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇas. Gérard Colas in his discussion of Vaikhānasa ritual has written eloquently of the role of substitution and symbolism in medieval ritual, with its clear Vedic precedents[25]:

> Le prêtre exécute ses gestes dans un univers que les yeux seuls ne peuvent percevoir. Cet univers, instable, est celui de la modification (*pariṇāma*) et de la permutation. Les choses et les êtres s'y échangent et s'y symbolisent.

We might say of our later Oriya texts very much the same thing; this is a world that is not visible to the ordinary eye, a world of fluid connections, of constructed meanings that cannot be directly seen and that require special knowledge to reveal their secrets. We might also say of the religious world that the Oriya texts allow us to see that it belongs firmly to patterns established in some of the earliest religious texts in India.

III. Conclusions

In this paper I wanted to raise a very basic and simple question: when we speak about objects and religious doctrine, what are those "objects" that we would like to investigate as carriers of religious meaning? I began from a consideration of a Buddhist meditation text which does indeed link objects with abstract concepts, but the objects it emphasizes are special objects. They are objects of meditation. I tried to suggest that as objects of meditation there is a flexibility to them; an individual practitioner might assign a unique meaning to an object that is not necessarily a shared meaning. In the course of my discussion I mentioned what I would consider to be an extreme case of the tendency to assign arbitrary religious meaning to an object: the association of mantras with verses in a hymn or as at Jagannātha Purī, the association of mantras with images in the

[25] Colas 1996: 211.

temple. By the phrase "arbitrary assignment of meaning" I mean that there is in such cases no chance to move unaided from what you perceive to the assigned mantra. The mantra is an overlay of meaning that is not predictable from the appearance of the object, words or sculpture, to which it is assigned.

In my discussion I also surveyed examples of what I would consider to be a general tendency to deny particular religious importance to what we sense or perceive in medieval Indian religions. I cited examples from purāṇic texts in which the holy place is not the place that you see but something hidden, often below ground, as at the Jain sites of Śatruñjaya or Girnar; the holy object is also not simply something that can be seen, but is an object that appears to the religious seeker in a vision, like the dancing Śiva at Cidambaram. Even your fellow pilgrims may be invisible, like the gods crowding Mt. Aruṇācala. Finally I looked in somewhat more detail at one poem in Oriya that deals with religious doctrine and art objects, the temple and images at Jagannātha Purī, bringing in corroborative evidence from other Oriya texts. I hoped by these examples to show that when religious meaning is assigned to images and the temple, it is again an overlay of meaning that does not seem to rely on any inherent physical features of image or temple. Religious meaning seems to exist in a realm that is other than the concrete objects to which it is then assigned.

There are other types of evidence that could be mustered in support of this hypothesis. Scholars have long noted that temples at a single site or within a single cultural range and dedicated to different deities or different religions are indistinguishable in terms of artistic style despite the obvious differences in the doctrines of the religions to which the monuments are dedicated. Thus the sculptures at Khajuraho share a common artistic idiom that is common to Jain and Hindu temples. Similarly, within a single larger cultural context, it has been argued that Jain, Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Śaiva and Saurya temples in the Chalukya domains are not distinguishable by style[26]. A further example might be found in the ritual culture of some medieval Tantric texts in which ritual formulas derived from Buddhist and Hindu sources freely intermingle. The 16th century *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* in a single chapter on Durgā offers a *dhyāna* on Pārvatī as a Śabarī and Śiva as a hunter alongside verses that instruct the practitioner to worship the five Buddhas

[26] Tartakov 1997: 100.

and eight bodhisattvas or meditate on Amitābha Buddha[27]. A much earlier Buddhist ritual text, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa,* offers the practitioner the option of worshipping according to the Buddhist rituals the text offers or according to the "more common way", which was presumably the Hindu way. In chapter 2, verse 48, we are told that the mantras, Buddhist (*ārya*), or non-Buddhist (*laukika*), are immediately effective. The text further states in verse 57 that it has taken some of its rituals from something called the *Garuḍa Tantra*, which is also cited in the Jain *Jvālāmālinī Kalpa*[28]. Ritual culture in these cases like artistic styles at temple sites seems to be immune to doctrinal differences.

What would I conclude from all of this? I would like to argue that in the sphere of "effective religion", of rituals, mantras, and images, the sphere of activity that centers around the manipulation of sensible objects, doctrinal difference is irrelevant so long as the ritual object is recognized as somehow inherently powerful. The converse of this observation is that one cannot start from the sensible object and attempt to arrive at any understanding of its doctrinal meaning very easily. I would further argue that the many examples of hidden gods, hidden holy sites and hidden devotees are also telling us that at least in certain contexts and certain cases it is not the sensible object that carries doctrinal meaning; what carries doctrinal content is precisely what you cannot see; what you can see is in fact not very important to the theologian or philosopher. One could argue that some of my examples, at least those taken from the Oriya poets, belong to an esoteric tradition which by definition was concerned with secrecy and that therefore they may really be a special case from which we ought not to generalize. I would counter that the same tendency in the Purāṇas and in other genres of texts to place special value on the hidden, on what cannot be seen, suggests that the phenomenon was more widespread and not just confined to esoteric religious groups. In addition, the parallels to the earlier ritual culture suggest that the esoteric texts are firmly rooted in a more general religious understanding. All of this evidence together seems to be telling us that doctrinal meaning is assigned to what we cannot see or rather to what we can see only with a special kind of seeing. The implications for any effort to connect art objects with doctrinal change seem to me to be worth considering.

[27] *Tantrasārasaṃgraha,* chapter 22, verses 20 ff. and 50 ff.

[28] I am preparing a study on the phenomenon of "ritual eclecticism" in medieval India.

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"SAPTAVĀRA". A DHĀRAṆĪ COLLECTION FROM NEPAL

In the Bavarian State Library (Munich), there are two small manuscripts from Nepal which contain seven Dhāraṇīs[1] (and a further text) of the tantric Buddhism or Vajrayāna. They represent a collection of texts which has not yet got the full attention of science or has been misunderstood in some way.

The first manuscript has the call number "Cod. sanscr. 423"[2]. The exterior description is as follows: 40 leaves of brownish plant paper. The measures are 6 × 14.5 cm. It has five lines written in Nepali script. The manuscript has seven miniatures. It is between two wooden painted covers which do not belong to this manuscript[3]. Date of the latter is c. 19th century A.D.

The texts in this manuscript are:

1a. Śrī-vasudhārānāma-aṣṭottaraśatakaṃ buddha-bhāṣitam, fol. 1^r1 - 4^v4.
1b. Āryaśrī-vasudhārā-nāma-dhāraṇī, fol. 4^v4 - 7^r4.
2. Ārya-vajravidāraṇa-hṛdayamantra-dhāraṇī, fol. 7^v1 - 11^r5.
3. Ārya-gaṇapatihṛdayā-nāma-dhāraṇī, fol. 11^v1 - 14^v2.
4. Āryoṣṇīṣavijayā-nāma-dhāraṇī, fol. 15^v1 - 19^v2.
5. Ārya-parṇaśabarī-mahāmārīpraśamanī-nāma-dhāraṇī, fol. 20^v1 - 22^v3.
6. Ārya-mārīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī, fol. 23^v1 - 25^v4.
7. Ārya-grahamātṛkā-nāma-dhāraṇī, fol. 26^v1 - 39^v4.

At the beginning of each text there is a miniature of the respective deity.

The second manuscript has the call no. "Cod. sanscr. 511". It has 33 leaves in the measures 6.5 × 20.5 cm. Each leaf is written with five lines in

[1] For the term cf. Waddell 1912-13 and Grönbold 1984: 348 f.

[2] See Janert 1985: no. 2865. Cf. also the exhibition catalogue: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 1978: no. 190.

[3] They have been described in Grönbold 1991: no. 8.

Nepali script. At the beginning of each text the space for miniatures has been left out but they have not been painted. Date of the manuscript is c. 19th century A.D. The texts contained are:

1. Ārya-ṣaḍakṣ[ar]īmahāvidyārajñī-nāma-dhāraṇī, fol. $1^{v}1$ - $3^{v}2$.
2. Ārya-vajravidāraṇa-hṛdayamantra-dhāraṇī, fol. $4^{v}1$ - $8^{r}2$.
3. Ārya-gaṇapa[ti]hṛdayā-nāma-dhāraṇī, fol. $9^{v}1$ - $11^{v}5$.
4. Āryoṣṇīṣvijayā-nāma-dhāraṇī, fol. $12^{v}1$ - $14^{r}1$.
5. Āryaśrī-prajñāpāramitā-nāma-dharaṇī, fol. $15^{v}1$ - $18^{r}3$.
6. Ārya-māracī[!]-nāma-dhāraṇī, fol. $19^{v}1$ - $20^{v}7$.
7. Ā[r]yya-grahamātṛkā-nāma-dhāraṇī, fol. $21^{v}1$ - $33^{v}4$.

We can find manuscripts with the same or similar texts in other collections too:

In the University Library of Cambridge there is the manuscript Add. 1315, which comes from the collection of Daniel Wright[4] and Add. 1556, also from Wright[5]. In the Royal Asiatic Society, London we find the manuscripts no. 59[6] and no. 79[7] from the Hodgson collection. In the Asiatic Society of Bengal there is manuscript no. 10741[8]. Naturally in the National Archives in Kathmandu we find some manuscripts of this type[9]. In the Tokyo University Library they have several manuscripts but not under a special name[10]. A microfilm of a "Saptavāradhāraṇī" is in the collection of the Institute of Advanced Studies of World Religions[11].

[4] Bendall 1883: 44. It contains the texts (the spelling is as in Bendall): Śrīmahākālatanturāja nāma ṣatanujasya mahākālasādhana, Āryaśrīvaśundharāyā nāmāṣṭottaraśatakam, Āryavajavīdāriṇyai nāma hṛdayam, Āryagaṇapatihṛdayam, Ārya Uṣṇīṣavijayā nāma dhāraṇī, Āryapannagapati nāma dhāraṇī, Āryamārīcī nāma dhāraṇī, Ārya grahamātṛkā nāma dhāraṇī. Wright 1966: 221.

[5] Bendall 1883: 66. Here we find the téxts (the spelling is as in Bendall): Āryaśrīvasadhārāyā nāmāṣṭottaraśatakaṃ buddhabhāṣitam, Āryagaṇapatirūdayaṃ mūlatantra, Āryaśrī Uśṇīṣavijayā nāma dhāraṇī, Piśāśrīrjñaśavalī nāma dhāraṇīhṛdayamalamantra, Āryamārīci devatāyā nāma dhāraṇī, Āryaśrīnavagrahamātṛkā nāma dhāraṇī. Wright 1966: 222.

[6] Cowell-Eggeling 1876: 43.

[7] Cowell-Eggeling 1876: 49-51. The order is: Vasudhārā-, Vajravidāraṇī-, Gaṇapatihṛdaya-, Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī, Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayam, Mārīcī-, Grahamātṛkā-dhāraṇī. According to Gellner 1992: 359, note 39, Prajñāpāramitā can be instead of Parṇaśabarī.

[8] Shastri 1917: no. 48. Here the Grahamātṛkā-dhāraṇī occurs in the beginning and at the end. First text is the above mentioned no. 1a; no. 1b is lacking.

[9] Van Kooij 1977: 60, notes 41 and 43.

[10] Matsunami 1965: nos. 191, 192, and presumably nos. 197, 198. See generally Tsukamoto K. Matsunaga, Y. Isoda, H. 1989: vol. IV, p. 67.

[11] *Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts* 1975: no. II-249. According to Moriguchi 1989: 34, "Saptavāradhāraṇī" shall be only another name of the Grahamātṛkādhāraṇī.

Although there are slight differences in contents, it becomes clear that it is a special composition of seven Dhāraṇīs. In the early reports about Buddhist literature from Nepal (Hodgson 1874[12] and Wright 1877[13]) we find the denomination "Saptavāra" for this collection. The second of the Munich manuscripts has on fol. 1^{r} the title "Saptavālaḥ" which is a writer's error. Van Kooij writes rightly "... it seems that this denomination has secundarily been attached..."[14].

An idea how this name came into being gives us one manuscript in Kathmandu where we read the name of a planet together with the word "-vāra" in the margin when a new Dhāraṇī starts. In the first Munich manuscript we have only the names of the planets on the left margin of the verso side of the leaves and that:

fol. 1 - 6	āditya, Sun
fol. 7 - 10	soma, Moon
fol. 11 - 14	maṅgala, Mars
fol. 15 - 19	budha, Mercury
fol. 20 - 22	bṛha(spati), Jupiter
fol. 23 - 25	śukra, Venus
fol. 26 - 40	śani, Saturn.

The manuscript "Cod. sanscr. 511" has:

fol. 1^{V}	ādityavāra (further on only: ādi)
fol. 4^{V}	somavāra (soma)
fol. 9^{V}	maṃgavārayā (maṃga)
fol. 12^{V}	budhavārayā (budha)
fol. 15^{V}	bṛhaspatiyā (bṛha)
fol. 19^{V}	śukravārayā (śukra)
fol. 21^{V}	śaniśvara[!]vāra (śani).

What does this mean now? I cannot follow Van Kooij, who says[15]: "It is perhaps possible that the title of Saptavāra originally denoted the worship of the seven planets on the seven days of the week, but was later on extended to the group of seven goddesses when the latter became associated with the planets".

[12] Hodgson 1972: 19, 39.

[13] Wright 1966: 221 f.

[14] Van Kooij 1977: 61. A small text which describes "seven sicknesses related to the seven weekdays", named Vārasaptadoṣa, is part of the Hindu text Dākinīkalpa, see Hermann-Pfandt 1997: 53-75.

[15] Van Kooij 1977: 61.

The connection of the planet name with -vāra, "day" shows clearly that it means the days of the week. And connected with the Dhāraṇīs it says, you have to read the one or the other of these magical texts on this or that day of the week. So this collection of Dhāraṇīs is a prayer book for the week and the name "Saptavāra" is a denomination for practical purposes only. It is not at first a group of female deities[16] like the Pañcarakṣā or the Mātṛkās, but of texts.

The name may have been given by the Buddhists of Nepal. From the oral usage it may have come into the books of Hodgson and Wright.

The purpose of praying these texts is explained by Gellner[17]: It is done "In times of particular misfortune...". "Two other protective practices, which literate laymen could carry out by themselves, were the worship of the Buddhist forms of the seven days of the week... These were worshipped by reciting the texts named after them". But it is not really the worship of the days!

As we know, each Dhāraṇī, if read, has a magical effect which according to the tradition has been named by the Buddha when preaching the text.

Vasudhārā-dhāraṇī is "for riches"[18].

The Vajravidāraṇa-dhāraṇī "insures robust health"[19].

The Gaṇapatihṛdayā-dhāraṇī fulfils whatever one wishes[20].

The Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī "is specially efficacious in curing diseases and prolonging life"[21].

The Parṇaśabarī-dhāraṇī protects "one from all evils and accidents"[22].

The Mārīcī-dhāraṇī is "for self-preservation"[23].

The Grahamātṛkā-dhāraṇī "insures longevity to ninety-nine years, prevents all evils resulting from adverse planets, and makes the adorer capable of remembering the history of his former existences"[24].

[16] Van Kooij 1977: 61.

[17] Gellner 1992: 127 and note 39.

[18] Waddell 1912-13: 175. It may be because of this fact that manuscripts of this text are to be found also in Jaina libraries; see Jain 1945.

[19] Mitra 1882: 269. Waddell 1912-13: 175: "To destroy disease and preserve health".

[20] Mitra 1882: 89. Waddell 1912-13: 174: "For worldly goods and good fortune".

[21] Mitra 1882: 267. Waddell 1912-13: 175: "To avert all kinds of harm, cure disease and procure long life".

[22] Mitra 1882: 176. Waddell 1912-13: 174: "For health and cure by forest drugs".

[23] Mitra 1882: 174.

[24] Mitra 1882: 93. Waddell 1912-13: 174: "Against adverse planets inimical to life and for rebirth in Indra's heaven".

This combination of Dhāraṇīs is not known as a special group from India[25]. So, it must have been formed in Nepal. An approximate date of the formation we get through the information given by Van Kooij. We find wood carvings of the deities of this group in the Chuṣya-bāhā monastery in Kathmandu (and also in Chun-bāhā)[26]. "The wooden struts... on which most of the deities... are represented, are supposed to be of the 15th century"[27]. Therefore at this time the group of texts should have existed as a separate manuscript.

The practice to pray these Dhāraṇīs is nowadays, as we hear from Gellner[28] "very markedly in decline".

The iconography of the goddesses

In the carvings in the Kathmandu-monastery the deities are in human form, whereas in the first Munich manuscript they have a tantric form as also in a Nepal-manuscript[29].

Vasudhārā. She has one head, six arms, is flesh-coloured. Her aura is blue, the nimbus green and the mandorla light and dark red. She shows in her right hands (from above) Buddhasmaraṇa-mudrā, Cintāmaṇi and Varada-mudrā; in her left ones book, ears of corn and a vase[30].

Vajravidāraṇī. She is red coloured, has five heads (her right ones yellow, white, the left ones blue, white), and 10 arms. The two main hands perform the Dharmacakra-mudrā. In the other right hands she holds (from above) sword, arrow, axe and has Varada-mudrā. In her left hands she shows Tarjanī-mudrā, bow, branch of flowers, and also Varada-mudrā[31]. Her nimbus is dark red, otherwise like with Vasudhārā. Like Vasudhārā she sits in a variation of Lalitāsana posture, whereas in the Kathmandu-manuscript she stands in Pratyālīḍhāsana. There she has three faces and 20 arms[32].

Gaṇapatihṛdayā. She is red of complexion, has one elephant head with third eye and eight arms. She sits on a rat. In her right hands she has (from

[25] Although they partly appear in the same series in Dhāraṇī-saṅgrahas, e.g. Mitra, 1882: 292.

[26] Van Kooij 1977: 60.

[27] Van Kooij 1977: 41.

[28] Gellner 1992: 127.

[29] Van Kooij 1977: 63 ff.

[30] Cf. Grönbold 1984: 494.

[31] Cf. Grönbold 1984: 491 f.

[32] Van Kooij 1977: 63. Different in Bhattacharyya 1924: pl. XLII, e.

above): rosary, arrow, hammer, tusk (?); in her left ones axe, bow, noose, fruit (?). Aura etc. are as with Vasudhārā. The Kathmandu-manuscript is different[33].

The next goddess is **Uṣṇīṣavijayā**. She is of white colour and has three heads (her right one yellow, the left one red) and eight arms. In her right hands she has (from above) Buddha-figure, arrow, Varada-mudrā; in her left hands Abhaya-mudrā, bow, filled bowl. The main hands perform Dharmacakra-mudrā[34]. Nimbus is in light and dark crimson, otherwise like with Vasudhārā.

Parṇaśabarī. Her colour is yellow; her additional right head is white, the left one blue. She has six arms. In her right hands she holds (from above) a club, arrow; in the left ones a bunch of leaves, bow. Her main hands perform the Dharmacakra-mudrā[35]. Posture, aura etc. are as before.

Mārīcī. She is of red colour, has three heads (her right one is white, her left one a blue head of a sow). She has eight arms and stands in Ālīḍha-posture on a chariot with a yellow, two-partite flag, drawn by five blue pigs. The right hands show (from above) Tarjanī-mudrā (?), vajra, rosary and needle; the left ones arrow-shooting by bow, lotusbud, noose and thread[36]. Aura etc. are as with Vasudhārā.

Grahamātṛkā. She is white, has three heads (her right one is yellow, the left one is red). Six-armed, she holds in her right hands (from above) arrow, vajra; in her left ones bow and lotusbud. The main hands perform Dharmacakra-mudrā[37]. Posture, aura etc. are as with Vasudhārā.

All these goddesses wear jewels, almost the same rich clothing. They sit on a lotusflower above a yellow pedestal on a flowering meadow and before a tree. On left and right side one can see moon and sun in the sky.

As we know, many of the deities named in the titles of Dhāraṇī-texts are only deifications or hypostases of the respective texts[38]. In our case the importance of the collection lies in the composition of texts with magical effects and not in a representation of an eventual group of goddesses. Such a group of these seven goddesses we otherwise have not

[33] Van Kooij 1977: 63. So also Bhattacharyya 1924: 158 and pl. XLII, d.

[34] Van Kooij 1977: 63. With variations Grönbold 1984: 478.

[35] With variants, cf. Grönbold 1984: 443.

[36] Somewhat different in Grönbold 1984: 429, and also in the Kathmandu-manuscript, cf. Van Kooij 1977: 64.

[37] Cf. Grönbold 1984: 364. A little bit different in Van Kooij 1977: 65 and Bhattacharyya 1924: Pl. XLII, c. Cf. also Pal-Bhattacharyya 1969: pl. 16.

[38] Waddell 1912-13: 175 ff. Van Kooij 1977: 45.

heard of and it is surprising enough to find them sculptured in some Nepalese monasteries. But that is a late development. And surely we cannot speak of an astral connection of the goddesses because of the reading their texts on a special day.

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TEXT-CRITICAL REMARKS ON ĀRYAŚŪRA'S *MAHIṢA*- AND ŚATAPATTRAJĀTAKA (STUDIES IN ĀRYAŚŪRA'S *JĀTAKAMĀLĀ*. III)[1]

In two previous papers – one by myself, one in collaboration with Roland Steiner – an attempt was made to demonstrate both the desirability and necessity of a new edition of one of the early master-pieces of classical Sanskrit literature, Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* (ĀJM). Meanwhile a substantial step forward has been made to achieve this goal: recently my student Albrecht Hanisch submitted his doctoral dissertation which contains a re-edition of legends I through XV on the basis of all the extant sources that were described in the two papers mentioned above. This new edition is accompanied by a detailed philological discussion of the variant readings to be found in the critical apparatus. Depending on the availability of funds, Mr. Hanisch intends to edit also the rest of the text (roughly 60 per cent) within the next three years.

During the winter-term 1997/98 two young students of indology came to Marburg under the auspices of the exchange programme between Marburg and Venice, with financial support of the Socrates Exchange Programme. One of them, Miss Serena Pederiva, after having finished the introduction into classical Tibetan, decided to work on an Indo-Tibetan topic. I suggested to her to analyse the structure of the last four legends of ĀJM and we read the Sanskrit text of the legends xxxiii and xxxiv, *Mahiṣa*-

[1] The first two contributions are: 1) Hahn 1986-92: 233-53, and 2) Hahn-Steiner 1996: 101-34.

I am very much obliged to Mr. Albrecht Hanisch and in particular to Dr. Roland Steiner (both Marburg) for reading the first draft of this paper, pointing out several typos and making a number of useful suggestions. In addition to this, Mr. Hanisch kindly compared MS N against Kern's text and Khoroche's variant readings. As earlier, Dr. Jayandra Soni (Marburg), was so kind as to check the English of this paper.

and *Śatapattrajātaka*. This offered to me a welcome opportunity to compare Raniero Gnoli's Italian translation[2] with the Sanskrit original. Although Prof. Gnoli had to rely on the text as edited by Kern there are several places where he offers a better solution of a difficult passage than J.S. Speyer[3] in his English translation. The explanation can be found in the introduction to his book where he says: "Alcuni passaggi più difficili o, presumibilmente, corrotti nell'originale sanscrito li ho confrontati sulla traduzione tibetana"[4]. In this respect prof. Gnoli's translation surpasses those of his predecessors[5] and even Peter Khoroche's new English translation[6] which is based on his survey of the oldest available Sanskrit manuscripts. Peter Khoroche, on the other hand, has many better interpretations in all those places where his MSS have preserved better readings.

The last two legends of ĀJM are rather short[7] and the new source material is confined to the reading of the two oldest MSS[8] and the Tibetan translation (ĀJMtib). The anonymous *Ṭīkā*[9] ends with legend 15 and the Tibetan translation of Dharmakīrti's *Ṭīkā* omits the last two legends, for whatever reason. Therefore it might be permitted to analyse legends Nos. xxxiii and xxxiv in anticipation of Albrecht Hanisch's planned project because it covers only a very small portion of the whole work. As a study of a part of a text so aptly translated into Italian by prof. Gnoli I hope this paper to be a suitable contribution to a volume in honour of this great scholar[10].

A few words may be allowed with regard to the Tibetan translation. When I first read a larger portion (legends i through vi) together with Dr. Tissa Rajapatirana in Bonn in the summer of 1977 my assessment of the translations of literary works into Tibetan was strongly influenced by the texts translated by Śoṅ ston rDo rje rgyal mtshan (in collaboration with others), the *Kāvyādarśa*, the *Nāgānanda*, the *Lokeśvaraśataka*, the *Vṛttamālāstuti*, and the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. Śoṅ ston, for the

[2] Gnoli 1964.

[3] Speyer 1895.

[4] Gnoli 1964: 11.

[5] For a brief survey of the translations of the Sanskrit text cf. Basu 1989: 49-50.

[6] Khoroche 1989.

[7] 7 1/2 pp. in Kern's edition. The number of stanzas is 20 and 23.

[8] For the details of the manuscripts from Nepal (N) and Tokyo (T) cf. Hahn-Steiner 1996: 105.

[9] Edited by Ratna Basu in the second part of her thesis. A revised edition by Michael Hahn and Albrecht Hanisch is under preparation.

[10] For the abbreviations used here and for the manner of presentation I refer to Hahn-Steiner 1996.

Tibetans the *kāvya* translator par excellence, aimed at very precise and literal translations which means that he mostly maintains not only the syntax of the original – if this is possible without violating the rules of Tibetan syntax – but also its lexis. Prefixes of nouns and verbs are generally translated as separate adverbs although in many cases they are redundant. For the Tibetan reader the endless repetition of *kun tu, mṅon par, ñe bar, yoṅs su, rab tu* etc. might have a boring effect, however for the Sanskrit scholar this practice has an undeniable advantage: in many cases he can guess fairly well the Sanskrit compound behind its Tibetan translation[11].

Since the percentage of wrong translations is comparatively small in the works of Śoṅ ston he surpasses most of the other translators belonging to the period of the "second spread" (*phyi dar*) of the doctrine and the high regard he enjoyed and still enjoys is justified[12]. However, if one measures his translations against the rules laid down in the beginning of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gñis pa*[13] then it is clear that he has paid little or no attention to them. In particular he quite often violates the following rules:

(**11**) *bsnor na bde źiṅ go ba bskyed pa cig yod na / tshigs bcad la ni rtsa ba bźi pa 'am / drug pa 'aṅ ruṅ ste / tshigs su bcad pa gcig gi naṅ na gaṅ bde ba bsnor źiṅ sgyur cig /*

"Wenn nur durch Abweichung [von der Wortfolge des indischen Originals] 'gute Sprache' und Verständnis [des Sinns] zustandegebracht wird (*bsnor na bde źiṅ go ba bskyed pa cig yod na*), dann möge man übersetzen, indem man [in *der* Weise] abweicht, daß 'gute Sprache' [zustandekommt] (*gaṅ bde ba bsnor źiṅ*) innerhalb *einer* Strophe (*tshigs su bcad pa gcig gi naṅ na*); und was die Strophen anlangt (*tshigs bcad la ni*), so können sie «vier-wurzelig» oder «sechs-wurzelig» sein (*rtsa ba bźi pa 'am / drug pa 'aṅ ruṅ ste*)"[14].

[11] By chance all the five *kāvya* texts translated by Śoṅ ston are still available in their Sanskrit original, so generally we know exactly what the Sanskrit text reads. In the case of variant reading, however, his precise translation allows to decide which of them stood in his Sanskrit manuscript.

[12] Compared to Śoṅ ston's translations, the Tibetan version of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* is slightly inferior, the one of Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā* clearly poorer and the one of Candragomin's *Lokānandanāṭaka* little more than the first exercise of a youthful translator whose knowledge of Sanskrit was not adequate to the work translated. Most of the translations of ornate hymns done during the "second spread" do not reach the quality of Śoṅ ston's works.

[13] Cf. Simonsson 1957: 238-63.

[14] Simonsson 1957: 248. The transliteration of Tibetan was replaced by the one used here.

(**12**) *rkyaṅ pa la ni don gaṅ sñegs pa yan chad kyi tshig daṅ don gñis ka la gar bde bar bsnor źiṅ sgyur cig* /

"Zwar ist in der Prosa (*rkyaṅ pa*) der Sinn das Höchste, das anzustreben ist (*don gaṅ sñegs pa yan chad kyi*), doch möge man übersetzen, indem man [von der Wortfolge des indischen Originals] [in *der* Weise] abweicht, daß 'gute Sprache' [entsteht] in bezug auf beide: sowohl auf Ausdruck als auch auf Sinn (*tshig daṅ don gñis ka la gar bde bar bsnor źiṅ sgyur cig*)"[15].

(**20**) *pa ri daṅ / sam daṅ / u pa lta bu sogs te / tshig gi phrad daṅ rgyan lta bur 'byuṅ ba rnams bsgyur na don daṅ mthun źiṅ 'byor ba'i thabs ni / yoṅs su źe 'am / yaṅ dag pa źe 'am / ñe ba źes sgra bźin du sgyur cig / don lhag par sñegs pa med pa rnams ni tshig gi lhad kyis bsnan mi dogs kyis don bźin du thogs śig* /

"Bei der Übersetzung von *pari, sam, upa* usw., d.h. solchen [Wörtern], die Wort-Partikeln (*tshig gi phrad*) und sozusagen (*lta bu*) Ausschmückungen (*rgyan*) sind, ist die Methode (*thabs*), Übereinstimmung mit dem Sinn (*don daṅ mthun źiṅ 'byor ba*) [zu erlangen,] [folgende]:

Man möge lautgemäss (*sgra bźin du*) mit *yoṅs su* [= gänzlich, völlig], *yaṅ dag pa* [= wirklich, wahr] oder *ñe ba* [= nahe] übersetzen.

Handelt es sich um solche [Partikeln, bei deren Anwendung] keine Hinzufügung zum Sinn (*don lhag pa*) [des einfachen Wortes] erreicht wird (*sñegs pa*), so ist es nicht notwendig, durch irgendwelches zusätzliche Wort [die Übersetzung] zu erweitern, sondern man möge sinngemäss (*don bźin du*) übersetzen (*thogs śig*)"[16].

As can be seen from a few examples quoted below, Vidyākarasiṃha and Mañjuśrīvarman, the translators of the *Jātakamālā* almost ideally follow the rules laid down in the *Sgra sbyor bam po gñis pa*. As born out by Albrecht Hanisch's minute comparison of the Tibetan version of the legends i through xv of the *Jātakamālā* the translators could use an excellent Sanskrit manuscript, as good as N or even better, and there are a few indications that they might have had at their disposal also a Sanskrit commentary similar to the one edited by Ratna Basu. Together with the great competence of Vidyākarasiṃha and Mañjuśrīvarman this results in a translation which as a whole clearly surpasses all the modern translations since these have to rely on a text that is marred by numerous minor and several grave mistakes.

[15] Simonsson 1957: 249.
[16] Simonsson 1957: 255.

Several other *kāvya* texts translated during the "first spread" (*sṅa dar*) of the Buddhist doctrine in Tibet, e.g. those of the *Mahārājakaniṣkalekha*, the *Śiṣyalekha*, the two hymns by Mātṛceta, are characterized by a similar high quality, balance and taste[17] which could not be maintained afterwards. All of them deserve a careful study and assessment.

Discussion of the variant readings of the Mahiṣajātaka

232.14-15 (0): *araṇyapradeśe* K, *araṇyavanapradeśe* NT, *nags tshal dgon pa* (*źig*) *na* ĀJMtib. Both *nags tshal* and *dgon pa* can render *araṇya* and *vana*. *dgon pa* "solitary place" might also render *pradeśa* or *vana-pradeśa*[18]. From the Tibetan one cannot decide with certainty whether *vana* was there or not, however, the uniform wording of the two oldest MSS whose readings cannot be neglected, despite the fact that in the beginning of legend XXXIV (K 235.19) the text uniformly reads *vanapradeśe*.

[1] *araṇyavanapradeśe*, the reading of NT, is to be preferred.

232.15 (0) *paṅkasaṃparkāt paruṣavapur* K, *paṅkasaṃparkaparuṣa-vapur* NT. No difference in meaning. A compound is more usual in the descriptive passages.

[2] *paṅkasaṃparkaparuṣavapur*, the reading of NT is to be preferred.

232.15 (0) *nīlameghaviccheda* K, *meghaviccheda* T, *sprin gyi phuṅ po logs śig tu chad pa* "the mass of clouds, cut off at one side" ĀJMtib. There is no trace of *nīla*. The two additions, *phuṅ po* and *logs śig tu*, can be explained as stylistic alterations which are not unusual for ĀJMtib.

[3] *meghaviccheda*, the text of the T and ĀJMtib, is to be preferred slightly.

232.19 (1c) *karmaṇo vā* K, *karmaṇāṃ vā* NT, *las kyi* ĀJMtib. The Tibetan allows no decision.

[4] *karmaṇāṃ vā*, the reading of NT is to be preferred[19].

[17] Once the numerous corruptions they had to suffer from in the course of their transmission are removed.

[18] In ĀJM 6.0 [= K 27.11] we find a similar variant reading: *araṇya-pradeśe* T (i.o. *araṇyāyatanapradeśe* K): ĀJMtib has *dgon pa'i gnas* (= T), ĀJMṭ reads *yasyāraṇya-pradeśasya* and *yatrāraṇyapradeśe* (p. 327). There *āyatana* is not required from the point of view of meaning.

[19] In 1a ĀJMtib has a comparatively free rendering of *nibaddhabhāvā* as *de la sñiṅ rje*, however this does not necessarily presuppose a different Sanskrit text.

232.23 (3c) *dharmasaṃjñī 'pi tu* K, *dharmasaṃjño 'pi tu* T, *dharmasaṃjño 'pi ca* N, *chos kyi 'du śes yod kyaṅ* ĀJMtib. *dharmasaṃjñī* is only a misprint. As for *api ca* and *api tu*, both can be advocated. Since the content suggests a concessive relationship between the two halves of the stanza I prefer the reading of T.

[5] Keep *dharmasaṃjño 'pi tu* with T.

232.23 (3cd) *karmaleśāṃs tāṃs tān samāsādya* K, *las kyi bag chags kyis // de daṅ de brten* ĀJMtib. ĀJMtib points to an inferior reading **karmaleśāt tāṃs tān samāsādya* which cannot be construed.

[6] The reading of K and the Sanskrit MSS is to be kept.

233.3 (3+) *bhṛśataram* K, *bhṛśam* N (lacuna in T), *rab tu* ĀJMtib. ĀJMtib allows no decision[20].

[7] *bhṛśam*, the reading of N is to be preferred slightly.

233.4 (4a) *paṭutarāvalepoddhavaḥ* K, *paṭutarāvalepoddhataḥ* N (lacuna in T), *mi bsrun sñems* (*srun bsñems* D) *śiṅ dregs* ĀJMtib. Both readings are possible. ĀJMtib as well as the parallel expressions with a noun preceding *-uddhava* (listed in Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven 1954, p. 131 s.v. *uddhava*) make the reading of K much more likely. The repetition of *uddhava* in line d seems to be intended. Cf. also Hahn-Steiner, p. 115, on Kern 70.22.

[8] The reading of K is to be kept.

233.8 (4+) *visrabdhaprasuptasya* K, *visrabdhasuptasya* N (not recorded by Khoroche; lacuna in T), *gñid kyis log nas bag phab ste* ĀJMtib. ĀJMtib allows no decision.

[9] *visrabdhasuptasya*, the reading of the oldest MS, should be adopted for the time being.

233.8-9 (4+) *pracalāyataḥ* K, *pracālayataḥ* N (given in brackets by Khoroche, thereby indicating that he does not consider it to be correct or possibly correct; lacuna in T), (*spre'u des*) *rab tu bskul nas* (*glo bur du steṅ du mchoṅs te 'oṅ ṅo*). ĀJMtib seems to presuppose **pracālayitaḥ*, however the preceding *nidrāvaśād vā* requires a genitive and an intransitive meaning.

[10] *pracalāyataḥ*, the reading of K, is to be kept.

[20] Cf. *rab tu* (*mi dga' ba'i dbaṅ du gyur to*) = *bhṛśataram* (*arativaśam agāt*) ĀJM 9.77+.

233.9 (4+) *drumam iva kadācid enam adhiruhya* K, *abhiruhya* N (lacuna in T), *bar bar ni de la źon nas* ĀJMtib. There is no equivalent of *drumam iva*! ĀJMtib does not allow a decision about the verb. *abhi-√ruh* is used more rarely than *adhi-√ruh.*

[11] *abhiruhya*, the reading of N, is to be preferred slightly. Cf. however 232.12 and 232.13.

233.10 (4+) *kṣudhitasyāpi* K, *kṣudhitasyāpi ca* N (lacuna in T). No equivalent in ĀJMtib. The reading of N seems to be stylistically better.

[12] *kṣudhitasyāpi ca*, the reading of N, is to be preferred slightly.

233.11 (4+) *kāṣṭhenāpy enam ekadā śravaṇayor ghaṭṭayām āsa* K, ... *śravaṇayoś cāghaṭṭayām āsa* N, *bar bar ni śiṅ gis kyaṅ de'i rna ba gñis dkrugs so* ĀJMtib. ĀJMtib points to **enaṃ kadācic* ... which is much more in line with the neighbouring sentences. The conjunction *ca* before *āghaṭṭayām āsa* corresponds with the conjunction which N had also in the preceding sentence.

[13] Read ... *enaṃ kadācic chravaṇayoś cāghaṭṭayām āsa*, as emended on the basis of N and ĀJMtib.

233.11 (4+) *-avagāhana-* K, *-avagāha-* N (lacuna in T). No difference in meaning.

[14] *-avagāha-*, the reading of N, is to be preferred slightly.

233.12 (4+) *samabhiruhya* K, *samadhiruhya* N (lacuna in T), *źon te* ĀJMtib. *sam-adhi-√ruh* is more common than *sam-abhi-√ruh.*

[15] *samadhiruhya*, the reading of N, is to be preferred slightly[21].

233.13 (4+) *prasahyaiva* K; no equivalent in ĀJMtib. This does not necessarily prove that *prasahyaiva* was absent in the translators' MS.

[16] *prasahyaiva* is to be kept.

233.14 (4+) *bodhisattvo 'pi* K, *bodhisattvo 'pi tu* N (lacuna in T), *'on kyaṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa'* ĀJMtib. *'on kyaṅ* supports (*api*) *tu* which emphasizes the contrast between the naughty monkey and the bodhisattva.

[17] *bodhisattvo 'pi tu*, the text of N, is to be adopted.

[21] But cf. *źon nas = abhiruhya* K or *samabhiruhya* T 9.5+ and *źon nas = abhiruhya* 9.43+.

233.14 (4+) *-avinayaceṣṭitam* K, *-avinayaviceṣṭitam* N (lacuna in T), *ma draṅs pa'i rkyal ka byas pa* "having played naughty pranks" ĀJMtib. seems to point to ***vi**ceṣṭitam*.

[18] *-avinayaviceṣṭitam*, the reading of N (and ĀJMtib?), is to be adopted.

233.15 (4+) *upakāraṃ iva manyamāno* K, *manyamāno* deest N (lacuna in T) and ĀJMtib. *manyamāno* is actually not necessary if one takes *upakāraṃ* as object of *marṣayām āsa*.

[19] The text of N and ĀJMtib is to be adopted.

233.16 (5a) *svabhāva eva* K (Ms A), *svabhāva iva* BN (lacuna in T), neither *eva* nor *iva* are reflected in ĀJMtib. I find *iva* difficult to account for.

[20] The text of K is to be kept.

233.17 (5c) *tatra ca* K, *tatra tu* N, *de la'aṅ* ĀJMtib. The first half of the stanza is quite clear, but not the second: "It is the very nature of the wicked, indeed, to walk aside from the way of decent behaviour, whereas forbearance is something like a benefit to the virtuous, owing to their habitual practice of going that way." (Speyer) – "It is in the nature of the wicked to stray from the path of proper behaviour, just as for the good to have to show patience is like receiving a favour – they are so practiced in it." (Khoroche) – "I malvagi son spinti dalla loro stessa [*eva*] natura a prendere la cattiva strada dell'indecenza. Questo malo contegno è però considerato dai buoni come un beneficio, perché possono su di esso esercitare la loro pazienza." (Gnoli) – ĀJMtib has: */ sdig can rnams ni raṅ bźin gyis // 'dul daṅ 'gal ba'i lam la brten // dam pa rnams ni goms pa'i phyir // de la'aṅ phan gdags bźin du bzod /* "By (their) nature the wicked follow the path that deviates from proper behaviour. Because of their habitual practice the good tolerate even this as if it were a favour"[22]. I believe only ĀJMtib and Gnoli are right: *tatra* refers to *vinayonmārga-saṃśrayaḥ*, not to *kṣamā*, as Khoroche seems to think. Consequently *upakāra* is to be taken as locative, not as nominative, as Speyer and Khoroche translate it. The subject of the second part of the stanza is again *svabhāva eva* which is to be suppleted from the first half: "However

[22] This translation is an excellent illustration of the quality and simplicity of the Tibetan translation of ĀJM. The original construction is treated rather freely, the meaning is nevertheless perfectly maintained. In this respect it resembles the style Peter Khoroche aims at in his English translation.

tolerance with regard to that (wrong behaviour of the wicked) as if it were a favour is the very nature of the good, because they are so used to it." Only this translation suits the context: the buffalo endures the bad behaviour of the monkey as if it were a favour because as a bodhisattva he is so used to exercise tolerance against the attacks of the wicked. With this interpretation the adversative conjunction *tu* is to be preferred. Cf. also the prose sentence before stanza 5. ĀJMtib is ambiguous; depending on the context *yaṅ* can render *api*, *ca* and *tu*.

[21] *tatra tu*, the reading of N, is to be adopted.

233.18 (5+) *atha kilānyatamo* K, *athānyatamo* N (lacuna in T), no trace of *kila* in ĀJMtib. Since *kila* "as it is known" is meaningless in the present context, this reading of the younger manuscripts is to be deleted. The mistake might have been caused by the combination of *kila* and *anyatama* in the beginning of several legends of ĀJM[23].

[22] *athānyatamo*, the text of N, is to be adopted.

233.18-19 (5+) *bhāvaṃ vā .... tasya mahāsattvasya* K, *bhāvaṃ ... tasya vā bodhisattvasya* N (lacuna in T), *gtses pa de mi bzod pa daṅ / sems dpa' chen po de'i bsam pa brtag pa'i phyir* ĀJMtib. ĀJMtib *sems dpa' chen po* confirms *mahāsattvasya*. The placement of *vā* in N is not impossible, however extremely clumsy.

[23] The text of K should be kept for the time being.

233.19 (5+) *jijñāsayamānas* ABNP (lacuna in T), *jijñāsamānas* e.c. Khoroche. From the point of view of grammar only Khoroche's emendation is correct.

[24] *jijñāsamānas*, the emendation of Khoroche, is to be adopted.

233.20 (5+) *-vṛṣabhaṃ mārge sthitvedam uvāca* K, *-vṛṣaṃ sthitvā'numārgam uvāca* N (lacuna in T; *vṛṣaṃ* as at 232.16), *khyu mchog de ... lam du bsgugs nas smras pa* ĀJMtib (*khyu mchog* as at 232.16). N has the *lectio difficilior. anumārga* is known from the Pāli and from some Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts, cf. BHSD, s.v. Note that ĀJMtib has no equivalent of *idam* and that *lam du bsgugs nas* is closer to *sthitvānumārgam* than to *mārge sthitvā*.

[23] 16, 25, 30, 33, 34. Much more frequently *kila* is followed by the description of a location.

[25] *-vṛṣaṃ sthitvānumārgam uvāca*, the text of N (and ĀJMtib?), should be adopted.

233.21 (5+) *utāho bhayam* K, *uta bhayam* N (lacuna in T), *'on te* ĀJMtib (as in the preceding question). I see no reason for a change in the diction. It is more likely that the scribe of N omitted one syllable.

[26] The text of K should be kept.

233.23 (5+) *nanu bhoḥ* K, *nanu ca bhoḥ* N (lacuna in T), *kye 'o na* (*kye ma'o* D) ĀJMtib. Difficult to decide.

[27] *nanu ca bhoḥ*, the text of N, should be adopted.

233.24 (6b) *vajraṃ bhindyād* K, *bhindyād vajraṃ* N (lacuna in T). Undecidable.

[28] *bhindyād vajraṃ*, the reading of N, should be adopted[24].

234.1 (7a) *śailopamasaṃhatasthiraṃ* K, *śailopamasaṃhataṃ sthiraṃ* N (lacuna in T), *brag bźin mkhregs la brtan* ĀJMtib. The Tibetan allows no decision.

[29] *śailopamasaṃhataṃ sthiraṃ*, the reading of N, should be adopted.

234.2 (7c) *svabhāvasaujaskanirīkṣitorjitaṃ* "(your body), whose strength is sought after (or: observed) (even) by those who are by nature full of energy". Too free Speyer: "So thy power is well-known to the vigorous by nature" and Khoroche: "Even those who are themselves powerful testify to your strength"; correct Gnoli: "Quanti son vigorosi per natura ben conoscono il suo [sc. del tuo corpo] potere." ĀJMtib is not quite clear: *raṅ bźin gzi che lta bas brjid pa* "full of glory by seeing the natural splendour". Did the translator interpret *-nirīkṣita-* as *-nirīkṣaṇa-*?

[30] It is not necessary to alter the text of the Sanskrit MSS on the basis of ĀJMtib.

[24] Here ĀJMtib simplifies both the construction and meaning of the stanza: / *khyod kyi rwa yi* [*yi* om. Q] *rtse mo* [*mo* om. Q] *rdo rje'i śugs kyis kyaṅ* // *rdo rje'am* [*rje'i Q*] *ri yaṅ rdo rje bźin du 'joms* // *khyod kyi* [*khyod kyi* om. Q] *rkaṅ lag 'di yaṅ* [*'di yaṅ* om. D] *khros te phrad na ni* // *brag gi rtse mo 'dam du byiṅ ba bźin* / "The force of the *vajra*-like tips of your horns crushes even a *vajra* or a mountain as (easily as) if they [i.e., the tips of your horns] were (real) *vajra*s. And these feet of yours seem to sink into the mud(-like) top of a mountain when in anger they hit (it)." In the second half of the stanza *brag gi rtse mo* seems to translate **śailaśṛṅge* instead of *śailapṛṣṭhe*. However, a free translation is also possible. The syntax of the second half is somewhat awkward.

234.3 (8a) *kṣureṇa* K, *khureṇa* N as at 167.12 (lacuna in T), *rmig pas* ĀJMtib. According to the PW the meaning "hoof" which is required here is attested for *kṣura* only in a commentarial passage on the *Amarakośa* quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* and he rightly regards it as a wrong spelling for *khura*. The same mistake occurs *Kāvyādarśa* 1.73c where two Nepalese MSS (among them the oldest) read *kṣura* for *khura*[25].

[31] *khureṇa*, the reading of N, is to be adopted.

234.6 (9bd) *sukhaśīlasaumyayā* K, *sukhaśītasaumyayā* N (not recorded by Khoroche, lacuna in T), *bde źiṅ bsil ba yis* ĀJMtib; *kaphātmako* K, *kaphātmake* ABN (lacuna in T), *bad kan* ĀJMtib. ĀJMtib *bsil ba yis* "cool" supports N whose correctness is obvious. Because of this mistake the stanza was misunderstood by the previous translators. This is the correct text and translation: *asajjanaḥ kutra yathā cikitsyate guṇānuvṛttyā sukhaśītasaumya-yā / kaṭūṣṇarūkṣāṇi hi yatra siddhaye kaphātmake roga iva prasarpati //* "How could an evil person possibly be cured by the application of virtues, pleasant, cool and mild, while only (the application) of means that are sharp, hot and rough on him would guarantee success – just as in the case of a progressing disease caused by (an excess of) phlegm?"[26].

[32 and 33] Read *-śīta-* with N and ĀJMtib and *kaphātmake* with ABN.

234.9 (10a) *calaṃ nūnaṃ* K, *calaṃ nyūnaṃ* AB, *valanyūnaṃ* N (lacuna in T), *'di ni mthu stobs chuṅ ba daṅ* ĀJMtib, (*yūnaṃ* N) Khoroche [not correct]. The Tibetan confirms N **balanyūnaṃ*

[34] Read **balanyūnaṃ* with N and ĀJMtib.

234.13 (12a) *śakta eva* K, *sakta eva* N (lacuna in T), *mthu yod bźin du* "while one has power" ĀJMtib.

[35] The reading of K is to be kept.

234.15 (13b) *nirdeśakālaḥ* K, *nirveśakālaḥ* ABN (lacuna in T), *daṅ du len pa* "to accept something readily, submissively" ĀJMtib. ĀJMtib seems

[25] Cf. Dimitrov 1999: 168.

[26] ĀJMtib reads: */ yon tan tshul spyod bde źiṅ bsil ba yis // skye bo ṅan pa* [*pas* Q] *bcos su ga la ruṅ // tsha źiṅ drod che rtsub pas bsgrubs* [*bsgrub* D] *pa yi* [*yis* Q] *// bad kan nad bźin 'phel bar 'gyur* [*gyur* Q] */* "How could it be possible to better an evil person by a virtuous beviour that is pleasant and cool? It is like a disease caused by (an excess of) phlegm, curable (only) by pungent, very hot and rough means, which grows (when treated with pleasant and cool means)." If in line a *źiṅ* were a corruption of **źi* then also *saumya* would have its Tibetan equivalent. It is not necessary to quote the wrong translation.

to be equally far from *nirdeśa* and *nirveśa*[27]. From the point of view of meaning both words are somewhat difficult, however *nirveśa* "entering, i.e., application (?)" is perhaps slightly preferable to *nirdeśa* "order, command; description, designation".

[36] I tentatively adopt *nirveśakālaḥ*, the reading of ABN.

234.16 (13c) (*guṇapriyas tatra kim ity*) *apekṣya* K, *avekṣya* N (lacuna in T), (*yon tan dga' bas*) *khyad du* (*de*) *bsad nas* "despising (him)" ĀJMtib. In this context there is practically no difference in meaning between √*apekṣ* and √*avekṣ*. The interpretation of ĀJMtib is strange. Did the translator interpret √*avekṣ* literally as "looking down (with contempt) at"?[28].

[37] I tentatively adopt *avekṣya*, the reading of N.

234.21 (15+) (*tena hi na tvam*) *asyāḥ kadācit prabādhanāyā mokṣyase* K, *asyāḥ prabādhanāyāḥ kadācin mokṣyase* NT (except *prabādhāyāḥ* T and *mokṣase* N with ABP, "which is equally possible" Khoroche; Gawroński 1919: 49, suggests *asya*), (*de bas na khyod ni*) *'dis gnod pa bya ba las nam yaṅ thar par mi 'gyur ro* ĀJMtib. ĀJMtib supports Gawroński's emendation! Contrary to Khoroche ("the emendation is not necessary") I regard *asya* preferable: "In that case you will never escape **his** torment"; cf. also *kaper aśaktavat prabhādhanā°* in stanza 8cd.

[38] Read **asya prabādhanāyāḥ kadācin mokṣyase* with ĀJMtib/NT.

235.4 (18d) *amarṣiṇo yān ayam abhyupaiṣyati* K, ... *yān ity upaiṣyati* N, *bzod pa chuṅ ba gźan dag yoṅ bas na* ĀJMtib. The reading of N makes no sense and *iti* is not confirmed by the Tibetan. *gźan dag* in ĀJMtib, however, points to an interesting variant reading. The Sanskrit MS obviously read *amarṣiṇo *'nyān*: "he will come across others who will not tolerate his behaviour".

[39] Read *amarṣiṇo *'nyān* with ĀJMtib?

[27] The first half of the stanza is rendered rather freely: / *mthu stobs chuṅ bas brñas thabs byas pa la // daṅ du len pa yon tan rnams kyi mchog* / "With regard to insults done by a weak person readily to accept them is the greatest among the virtues."

[28] The second half of the stanza is translated into Tibetan as: "Why should he who loves virtues despise (the weak one) and transgress (the realm of virtues) so that his own strength will collapse?" (*raṅ gi brtan pa ñams phyir ci źig rgal*) This is, of course, also meaningful, but in my opinion too far from the wording of the Sanskrit.

235.5 (19b) *kariṣyati* K, *cariṣyati* N, *byed* ĀJMtib. *kariṣyati* seems to correspond with *asatkriyāṃ* in 19a, as do *byas na* and *byed* in ĀJMtib. *byed*, it is true, can translate also *cariṣyati*, however here **spyod*, the usual equivalent of √*car*, in my opinion would have been the more suitable choice. Therefore I slightly prefer *kariṣyati*. However, the form *cariṣyati* can also be defended since it corresponds with *ācared* in 19c.

[40] I slightly prefer *kariṣyati*, the reading of T, ĀJMtib and the younger manuscripts.

235.6 (19c) *labdhadoṣo* K, *dṛṣṭadoṣo* NT, *ñes dmigs mthoṅ nas* ĀJMtib.

[41] *dṛṣṭadoṣo*, the reading of NT and ĀJMtib is to be adopted.

235.7 (19+) *atha yakṣas* K, *atha sa yakṣas* N, *de nas gnod sbyin de* ĀJMtib.

[42] Read *atha sa yakṣas* with N and ĀJMtib.

235.9 (20b) *guṇeṣv asau cā°* K, *guṇeṣv ayaṃ cā°* NT, *'di* ĀJMtib. *ayaṃ* corresponds better with the preceding *iyam* in 20a.

[43] *ayaṃ*, the reading of NT, is to be adopted.

235.15 (20+) *tiryaggatānāṃ bodhisattvānām* K, *tiryaggatānām api mahāsattvānāṃ* T, *tiryaggatānām api* N (omitting *mahā-/bodhisattvānām*; cf. 166.25 f.), *rim 'gror gyur pa rnams la yaṅ* ĀJMtib (no equivalent of *mahā-/bodhisattvānām*). ĀJMtib corresponds with N.

[44] *tiryaggatānām api*, the reading of N and ĀJMtib, is to be adopted.

235.15 (20+) *pratisaṃkhyānasauṣṭhavaṃ* KN, *pratisaṃkhyānabala-sauṣṭhavaṃ* T, *so sor brtags pa'i bzaṅ ba'i mthu yod na* ĀJMtib. It is not absolutely clear whether *bzaṅ ba'i mthu* renders only *-sauṣṭhavaṃ* or *-balasauṣṭhavaṃ*. Since in the latter case one would have to account for the unmotivated inversion the first alternative is much more likely.

[45] Keep *pratisaṃkhyānasauṣṭhavaṃ*, the text of KN.

235.16 (20+) *śobheta / ity evam api* K, *śobhetety evam api* N, in ĀJMtib NQ have the equivalent of the Daṇḍa, CD not. It is better to omit the Daṇḍa since *ity evam api vācyam* belongs to the preceding sentence.

[46] Omit the Daṇḍa, as N does.

236.17a (colophon) *iti mahiṣajātakaṃ* K, *iti* omitted in N and ĀJMtib.

[47] Omit *iti* with N and ĀJMtib.

235.19-20 (0) *nānāvidharāgaruciracitrapattraḥ* K, *'dab gśog kha dog sdug gu rnam pa sna tshogs pa daṅ ldan pa* ĀJMtib. The Tibetan has no equivalent of *-citra-* which could have been *bkra ba*. Perhaps the translator found it semantically too close to *nānāvidha* (although the two words here mean "manifold" and "variegated, colourful") and therefore decided to translate both of them by one Tibetan word, *rnam pa sna tshogs pa*.

[1] It is not necessary to delete *-citra-* on the basis of ĀJMtib.

235.20 (0) *tadavastho 'pi* KN, *'pi* omitted in T, *de lta bu'i gnas skabs na yaṅ* ĀJMtib.

[2] Keep the text of K, N and ĀJMtib.

235.21 (0) *anuvavarta* K e.c., *anvavartata* N, *anuvartate* ABP, T damaged, *byed do* ĀJMtib. In the introductory passages Āryaśūra mostly uses the perfect or the present tense with *sma*.

[3] Nevertheless *anvavartata*, the reading of N, is to be adopted.

236.3 (2+) *iti paripālyamānas* KNP, *iti sa paripālyamānas* ABT, *de dag* ĀJMtib (no equivalent of *iti*!). In my opinion *sa* is not absolutely necessary, since *sattvakāyaḥ* is specified by the attribute *tasmin vanapradeśe*. However, T is supported by ĀJMtib and therefore this reading should slightly be preferred.

[4] *iti sa paripālyamānas*, the reading of ABT which is supported by ĀJMtib, is slightly to be preferred.

236.4 (2+) *iva sukham abhyavardhata* K, *iva ca sukham avardhata* N (T damaged), *bźin du bde bar byas so* ĀJMtib. The *ca* after the third member of the enumeration is stylistically slightly better.

[5] *iva ca sukham avardhata*, the reading of N, should be adopted.

236.5 (3a) *dayāmahattvāt* K e.c., *dayājananyā* T (not *-janasyā*, as Khoroche reports), *dayānmahatyā* B, *kṛpājanasyā* A prima manu, NP, *dayāmahatyā* A secunda manu; the entire stanza is missing in ĀJMtib! The evidence of the two oldest MSS points to a reading *kṛpājananyā* or *dayājananyā*; °*mahatyā* is late and unintelligible, and Kern's emendation °*mahattvāt* has no independent weight. °*jananyā* suits the context much better: in the same manner as the bodhisattva, protected by compassion

which acts like a mother, develops his virtues, the creatures in the forest, protected by him (like a father) develop their virtues.

[6] Read **kṛpājananyā* (with N) or *dayājananyā* (with T).

236.7 (3+) *atha kadācit sa mahāsattvaḥ sattvānukampayā* K, *de nas re źig cig na byaṅ chub sems dpa' chen po de sems can la sñiṅ brtse ba'i phyir* ĀJMtib. The Tibetan looks like a haplography of *byaṅ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* which would point to a reading *atha kadācit sa bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ sattvānukampayā*. However the evidence is too weak to suggest an alteration of the Sanskrit text.

[7] The text of K is to be maintained.

236.7-8 (3+) *samanuvicaraṃs* K, *samanucaraṃs* N (T damaged), *rgyu źiṅ soṅ ba las* ĀJMtib. *samanuvicaraṃs* is also used ĀJM 2.6+ where it is translated by *soṅ soṅ ba daṅ* and ĀJM 5.5+ where it is translated by *kun tu ñul ñul ba* (CD). Since the iteration of the verb seems to reflect the prefix *vi-* its omission here speaks in favour of the reading of N. However, *samanuvicaraṃs* suits the context also very well.

[8] Read *samanucaraṃs* with N?

236.9 (3+) *reṇusaṃparkavyākulamalinakesarasaṭaṃ* K, *reṇusaṃparkād vyākula-* T, *reṇupaṅkasaṃparkavyākula-* N (with *-paṅka-* added in the margin), *ral pa rnams ni rdul gyis gos te dri ma can du gyur la 'dziṅs pa* ĀJMtib. The Tibetan has no equivalent of *paṅka*. As stated above (232.15), a compound is more usual in the descriptive passages.

[9] *reṇusaṃparkavyākulamalinakesarasaṭaṃ*, the text of K and N (without the later addition of *paṅka*) should be kept.

NB: From 236.10 until the end T is no longer available!

236.13 (4d) *rujayā kayācit* K, *rujayā kadācit* N, ĀJMtib has no equivalent. The reading of N is meaningless and most likely only a scribal error.

[10] The reading of K is to be kept.

236.15 (5d) *tatsādhyasaukhyasya* (*bhavān sukhī ca*) K, *tatsādhya-saukhyaś ca* N, **bde bar de bsgrub khyod kyaṅ sos par bya* ĀJMtib. The correct reading of N immediately solves the problems created by K's unintelligible text. Together with 5c, *mamāsti yā mitragatā ca śaktis*, the second half of the stanza is to be translated as follows: "Whatever ability I

have with regard to (help) a friend, thereby your well-being shall be restored ('accomplished') and you will be(come) happy (again)"[29]. The threefold *ca* in the second half are absolutely correct: the first *ca* belongs to *yā*, thereby forming an indefinite pronoun. The second and third *ca* connect *tatsādhya-saukhyaś* and *sukhī*, the two predicate nouns referring to *bhavān*.

[11] *tatsādhyasaukhyaś ca*, the text of N, is to be adopted.

236.16 (5+) *śramajātam* K, *śramakṛtam* N, (*snad pa yaṅ*) *ma lags* ĀJMtib. Since the line very literally responds to 4cd (where we have *kṛtaṃ*), the reading of N is to be preferred.

[12] *śramakṛtam*, the reading of N, is to be adopted.

236.17 (5+) *galāntare vilagnaṃ* K, *galāntarāle vilagnaṃ* AB (*ga-rāntarāle* P), *galāntarālavilagnaṃ* N, *gre bar zug ste* ĀJMtib. Not to decide.

[13] *galāntarālavilagnaṃ*, the reading of N, should be adopted.

236.18 (5+) *enac chaknomy* K, *enaṃ śaknomy* ABNP. *śakala* can be used as a masculine and a neuter noun. However, here it has to be a neuter noun because of *idaṃ* in the preceding sentence and therefore K's emendation is to be maintained.

[14] *enac chaknomy*, the emendation of K, is to be kept against the MSS[30].

236.18 (5+) *udgarituṃ* K, *udgartuṃ* N. K has the grammatically correct form; cf. Werba 1997: 283 f.

[15] The reading (emendation?) of K is to be kept.

[29] Khoroche's translation is not quite clear to me: "Whatever help I can offer to my friends is at your service, if it has the power to restore you." The Tibetan translation seems to have read like this: / *bdag gi* [*gis* D] *grogs byar ruṅ ba'i mthu yod na* // *bde bar* [*bden par* Q] **des* [*de* DQ] *bsgrub khyod kyaṅ sos par bya* / "Should I have the power to make (help?) friends, then (your) happiness shall be restored thereby and you shall be cured." If my restoration of the beginning of line d is correct then it would be an exact (and elegant) rendering of the correct Sanskrit text. Only the interpretation of *saukhya* as "well-being, health" and *sukhī* "happy" would be inverted.

[30] ĀJMtib translates the passage *śalyam iva māṃ bhṛśaṃ dunoti* / *na hy enac chaknomy abhyavahartum udgarituṃ vā* / as a syntactically incomplete stanza: / *naṅ du mid du yaṅ mi* [*ma* D] *ruṅ* // *phyir dbyuṅ du yaṅ mi* [*ma* D] *ruṅ ste* // *zug rṅus zug pa bźin du bdag* // *rab tu sdug bsṅal źiṅ mchis na* /.

236.18-19 (5+) Before *tad eṣa kālaḥ suhṛdām* ĀJMtib inserts: *de bas na* [*de las ni* Q] *ji* [*'di ji* D] *ltar bgyi ba* and then continues with *grogs po dag gis bgyi ba'i dus la bab kyis*. Did the Sanskrit MS contain a brief question like *tataḥ kiṃ kartavyam*? *de bas na* may also translate *tad*.

[16] For the time being the text of K is to be kept.

236.20-21 (5+) *-viṣkambha-* K, *-viṣkambhaṇa-* N (*-viskambhana-* A prima manu, *-viskambhaṇa* BP). Cf. 237.2 where we also have °*viṣkambhaṇa*°.

[17] *-viṣkambhaṇa-*, the reading of N, is to be adopted.

236.24 (5+) *samutpādita-* K, *samupapādita-* N, *lhod par byas nas* ĀJMtib. Difficult to decide. The two verbs are nearly equivalent in their meaning.

[18] *samupapādita-*, the reading of N, should be adopted.

237.1 (5+) *vicakarṣa* K, *niścakarṣa* N, *phyuṅ nas* ĀJMtib. The meaning of *niścakarṣa* seems to be more appropriate.

[19] *niścakarṣa-*, the reading of N, should be adopted.

237.1 (5+) *nirgacchann eva* K, *nirgacchann eva ca* N, *phyir 'byuṅ ba'i tshe yaṅ* ĀJMtib. The Tibetan (*yaṅ*) supports *ca*.

[20] *nirgacchann eva ca*, the reading of N and ĀJMtib, should be adopted.

237.2 (5+) *nipātayam āsa* K, *nipātayām āsa* Mss.

[21] The misprint is to be corrected as *nipātayām āsa*.

237.10 (8+) *prītahṛdayas* K, *pratītahṛdayas* N, *sems rab tu dga' bar gyur te* ĀJMtib. N is the *lectio difficilior* and ĀJMtib seems to support the prefix.

[22] *pratītahṛdayas*, the reading of N, is to be adopted.

237.11.12 (8+) *atha sa kadācit* K, *sa* om. N; *śatapattraḥ* K, *sa śatapatraḥ* N, *de nas* (*re źig cig na*) *bya śiṅ rta mo de* ĀJMtib. The insertion of *kadācit* is very clumsy.

[23] The reading of N is preferable.

237.12 (8+) *kiṃcit kvacit* K, *kvacit* om. N, no trace of either in ĀJMtib. Difficult to decide.

[24] The reading of the older MS should be adopted because *kvacit* is not supported by ĀJMtib.

237.22 (11+) *ayaṃ māṃ na* K, *ayaṃ na māṃ* N. Irrelevant.
[25] Adopt the word order of N.

237.23 (11+) *arthivṛttyā* K, *atithivṛttyā* N, *mgron gsar du 'oṅs pa'i tshul gyis* ĀJMtib. The Tibetan clearly supports N. The meaning is also better.
[26] *atithivṛttyā*, the reading of N and ĀJMtib, is to be adopted.

237.23 (11+) *prayuktayuktāśīrvādaḥ* K, *prayuktāśīrvādaḥ* N, *śis pa brjod de* ĀJMtib. The Tibetan has no trace of *yukta*. Although the text of K offers an elegant pun the unanimous reading of the two oldest testimonies is to be adopted[31].
[27] The text of N and ĀJMtib is to be adopted.

238.1 (12+) *(a)tha siṃhaḥ* K, *(a)tha sa siṃhaḥ* N, *seṅ ge de* ĀJMtib. The Tibetan supports N.
[28] *sa* is to be inserted with N and ĀJMtib.

238.9 (14+) *tatraiva* K e.c., *tata eva* ABN, *tata evaṃ* P, *de ñid nas* ĀJMtib (confirming ABN)
[29] Read *tata eva* with the Mss. and ĀJMtib.

238.9 (14+) *pakṣiṇo vayam ity arthataḥ* K, *ṅed cag ni bya yin pas ci byar yaṅ med źes bya ba'i tshul gyis* "Since we are birds there is nothing you can do to us!" ĀJMtib. Obviously the Tibetan translators had additional text in the speech of the woodpecker. It seems much more meaningful – less enigmatic – than the simple statement "We are birds!".
[30] ĀJMtib indicates that perhaps a short part of the speech of the woodpecker is lost.

238.10 (14+) *-visphāraṇa-* K, *-visphāra-* N, *brtabs pa'i* ĀJMtib. Only *visphāra* seems so far to be attested.
[31] *-visphāra-*, the reading of N, is to be adopted.

238.10 (14+) *pracakrāma* K, *(a)pacakrāma* N, *laṅs te soṅ ṅo* ĀJMtib. The Tibetan seems to confirm N which as a matter of fact suits the context better.
[32] *(a)pacakrāma*, the reading of N, is to be adopted.

[31] Khoroche translates the text of K, not of N: "after first pronouncing a suitable blessing in the manner of a beggar". – The Tibetan translation of stanza 12 is unusually free: / *ri dags rgyal po bdud rtsir gyur* / / *mthu rtsal chen po bñes pa las* / / *phoṅs pa rtsal pa cuṅ zad 'tshal* / / *khyod kyis bsod nams grags pa 'grub* / Its meaning is not clear to me and I cannot say whether it presupposes a (partly) different Sanskrit text.

238.11 (14+) *samutpatya* K, *samupetya* N, (*de'i*) *druṅ du 'oṅs te* ĀJMtib (confirming N). K is perhaps only a mistake.

[33] *samupetya*, the reading of N, is to be adopted.

238.12-13 (14+) *kṛtopakāraḥ san saṃvidyamānāyāṃ śaktāv api* K, *kṛtopakāraḥ san vidyamānāyāṃ śaktāv api* N, *mthu yod bźin du* ĀJMtib. The prefix *saṃ-* is not necessary.

[34] *kṛtopakāraḥ san vidyamānāyāṃ*, the reading of N, is to be adopted.

238.13-14 *upekṣitena* K, *upekṣiteneti* N, no trace of *iti* in ĀJMtib. *iti* has no function here.

[35] The reading of K is to be kept.

238.15-16 (15ab) *śaktas tvam asya nayane vadanābhighātad visphūrjitaḥ pramathituṃ balaśālino 'pi* / K. "Strong as he is, you could blind him if you suddenly swooped down on his face." (Khoroche) I have to admit that I cannot see the relationship between *vadanābhighātād visphūrjitaḥ* and the English translation "if you suddenly swooped down on his face". Speyer translates "by a sudden assault on his face", and Gnoli has "tu puoi sempre avventarti d'un tratto sul suo volto". ĀJMtib is rather free: / *khyod kyi mchu yis 'di'i mig kyaṅ dbyuṅ bar nus* // *rnam par g.yo źiṅ stobs daṅ ldan yaṅ gźom par nus* / "With your beak (you) can tear out even his eyes. Even if (he) is jerking up and strong, (he) can be defeated." *mchu yis* seems to render *vadanābhighātad*. Both from the lexical and the syntactical point of view this is definitely too free: here *vadana* does not mean "beak" (see below) and the ablative cannot take the function of the instrumental. However, the syntactical function of *rnam par g.yo źiṅ*, i.e., its combination with *stobs daṅ ldan yaṅ*, is in my opinion correct and indicates the small emendation we have to make: all we have to do is to read *visphūrjinaḥ*: "when he (the lion) is opening (them) wide because of the attacks on (his) face".

[36] Read **visphūrjinaḥ* as indicated by ĀJMtib.

238.20 (15+) *pradarśayann* K, *vidarśayann* N, *bstan pa'i phyir* ĀJMtib. Not to decide.

[37] *vidarśayann*, the reading of N, should be adopted.

238.20 (15+) *alam alam* K, *alam alam* N (but with one *alam* erased), *de skad ma zer cig* (?) ĀJMtib. The Tibetan does not seem to support the reduplication.

[38] Read *alam*, the corrected text of N?

238.22 (16a) *ārte pravṛttiḥ* K, *ārteḥ pravṛttiḥ* N, *phoṅs pa rnams la* ĀJMtib, confirming K.

[39] The reading of K is to be kept.

239.2 (18d) *yaśasaḥ śriyā* K, *grags daṅ dpal* ĀJMtib. ĀJMtib seems to presuppose a reading *yaśasā śriyā* (*ca*), however this can also be just a free translation.

[40] The text of K is to be kept.

239.3 (19a) *kṛtaś ced dharma ity eva* K *kṛtaṃ ced* ABN (*kṛtaṃ ca* P), confirming Gawroński 1919: p. 49, *de ltar bsod nams byas pa la* ĀJMtib. The Tibetan simplifies the construction without changing the meaning: "(Who would bear grudge against him) who has done a meritorious act with this (intention)?" Khoroche translates more precisely: "If one does a kindness because it seems the right thing to do".

[41] *kṛtaṃ ced*, the reading of ABN, is to be adopted.

239.7 (21b) *na yokṣyate 'pi sa* K, *na yokṣyate nanu* N, *ldan par mi 'gyur mod* ĀJMtib (confirming N).

[42] *na yokṣyate nanu* the reading of N and ĀJMtib, is to be adopted[32].

239.16 (23+) *abhilakṣya pratipūjyainaṃ* K, *abhilakṣya pratipūjya cainaṃ* ABP, *mṅon par dga' bar gyur te / de la mchod pa byas nas* ĀJMtib. The insertion of *ca* seems to be better from the stylistical point of view. Since it is unlikely that ABP independently added *ca* on their own this might have been the reading of T. ĀJMtib offers no clue as to what its Sanskrit MS read.

[43] Read *pratipūjya cainaṃ* with ABP?

239.18 (23+) First *evaṃ* deest Toyoq fr. xiv. ĀJMtib has only one *de ltar*, thus supporting the reading of Toyoq. However, the whole construction is slightly altered: */ de ltar bzod pa goms par byas na dgra maṅ bar mi 'gyur źiṅ kha na ma tho ba maṅ bar mi 'gyur ba daṅ / skye bo maṅ po dga' źiṅ yid du 'oṅ bar gyur pa'i phyir bzod pa'i gtam bya ba la yaṅ sbyar bar bya'o /* "After having practised forbearance in such a manner one will not have many enemies and there will not be many reproaches, but one will be dear

[32] ĀJMtib has a rather free translation of the second half of the stanza: */ sems daṅ ldan pa su źig phyin chad phan 'dogs byed / / bdag gi grags pa med par bya phyir rtsol du zad /* "Which intelligent person will later do [him] a favour? He will only try to destroy his own fame." – In stanza 23b ĀJMtib translates *viditāyatir* "to the future is known" as *mi mṅon* "not manifest". The reason of this interpretation (?) is not clear to me.

to the majority of people and beloved by them; therefore this story should also be adduced when giving a sermon about forbearance."

[44] Delete the first *evaṃ* and place *kṣamākathāyām apy unneyam* after *manojñaś ceti*! There is also good reason to replace *unneyam* by **upaneyam*; cf. Hahn-Steiner 1996: 123ff.

239.20 (23+) *pratisaṃkhyānabahulāḥ* K, *so sor brtags pa maṅ du byas na* ĀJMtib. Did ĀJMtib read **pratisaṃkhyānaṃ bahu manyamānāḥ*? Cf. however the preceding sentences where °*bahula-* is used twice as final member of a compound.

[45] The text of K is to be kept.

239.21 (23+) *-varṇe vācyam* K, *-varṇe 'pi vācyam* Toyoq fr. xv (*'pi* om. ABP), *bsṅags pa la yaṅ brjod par bya'o* ĀJMtib, thus confirming Toyoq.

[46] Read *-varṇe 'pi vācyam* with Toyoq and ĀJMtib.

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SĀHIB KAUL'S PRESENTATION OF PRATYABHIJÑĀ PHILOSOPHY IN HIS *DEVĪNĀMAVILĀSA*

Pratyabhijñā and Śrīvidyā

The Pratyabhijñā system[1] is situated on the border between a more or less sect-neutral philosophy, described as such in the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*[2], and one segment of sectarian Śaiva religion that is represented by the non-dualist Kashmirian Śaiva cults, of which the Trika and the Krama are the most prominent[3]. The Śrīvidyā[4] originated on the fringe of the same canon of heterodox scriptures[5], but radically changed its religious affiliation through the course of centuries into a Veda-congruent type of Tantrism that is still practised as part of the non-sectarian Smārta tradition[6].

For the Śrīvidyā exegetes the Pratyabhijñā is part of the old Śaiva tradition of Kashmir, which is, at least in the opinion of Śivānanda, also the land of origin of the Śrīvidyā[7], and it uses this philosophical infra-structure as part of its own exegetical repertoire. There are traces of personal links between these two Śaiva groups, the most important being Jayaratha, the famous commentator on Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* who is also the

[1] See Torella 1994: xii-xl.

[2] The relevant chapter is treated in Torella 1979: 361 ff.

[3] See Sanderson 1990[a]: 160-169.

[4] The system is also called Tripurādarśana or Saubhāgyasaṃpradāya.

[5] See Sanderson 1990[a]: 156-158.

[6] See Padoux 1994: 7: "But, having been adopted by the Śaṅkarācārya of Śṛṅgerī and Kāñcīpuram, it evolved into a common form of non-dualist Śaivism, losing most of its tantric characteristics. Indeed, vedantised, tracing its *guruparaṃparā* to Śaṅkara instead of the Tantric founders of the tradition (who were probably from the North, possibly Kashmir), it has turned into an altogether different – a deviant and bowdlerised – form of the cult of Tripurasundarī".

[7] *saṃpradāyasya kaśmīrodbhūtatvāt*; see Padoux 1994: 11.

author of the commentary on the earliest Śrīvidyātantra, the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*, and Kashmirian exegetes like Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja are in varying frequency quoted as support by several Śrīvidyā authors[8]. Among the works cited the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* [PrHṛ] stands out, since it has not only influenced later Śaiva exegesis in different schools of thought[9], but also Śaiva[10] as well as Vaiṣṇava Āgamas[11]. In this setting we would not expect a critical treatment of the acclaimed Pratyabhijñā works by Śrīvidyā authors, and, as a matter of fact, most references are too brief to be indicative[12]. But we imagine that if such an

[8] See, for instance, Śivānanda's *Ṛjuvimarśinī*, where Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta and many other works of that tradition are often quoted.

[9] In the *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā* it is quoted five times (see index to Dvivedi's edition); for example ad 1.84b sūtra 2 is quoted under the name *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* for the interpretation of *siddhi* in the sense of *utpatti*, *sthiti* and *saṃhāra*. The PrHṛ is quoted in *Nandikeśvarakāśikā* 12, in the *Guptavatī* (Bhāskara's commentary on the *Durgāsaptaśatī*), p. 3, etc. etc.

[10] The *Yoginīhṛdaya* was certainly influenced by esoteric Kashmirian Śaiva exegesis; it uses its terminology (*spanda* 2.18, *sphurattā* 1.9-10, *cidānandaghana* 1.13) and concepts (*prakāśaparamārthatvāt* 1.11, *parā vāk* 1.36, *bhāsanād viśvarūpasya* 1.41, *idantāhantayor aikyam* 3.107; 3.199) when expounding its own philosophy. A direct influence of the PrHṛ is more difficult to prove, but conceivable in 1.9 (*yadā sā paramā śaktiḥ svecchayā viśvarūpiṇī* ||1.9|| *sphurattām ātmanaḥ paśyet*...) and plausible in 1.56: *cidātmabhittau viśvasya prakāśāmarśane yadā karoti svecchayā*... [roughly corresponding to PrHṛ 1]. See Sanderson 1990[a]: 158; Padoux 1994: 10 and Khanna 1986 [unpublished]: 71.

[11] Sanderson has recently demonstrated that the *Lakṣmītantra* is dependent on the PrHṛ. To mention only one striking parallel: in *Lakṣmītantra* 6.34-44, which corresponds to PrHṛ 4,5 and 7, the word *saptapañcaka* (LT5.39c/PrHṛ7) is an obvious quotation (Alexis Sanderson, *History through Textual Criticism in the Study of Śaivism, the Pañcarātra and the Buddhist Yoginītantras* [unpublished lecture typescript], fn. 42f).

[12] One slanted interpretation in Śivānanda's *Ṛjuvimarśinī* on *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* 1.9 is worth noting. There he states that Āgama is twofold: relating to the three castes, i.e. the Veda, and relating to all castes, that is, the Tantras (p. 25). He then quotes Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta as support for the idea that the authors of the "Vedāgama" and the "secret Āgama" are identical. The first quotation is *Śivastotrāvalī* 2.7, in which Śiva is called author of the Veda and at the same time opposed to it. We find a similar *virodhābhāsa* in *Stavacintāmaṇi* 71 (quoted in *Mālinīvijayavārttika* I.119-120). The important detail not mentioned by Śivānanda is that the background of this statement is the hierarchical model of revelation in Tantric and, especially, Abhinavagupta's philosophy, according to which Śiva is the source, not only of the Āgamas and the Veda, but of all knowledge. This, however, is not a statement of validity. The lower knowledge/scripture remains valid only if it is not contradicted by the higher; there is no theological inconsistency here: Śiva is the direct source of the lower, but his motive in creating lower scriptures like the Veda is not to provide a means for liberation, but merely to maintain the world (*sthiti*). Śivānanda

instance could be found, the tension between the heterodox cult of Śiva that is at the centre of the Pratyabhijñā and the trend towards Vedic orthodoxy that was promoted by many Śrīvidyā exegetes would become only too apparent. For that reason the adaptation of the whole of the PrHr̥ in one work of the 17th century Kashmirian Śrīvidyā author Sāhib Kaul deserves special attention.

The third chapter of the *Devīnāmavilāsa*

Sāhib Kaul's *Devīnāmavilāsa* (DNV) is a sophisticated poetical interpretation of the *Bhavānīsahasranāma* and was completed, according to the last verse of the work, in 1666[13]. In the first five chapters the frame story of the *Bhavānīsahasranāma*, which relates the introductory dialogue between Śiva and Nandikeśvara, is expanded into a complex *kāvya* of more than 600 verses. Chapters six to fifteen explain the thousand names with one verse per name, and the sixteenth chapter contains the *phalaśruti*.

The third chapter of the DNV is a continuation of a *stotra* addressed to Śiva by Nandikeśvara that started in 2.52[14]. But whereas the remainder of chapter 2 consisted merely of vocatives addressing Śiva, chapter 3 describes Śiva's nature in philosophical terms and as such includes a paraphrase of the whole of the PrHr̥. An analysis of this chapter shows that the part corresponding roughly to sūtra 8 (*tadbhumikāḥ sarvadarśana-sthitayaḥ*) takes up almost half of the space, but this – as we will see below – is the ideal point for including the Śaiva pantheon in this *stuti* of Śiva. In the two penultimate verses, i.e. 122-124 (*pr̥ṣṭaṃ tvayā nandika sādhu sādhu*...) Śiva acknowledges the preceding monologue of Nandikeśvara, and vs. 125 is Sāhib Kaul's concluding verse.

Before discussing some of the verses relevant to our topic I give a list of parallels except for the part corresponding to sūtra 8 (37-96). The notes aim at identifying parallels that are perhaps not obvious and provide topics in brackets for orientation. With some verses problems of interpretation

introduces these quotations in a context which suggests that the Vedic and the Tantric are but parts of one valid knowledge (*āgama*), and in this light his frequent quotations from Vedic sources are a departure from the clear heterodoxy of his predecessors.

[13] For the author, see the introduction to my forthcoming edition of his *stotra*s and *paddhati*s.

[14] *stotuṃ samādher virataṃ patiṃ svaṃ pracakrame praṣṭumanāḥ prasannam* 2.51cd *śiveśa śambho*...

remain, but limitations of time and space did not allow a translation and detailed discussion of the whole chapter, which would have to include the surviving manuscripts of the DNV.

OVERVIEW

DNV 3	*PrHṛ*	*Notes*
2a	1:8 (*iha*)	see below
2c	2:3 (Sūtra 1)	
3a	2:8-9	see below
3b	2:11-13	see below
3cd	2:10	*nimeṣatattvonmiṣite* = *nivṛttaprasarāyāṃ*
4ab	2:11-13	
5ab	3:1-3	
5c	2:10	
5cd	3:9-10,4:2	
9	4:6-9	
10	4:9-5:1	for *upahāra*, see below
11ab	6:4	
11cd	5:15-16	sūtra 2
12	6:10-13	sūtra 3 (*ādāyaka* = *grāhaka*!)
13	7:1-3	*nityaśiva* (13c) = *sadāśiva*
14ab	7:5-6	*īśāna* (14a) = *īśvara*
14cd	7:7-9	(*vidyātattva*)
15	7:10-13	(*vijñānākala*)
16ab	7:14-8:1	(*pralayākala*)
16cd	8:1-3	(*sakala*)
17	8:3-4	
18	8:5-7	
19	8:7 (na)-10	(*-vimātho* unclear)
20	8:14-9:3	*mātṛ-ādi* 20b = *sadāśivādi*
21	9:3-4	*bhavabhūtideha* 21c "whose body is the riches of creation" = *viśvaśarīra*
22acd	9:4-7	
23cd	10:3-5	
24ab	11:4-6	
25	11:13-12:4	
26	12:4-9	
27	12:9-10	
28ab	11:10-11	(sūtra 5)
28c	12:13-14	
29a	13:7	*vikalparūpā* 29a = *vikalpadaśāyām api tāttvikasvarūpasadbhāvāt*
29bc	13:10-11	*tvadarthānusarodyatasya* 29b = *ye paramārthānusāriṇaḥ teṣāṃ*

30ab	13:14-14:1	read *dehādikāc* 30a (*corrigenda*)
30cd	14:1-3	
31-32a	15:3-6	(*ad* sūtra 6) see below
32b-d	15:6-9	(Śiva is *dvidhā*)
33	(15:9-10)	(*tridhā* through *mala*, no direct correspondence)
34ab	15:10-16:1	(*caturdhā*)
34cd	16:4-6	(*pañcadhā*)
35a	–	(*ṣoḍhā*, Sāhib Kaul's addition)
35b	16:3-4	(*saptadhā*)
35c-36b	–	(*aṣṭadhā-daśadhā*, Sāhib Kaul's addition)
36cd	16:1-3	(36 *tattvas*)

The following section (vv. 37-96) deals with sūtra 8, but with numerous additions, some of which will be discussed below; verse 97 leads back to the main thread by rephrasing sūtra 8.

DNV 3	*PrHṛ*	*Notes*
98	18:15-17	
99	19:1-2	*āgraha = abhimāna*
100	19:3-5	
101	19:13-16	
102	19:16-20:3	
103	20:4-7	
104	21:3-6	*na tādṛśo 'pi* 104d = *asaṃkucitā api*
105c	21:7-9	
105abd	22:7	
106ab	22:12-13	(sūtra 10)
106cd	24:13-14	(sūtra 11)
107ab	26:7-8	(sūtra 12)
108ab	32:11-13	(sūtra 13) *upāttasaṃjñaṃ* 108a = *tatparijñāne*
109abc	34:3-5	(sūtra 14)
109c	34:14	
110ad	35:6-7	(sūtra 15)
110c	35:12-13	
111	36:12-14	(sūtra 16)
112abc	39:8-10	(sūtra 18)
112d	39:11	
113ab	37:11-12	(sūtra 17)
114	46:1-3	(sūtra 19)
115	48:5-8	(sūtra 20)

The praise of Śiva in the third chapter of the *Devīnāmavilāsa* starts with an introductory verse of adoration that contains the word *namaḥ* six times in two pādas. With v. 2 the paraphrase of the PrHṛ commences:

mahādvaye darśanarājarāje
prasiddhasiddhāpratimaprabhāvaḥ ǀ
citiḥ svatantro 'khilasiddhisiddhiḥ
pūrṇo 'pi śūnyo jayasi svabhātaḥ ǁ2ǁ

In this [system of] encompassing (*mahā-*) non-duality, which is the overlord among philosophical systems, [You] are the consciousness (*citi*), [your] matchless brilliance is well-known and established [by reason], [you are] independent and the accomplishment of all *siddhi*s, [you are] empty despite being replete, and you surpass (*jayasi*) [everything] because of your own light (*svabhātaḥ*).

Here Śiva is addressed and described according to the system of "supreme *advaita*", an expression that occurs in the Pratyabhijñā at least since Abhinavagupta[15] and which implies that non-duality is not conceived as an anti-thesis of duality, but as integrating duality and [normal] non-duality. This may even be intended as an explanation of the *iha* that starts the PrHṛ, and which is to be understood as *iha śāstre*. Pāda c is obviously a quotation of the first sūtra of the PrHṛ (*citiḥ svatantrā viśvasiddhihetuḥ*), but with the attributes in grammatical congruence to Śiva, who is addressed, rather than with *citi* as in the source.

aṅgīkṛte[16] *tatprasare prasāram*
upaiti viśvaṃ tad idaṃ na vānyat ǀ
anyad yathā tvayy abhilīyate ca
nimeṣatattvonmiṣite viśeṣe ǁ3ǁ

When its outflow is accepted (*aṅgīkṛte*) this universe expands, or nothing else, just like something that is different [from you] dissolves in you, when in an individual [object] (*viśeṣa*) the aspect of absorption unfolds.

This is a summary of *asyāṃ hi prasarantyāṃ jagat unmiṣati vyavatiṣṭhate ca, nivṛttaprasarāyāṃ ca nimiṣati* (p. 2). The last pāda includes

[15] For the concept, see Hanneder 1998.
[16] *aṅgīkṛte tat-* is my conjecture for *aṅgīkṛtaitat-*.

nimeṣa and *viśeṣa* just for poetical reasons, but what is confusing at first sight is that *nimiṣati* (PrHṛ) corresponds to *tvayy abhilīyate*, but *nimeṣatattvonmiṣite* to *nivṛttaprasarāyāṃ*. Most of the changes are introduced in order to produce a poetical effect, as the *yamaka* in pāda a (*-prasare prasāram*) and the *anuprāsa* in pāda d.

anyasya kasyāpi na vātra śaktir
bhinnasya tasyāsty api nātmabhānam ǀ
abhinnabhāvo viṣayatvam eti
viśeṣaśūnyā svavidis tavaiva ǁ4ǁ

Nothing else has the power to effect [appearance and resorption]: there is no appearance of a self of that which is distinct [from Śiva]. [Your] undivided nature becomes an object, [while] your knowledge (*vidi*) remains free from attributes.

This example is unusually elliptic. 4a summarises 2:11-13 (*anyasya tu māyāprakṛtyādeḥ … na kvacid api hetutvam*), whereas 4b is in explanation of *citprakāśabhinnasyāprakāśamānasyāsattvāt* (2:12-13).

kālādayas tvatkalayā vibhātās
tvāṃ sarvakālaṃ kalituṃ hi nālam ǀ
atrānubhūtyekapade na mānyam
mānaṃ vimānaṃ na ca vopapannam ǁ5ǁ

Time and other [limiting factors] appear through your power (*kalā*), they are not capable of differentiating you, who are the destroyer of everything. Here, in the state that can only be experienced[17], neither the object, nor knowledge of it, nor wrong knowledge (*vimānaṃ*) is appropriate.

The correspondences in pādas a and b can be analysed as follows:

DNV	PrHṛ
kālādayaḥ	*deśakālākārāḥ*
tvatkalayā vibhātas	*etatsṛṣṭā etadanuprāṇitāś ca*
sarvakālaṃ	*naitatsvarūpaṃ*
kalituṃ hi nālam	*bhettum alam*

This line realises what Sāhib Kaul must have intended in this chapter. By using synonyms and with only few changes he succeeds in presenting

[17] Lit.: "the state, which is only experience".

most of the sense of the original, while adding a distinctive poetic note[18]. That this poetic intention dominates his approach to the text is indirectly expressed at the end of his introduction to the frame story[19], where he portrays himself as the "Lord of Rasas, since he [embodies the nine *rasa*s in that he] is full of love for his own philosophical system, laughs at the world, is compassionate to those devoted to him, is heroic in felling egoity, violent[ly opposed] to the multitude of delusions through mental acts, awe-inspiring[20], full of aversion to wrong, wonderful through the playful identity of everything, [but] radiant through his pacified nature"[21].

But to present a poetically sophisticated version of the PrHṛ was only one objective; the DNV is also a statement of superiority of the Śākta Śrīvidyā tradition. Before dealing with these wider implications we shall summarize some of the techniques used for reformulating the text of the PrHṛ.

An analysis of the parallels gives the impression that one objective in paraphrasing the DNV was to infuse poetical life into the philosophical style and to remain at the same time as faithful as possible to the original. This was sometimes achieved simply by using synonyms: *abhimānaṃ grāhitāḥ* (PrHṛ 19:2) becomes *grāhitā āgraham* (v. 99c). One longer example is the rendering of PrHṛ 15: 3-6 *nirṇītadṛśā cidātmā śivabhaṭṭāraka eva eka ātmā na tu anyaḥ kaścit prakāśasya deśakālādibhiḥ bhedāyogāt jaḍasya tu grāhakatvānupapatteḥ* as:

nirṇīta evaṃ śiva eva sākṣāt
sa cetano grāhakatābhimānī ।
bhedāyujas tasya vibhedakārair
anyasya tattvānupapattito 'pi ॥31॥

Only Śiva described in this way is evidently consciousness (*cetano* for *cid* in PrHṛ) that considers itself to be the perceiver; because he is not

[18] This is accomplished through the assonances produced by derivations of the verbal root *kal*. Another example that is very close to the PrHṛ is v. 20.

[19] His introduction to the *Bhavānīsahasranāma* ends in the beginning of chapter 6. In 6.1 the *ṛṣyādi* of the Sahasranāma is mentioned, in 6.2-9 Sāhib Kaul introduces briefly his poetical rendering of the BSN. He says that Śiva composed the thousand names of the goddess and that he, Sāhib Kaul, has furnished them with verses that indicate the sense (*vṛttair arthaṃ lakṣayadbhiḥ*) of these names (6.2).

[20] Lit.: "a source of fear".

[21] *śṛṅgārī svamatau hasañ janagatiṃ bhakteṣu kāruṇyavān, vīro 'haṃkṛtipātane bhramatatau raudro manaḥkarmaṇām* । *bhīter hetur asajjugupsanaparaḥ sarvaikyalīlādbhutaḥ, sāhibkaularaseśvaro vijayate śāntātmatābhāsvaraḥ* ॥6.8॥

divided (*bhedāyuj*)[22] through the factors that produce diversity and because nothing else can attain to reality.

Sometimes it was necessary to elaborate on an abbreviated expression. The śāstric phrase *saṃkocaprādhānye tu śūnyādipramātṛtā* (12:9-10) becomes:

kadāpi saṃkocam amuṃ prasāda-
pātraṃ vidhāyātmadhiyā pradhānaṃ |
saṃvit sphuranty asti yadā tadāpi
śūnyapramātṛtvam upaiti siddham ||27||

The tension between these two aims of composition, that is, to provide a close paraphrase, and to produce a poetic rendering of the original, is evident in verses like the following:

dehādibhūmāv api pūrvapūrva-
pramātṛtāvyāptivimarśasārām |
vidur vinā te paraśaktipātaṃ
na kiṃcanākiṃcanagāṃ svavittim ||100||

The first three pādas are perhaps as close as metrically possible to PrHṛ 19:3-5 *yena dehādiṣu bhūmiṣu pūrvapūrvapramātṛvyāptisāratāprathāyām api uktarūpāṃ mahāvyāptiṃ paraśaktipātaṃ vinā na labhante*, but the last line gives the impression that Sāhib Kaul suddenly realized that there were, to his taste, not enough *śabdālaṃkāra*s present, so that a reformulation of "*mahāvyāpti*" was necessary. And we may add that often these insertions are very difficult to interpret[23].

Sāhib Kaul also tries to retain some similarity in *śabda* even when the *artha* is thereby changed: *citir eva* (sūtra 5) becomes *evaṃ citiḥ* (28a); sometimes he introduces assonances by force: *ubhayasaṃkocasaṃkucitā* (12:13-14) becomes *dvayābhisaṃkocanaśocanīyā* (28c); he also adds examples of his own; for instance in the quotation from the *Tattvagarbha-stotra* (PrHṛ 13:10-11) "those who follow the supreme reality, do not, [even

[22] The edition is ambiguous here; it prints *bhedāyujai(ya nai)tasya*, which could mean that the mss. read the text in brackets, whereas *-jaita* is conjectural – or vice versa. But the corrigenda list tells us to read simply *bhedāyujaitasya*. In any case we should consider reading *bhedāyujas tasya* as a more convincing paraphrase of *prakāśasya bhedāyogāt*.

[23] In the verse just quoted the attribute of *svavittiṃ*, i.e. *kiṃcanākiṃcanagāṃ*, is obscure.

in the state of *vikalpa* (Kṣemarāja's explanation)] lose the luminosity of their own nature", he adds: "just like a king does not lose his kingdom when he is distracted" (29d)[24].

The text is sometimes slightly reordered: instead of starting with sūtra 5, which would in any case become clear only after having read the commentary, Sāhib Kaul starts with the explanation and places the sūtra as a summary at the end; in other cases the sūtra itself needs no separate paraphrase, since all its constituent parts have been described already, as in the treatment of sūtra 7; or, explanations given in the commentary are inserted in the paraphrase as in sūtra 2 (vs. 11). Furthermore there are additions and minor changes: the sequence of numbers in sūtra 7 is augmented in DNV 35acd and 36ab; 36cd differs slightly from 16:1ff; sūtras 17 and 18 are transposed (vs. 112), but this would in any case be the logical order.

In one instance the variant reading adopted by Sāhib Kaul is noteworthy:

manovapurnīlasukhādikasya
mānopahārakramataḥ parasmin |
āveśa etasya paro 'py upāyas
tvajjñaptaye mātari satsukhena ||10||

The immersion (*āveśa*) into the supreme knower (*mātṛ*) through the method (*krama*) of offering the perceptions (*māna*) of the mind, body, [external perceptions like] blue, [internal perceptions like] joy etc. is the supreme method for knowing You through the bliss of existence.

The relevant portion of the PrHṛ is: *api ca viśvaṃ nīlasukhadehaprāṇādi, tasya yā siddhiḥ pramāṇopahārakrameṇa vimarśamayapramātrāveśaḥ saiva hetuḥ parijñāne upāyo yasyāḥ*. (4:10-12)

Whether *upahāra* was the only reading available to him is of course unknown; the editors of the PrHṛ accepted *upāroha*, and relegated the variant *upahāra* to the apparatus[25]. But in fact *upahāra* makes perfect sense and could well be the original reading, since in a Krama context the "offering" of perceptions is well known[26], while the phrase *pramāṇopāroha* might stem from a very well-known text, the *Bhāṣya* on *Yogasūtra* 1.9.

[24] Compare also 33cd for another comparison with the king and his kingdom.

[25] The readings are: *upāroha* kha, ṅa, Ms Stein Or. f9 (Bodleian Library, Oxford); *upahāra* ka, *upāharaṇa* ga, IOL San Ms 2528; *upaharaṇa* BORI No. 467 of 1875-76 (New No. 28); finally *uparodha* and *avaroha* as documented in the four South-Indian mss. collated in Leidecker's edition of the text.

[26] See *Mālinīvārttika*, 1.145-46.

As stated before Sāhib Kaul uses sūtra 8 to add material that he deemed appropriate for a *stotra* of Śiva. The eighth sūtra of the PrHṛ states that the tenets of all religious and philosophical systems are but roles assumed by Śiva, which can be hierarchically ordered on a "*tattva*-scale" according to their specific aims and their concepts of ultimate reality.

In the DNV Sāhib Kaul does not mention the *tattvas*[27]. He increases the number of schools and philosophies[28] and rephrases the description so as to fit an adoration of Śiva[29].

The slight changes in sequence and the inclusion of other schools do not misrepresent Kṣemarāja's intention, since it is only the fact that others can be ranked in that way and thus inclusivistically included that matters, and not their actual sequence. But in the last set of three items there is a fundamental change. In the PrHṛ these are:

> *viśvottīrṇam ātmatattvam iti tāntrikāḥ* | *viśvamayam iti kulādyāmnāyaniviṣṭāḥ* | *viśvottīrṇaṃ viśvamayaṃ ca iti trikādidarśanavidaḥ* |

> According to the Tāntrikas the reality of the self is all-transcendent. Those who have settled on the traditions of the Kula etc. hold it to be all-inclusive[30].

[27] Verse 37 is a free paraphrase of Sūtra 8, verses 38-59 are a summary of Kṣemarāja's commentary, verses 60-96 are Sāhib Kaul's addition.

[28] Kṣemarāja mentions by name the following: Cārvākas, Naiyāyikas, Mīmāṃsakas, Buddhists, Vedāntins, Abhāvabrahmavādins, Mādhyamikas, Pāñcarātrikas, Sāṃkhyas, "other Vedāntins", Grammarians, Tāntrikas, adherents of the Kulāmnāya and of the Trika. Many of these items have an *ādi* added and this does indeed invite speculation about where to include others. Sāhib Kaul lists the following: Lokāyatas (38d), "others *kecana*" (39a), Tīrthyas (40d), "others" (41d, 42d, 43d), Buddhists (44d), Mādhyamikas (45d), Jainas (46d), Digambaras (47d), Tārkikas (48d), adherents of the Vaiśeṣika (*kaṇādavāda* 49c), Bhāṭṭa-Mīmāṃsakas (50d), Prābhākara-Mīmāṃsakas (51d), Pāśupatas (52d), Pāñcarātras (53d), adherents of the Pātañjala-Yoga (54c), the Sāṃkhya (55d), Dhvanipaṇḍitas (56c). The remaining items are discussed below.

[29] For example the Buddhists, who are described by Kṣemarāja as *jñānasaṃtāna eva tattvam iti saugatā buddhivṛttiṣu eva paryavasitāḥ* (p. 17) are now polemically said to remember Śiva, the true Lord of attentiveness, as forgetfulness:

jñānārthavṛttikṣamanirvikalpa-
vikalpakādipratibhāsvarūpam |
kṣaṇaṃ kṣaṇaṃ lolam api smṛtīśaṃ
tvāṃ saugatā asmaraṇaṃ smaranti ||44||

[30] Lit.: "consisting of everything."

The knowers of the Trika system and others maintain that it is all-transcendent and all-inclusive.

This ranking of Śaiva schools has caused some confusion and led Rastogi to conclude that the terms Tantra and Kula are here not used in their normal sense[31]. Before proposing a solution to this problem we must deal with one of Rastogi's presuppositions, namely his interpretation of the term *tantraprakriyā* defined as *ṣaḍardhakramavijñāna*[32]. He concludes that the compound implies that the Trika (*ṣaḍardha*), Krama and the Pratyabhijñā (*vijñāna*) are part of the *tantraprakriyā*[33].

For a correct interpretation we must refer to three related passages in the same text:

(1) The background for Jayaratha's *ṣaḍardhakramavijñāna* is *Tantrāloka* 1.14, where Abhinavagupta states as the motive for composing the work the fact that not even a single *paddhati* exists for the "*anuttaraṣaḍardhārthakrama*". Gnoli translates: "Per la scuola del Senza Superiore, per il Trika e per il Krama non ve n'è tuttavia neppure uno." He notes: "Probabile allusione alla scuola Kula [...]. Il composto può anche essere tradotto: 'Per i metodi concernenti il Trika, cioè la scuola Senza Superiore'[34].

[31] "According to this statement all the three schools viz., the Tantra, Kula and Trika, stand on different footings and propagate divergent views with regard to the nature of the ultimate reality [...] This view of Kṣemarāja, apparently, comes in conflict with the stand adopted by Abhinavagupta that the word Tantra Prakriyā is comprehensive enough so as to include all the varying shades of Trika, Krama and Pratyabhijñā within its ambit. It is very strange that all the editions of the Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya and their respective editors are silent on this point – in fact it does not seem to bother any one of them. It, however, appears to the present author that Kṣemarāja does not use the word Tantra and Kula in the same technical sense as is used by Abhinava. For, the views ascribed to the Tantra and Kula systems by him are not exactly those as they are known to have held on the basis of the available literature. So far as the concept of the ultimate reality is concerned, all the systems – those which are assigned under Tantra-prakriyā and those which are not [...] – unreservedly take it to be both, transcendent as well as immanent. This view is essentially one which has been ascribed by Kṣemarāja to the adherents of the Trika and its like systems (note the word 'ādi' in Trikādi). It is, therefore, plausible to conclude that the words Tantra and Kula as used by Kṣemarāja do not stand for their counterparts within the fold of Kashmir śaiva Monism, instead they represent alien forces". (Rastogi 1979: 35).

[32] The passage in question is *nikhilaśāstropaniṣadbhūtasya ṣaḍardhakramavijñānasya traiyambakasantānadvāreṇa avatārakatvād*. *Tantrālokaviveka* on 1.9, vol. 1, p. 28.

[33] Rastogi 1979: 32ff.

[34] Gnoli 1972: 69.

(2) Jayaratha, obviously referring back to 1.14, says in his introduction to 1.17 that the author had "promised in general to produce a [handbook for] the methods in the Trika system"[35].

(3) Finally, Jayaratha explains *ṣaḍardhārthakrama* as the sequence of a multitude of doctrines within the Trika[36].

The obvious solution is that the compound in question does *not* refer to the Krama and Pratyabhijñā, but to the variety of levels within the Trika. The Trika can be divided into two ritual modes, a more general *tantraprakriyā* and an esoteric *kulaprakriyā*[37]. Another distinction is that between different types of cults within the Trika (*anuttara* etc.)[38]. For that reason Gnoli's second translation is the most convincing, and Rastogi's far-fetched interpretation can be dismissed.

Once this distinction is established, Kṣemarāja's ranking becomes much clearer. The word *tāntrikāḥ* refers to those who practise the *tantraprakriyā*, *kulādyāmnāya* to *kulaprakriyā*, while the Trika subsumes both and thus, following the logic of hierarchical inclusion, takes the top position. Problems remain with the identification of the "other" traditions referred to by *-ādi*. Plausible candidates would be the Kaula (as distinguished from the Kula), Mata, Krama and Spanda, but their precise position in the philosophy of Kṣemarāja is a matter of conjecture[39].

Returning now to the *Devīnāmavilāsa* we see that Sāhib Kaul, like Kṣemarāja, lists three items after the grammarians (*dhvanipaṇḍita*). The first is:

anādyavidyānubhavena kartṛ-
bhāvādibhāvyaṃ sakalaikabhāvam |
śrutyantasaṃvādanakhelalolā
brahmādvayaṃ tvānubhavanti santaḥ ||57||

Some good people who are longing for the play of agreeing with the Vedānta, experience the non-duality of the Absolute (*brahma*), which is the one being (*bhāva*) of everything and which will become (*bhāvya*) an agent [only] through the experience of a beginningless ignorance (57).

[35] *sāmānyena trikadarśanaprakriyākaraṇaṃ pratijñāya*... *Tantrālokaviveka*, p. 35.

[36] *anuttaraṣaḍardhārthakrama ity anena sākṣād abhihitaś ca paraparāparāparātmatādinā bahuprakāras trikārthas tāvad abhidheyaḥ. Tantrālokaviveka*, p. 52.

[37] Compare *Tantrālokaviveka* 1.7 (p. 24): *ataś ca vakṣyamāṇaśāstrasya kulatantraprakriyātmakatvena dvaividhye 'pi*...

[38] See Sanderson 1990^b: 32.

[39] See Sanderson forthcoming.

The formulation in 57c is ambiguous: are the "good people" those who agree with the Vedānta, perhaps only on important points, but not themselves Vedāntins? Could this refer to Smārta Śaivas? On the other hand 57c could merely be a poetical periphrasis for adherents of the Vedānta. In both cases the inclusion of the Vedānta shows that there is a fundamental departure from the pattern in Kṣemarāja's PrHṛ.

Verse 58, i.e. the second item, is obscure, but seems to be a play of words on the description *viśvottīrṇaṃ* and *viśvamayaṃ*[40].

The last item too is problematic:

taduttaraṃ tanmayam ajñaguhyaṃ
pūrvaṃ sadāpūrvam imaṃ svatantram |
kecin mahārthaikanayāḥ prapannās
trilokatālokavilokalokam ||59||

Some who have the Mahārtha as their only system approach [Śiva?] as transcending the world and consisting of the world, him, the primordial (*pūrvaṃ*) who is always without anything preceding him[41] and independent, who should be concealed from ignoramuses and is the world in which the light (*āloka*) of the nature of the three worlds (i.e. of manifestation) is perceived (*viloka*).

This is in explicit contradiction to the PrHṛ. Whereas Kṣemarāja reserved this position for "Trika and others", Sāhib Kaul explicitly states that those who have the Mahārtha, i.e. the Krama, as their only system fall into this category. It is, however, difficult to infer his motives in doing so. Perhaps he only wished to state the obvious, namely that the PrHṛ evinces, despite its title, more interest in the Krama than in the Pratyabhijñā.

Following the last item in *Devīnāmavilāsa* 51 there is a set of verses (60-96) which follows the pattern of the previous section. It is an adoration of Śiva, but not by adherents of different religions, but by deities and semi-divine beings, i.e. Nāgas, Ṛṣis, Siddhas, etc.[42].

[40] The text runs as follows:
viśvottaro viśvakaro balaiko
niveśito 'syātmabale paraiś ca |
viśvatra viśvena ca viśvaviśvaṃ
tvāṃ te vidur viśvamatottarajñāḥ ||58||

[41] I take this as *sadā-apūrvam*.

[42] The transition is not so apparent, since the passage starts with *māheśvaras* (60d), which might just be another type of Śaivas.

Because of the fact that large parts of the third chapter of the DNV are virtually uninterpretable without the PrHṛ[43] we must assume that the DNV was written with an audience of (Kashmirian) *śiṣṭa*s in mind. To put Kṣemarāja's work in the mouth of Nandikeśvara is at first sight an homage to the Pratyabhijñā tradition, but the second look reveals that the frame story given in the *Bhavānīsahasranāma*, which must have been known to the Kashmirian readers and which is also contained in the DNV, implies that the position of the PrHṛ, and thus the earlier Kashmirian Śaiva non-dualism, is ambiguous. The passage in question run as follows[44]:

kailāsaśikhare ramye devadevaṃ maheśvaram |
dhyānoparatam āsīnaṃ prasannamukhapaṅkajam ||
surāsuraśiroratnarañjitāṅghriyugaṃ prabhum |
praṇamya śirasā nandī baddhāñjalir abhāṣata ||
śrīnandikeśvara uvāca
devadeva jagannātha saṃśayo 'sti[45] *mahān mama* |
rahasyam ekam icchāmi praṣṭuṃ tvāṃ bhaktivatsalam ||
devatāyās tvayā kasyāḥ stotram etad divāniśam |
paṭhyate 'viratаṃ nātha tvattaḥ kim aparaḥ paraḥ ||

In response to this inquiry after "another deity that is higher than You [Śiva]" (*tvattaḥ kim aparaḥ paraḥ*) and which is the object of Śiva's constant *stuti*, Śiva says that *stuve parāparāṃ śaktiṃ mamānugrahakāriṇīm*[46]. He then discloses the "secret that has to be concealed even to Skanda", namely the predominance of the Śakti – most evident in the fact that the Śakti, after being worshipped with the thousand names, had

[43] A good example is 30cd: *na cānusandhānam ihānyathā syān māyāpramātā khalu tanmayo 'taḥ* ||. "Otherwise there would not be a synthetic awareness; therefore the *māyāpramātā* consists of the [mind]". Here the source not only clarifies the sense, but also explains the choice of words: *anyathā tato vyutthitasya svakartavyānudhāvanābhāvaḥ syād iti cittamaya eva māyīyaḥ pramātā* | (14:1-3). Compare also the rendering of Sūtra 3 in v. 12.

[44] Edition [1], (see bibliography): p. 2. Unfortunately the edition has quite a few (easily recognisable) misprints, while the manuscripts reproduced by Lokesh Chandra has a fairly correct text. This ms. starts with *akulakula*... (third verse in the edition).

[45] Misprint in the edition: *saṃśayo 'tti*.

[46] Page 3 (line 7). Compare the parallel in DNV 5.1, where Śiva, having described the goddess in detail in chapter 4, says: *tatprasādam adhigatya bhaktitaḥ staumi tām*...

entered Śiva. Then, after mentioning the *nyāsas* preliminary to the recitation[47], he eventually recites the *Sahasranāma* of the goddess.

In the DNV Nandī concludes his summary of the PrHṛ by saying "Such is the conclusion that I have drawn on my own only through the tiny grace of beholding you ..."[48]. This implies that the mere *darśana* of Śiva brings the knowledge of the Pratyabhijñā, but that Nandī is interested in what, as it were, Śiva himself practises. The verse from the frame story of the BSN quoted above is eventually alluded to in DNV 120:

sā devatā kāsti parā tvayāpi
yasyāḥ stavaḥ śaṅkara rājarāja |
saṃcintyate cetanacetanena
tvattaḥ kim anyo 'sti paraḥ parasthaḥ ||120||

This implies that whatever Nandī has to say about Śiva as the highest deity, is afterwards contradicted by Śiva's admission that he is utterly dependent on his Śakti. The Pratyabhijñā as a Śaiva system is therefore included only as a preliminary level to a Śākta viewpoint. On the other hand the PrHṛ itself can be seen as a Śākta work, and from this perspective Nandī, by using the PrHṛ, already expresses Śiva's dependence. This ambiguity is of course contained already in the frame story, since there Nandikeśvara had noted that Śiva continuously recites a Stotra to another deity.

Proceeding further in this direction, we could say that the reader was to understand that the PrHṛ contains the truth philosophically, but that it is as such only preliminary to the concrete cult of the goddess it describes as the *cicchakti*, a cult that is expressed, for instance, in the *Bhavānīsahasranāma*. In order to make the PrHṛ contain this truth Sāhib Kaul has made an innocuous, but important change[49]: in his rendering of sūtra 17 (*madhyavikāsāc cidānandalābhaḥ*) *cidānanda* becomes *saccitsudhānanda* (113a). As far as I can see, the exegetes of heterodox Śaivism never use *saccidānanda*, since it is an obvious reference to the Vedānta, which, as we saw, is a system of thought placed rather low on the *tattva*-scale. But in the works of

[47] The *ṛṣyādi* in the BSN is: *asya śrībhavānīnāmasahasrastavarājasya mahādeva ṛṣiḥ, anuṣṭubh chandaḥ, ādyā śaktiḥ bhagavatī bhavānī devatā, hrīṃ bījaṃ, śrīṃ śaktiḥ, klīṃ kīlakaṃ, ātmano vāṅmanaḥkāyopārjitapāpanivāraṇārthaṃ amukakāmanāsiddhyarthe pāṭhe home vā viniyogaḥ* | This corresponds to DNV 6.1.

[48] 116ab: *etāvatīṃ svānumitiṃ gato 'haṃ, tvaddarśanānugrahaleśamātrāt* | The edition reads *svānumatiṃ*.

[49] There are of course minor changes and additions: 22b *viśvaikarūpo 'pi na viśvarūpaḥ*. Śiva is called *viśvarūpa*, *viśvamaya* etc. In the PrHṛ, the emphasis on *viśvaikarūpa* seems to be Sāhib Kaul's.

Sāhib Kaul we discern a tendency to harmonise with Vedism. In his *Śyāmāpaddhati* he explicitly combines Vedic and Tantric parts of the ritual[50], a feature which, although taught in various Śrīvidyā texts[51], is missing in comparable *paddhatis*[52].

It is, however, difficult to determine Sāhib Kaul's exact position with regard to the Vedic religion[53]. Understandably few authors feel prompted to make their opinion in this sensitive matter public, one exception is Bhāskararāya, who pays tribute to Śaṅkarācārya as the guru of all gurus[54]. There is to my knowledge only one other passage in Sāhib Kaul's works that gives a clue to his view of the relation between Vedānta and Śrīvidyā, namely in a *stotra* called *Citsphārasārādvaya*[55]:

> *śrotavyaḥ śrutisāravākyanivahād aśrāntam ātmā paro*
> *mantavyaś ca dṛḍhopapattibhir atha svātantryaharṣarddhimān* |
> *dhyeyaḥ saṅgam apāsya śāntamanasā nityaṃ prakāśātmakaḥ*
> *sarvasthasya ca vismṛtasya hi bhavet tasyettham īkṣā svataḥ* ||7||
>
> *śambhur nityavimuktabuddhavimalaḥ satyaḥ svatantro 'dvaya*
> *ityādau śrutisārataḥ susukhadaḥ samyag ya ākarṇitaḥ* |
> *viśvaṃ tanmayam eva tathyam akhilaṃ bhātīti satpratyayān*
> *matvā so 'smi vicitraśaktir iti taddhyānāt paraṃ prāpsyasi* ||8||

> Unweariedly one should hear about the self through the many statements that are the essence of the Veda, and should think about it with firm arguments, then constantly meditate on it – with a calm mind that has discarded attachment – as being endowed with the magnificent bliss (*harṣarddhi*) of independence, [and] as being light. In this way the

[50] Sandhyā: *vaidikasaṃdhyāṃ samāpya tāntrikīm ārabheta tatra pūrvavad ācamya.* Tarpaṇa: *itthaṃ sandhyācatuṣṭayaṃ kṛtvā vaidikaṃ tarpaṇaṃ samāpya tāntrikam ārabhet* | For details, see my forthcoming edition of this work.

[51] See, for instance, Rāmeśvara's commentary on the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra* (p. 10), and Pūrṇānanda's *Śrītattvacintāmaṇi* 15.6 *atha gṛhyoktavidhinā bāhyasnānaṃ samācaret* | etc.

[52] Several *paddhatis* in the appendix of the *Devīrahasya* are obviously closely related to the *Śyāmāpaddhati*.

[53] In the later Śrīvidyā the rapprochement to the Vedic religion was cemented, and its heterodox roots effaced, by the ascription of a multitude of Tantric works to Vedānta authors. For instance the *Prapañcasāra* and the *Saundaryalaharī* are attributed to Śaṅkara, the *Śrīvidyāratnasūtras* to Gauḍapāda, the commentary on them to Vidyāraṇya.

[54] See his *Guptavatī*, introductory verse 1: … *śaṅkarācāryaṃ śiṣyacatuṣṭayena sahitaṃ vande gurūṇāṃ gurum* ||

[55] An edition and translation of it is forthcoming, the mss. consulted so far have no variants in the two verses quoted.

knowledge (*īkṣā*) of this omnipresent, [but] forgotten self arises spontaneously (*svataḥ*) (7).

Having heard in the right way, from the essence of the Śruti, that [the self] grants complete bliss, [that is, from statements like] "Śiva is eternal, free, awakened and pure, true, independent and without duality", having thought [about it] through the right perception "the whole world, which is identical with him [Śiva], appears as real (*tathyam*)", you shall attain the supreme through the meditation on him as "I am of manifold powers" (8).

Verse 17 alludes to the three steps in Vedāntic soteriology, i.e. *śravaṇa*, *manana*, *nididhyāsana*, and we would usually understand the "statements that form the essence of the Veda" as the *mahāvākya*s, but since mention is made of the "independence" and the "forgotten" self, one is lead to assume a Pratyabhijñā context. In v. 18 the Vedāntic labels are then explicitly filled with a Śaiva content: the essence of the Śruti is nothing but the doctrine of a non-dual Śiva. This is an elegant reinterpretation of *sāra*, which may in a Śaiva context denote the more "essential", i.e. esoteric levels of a set of doctrines or rituals. Similarly the last two items are no more compatible with Vedānta: the reality of the world-appearance conceived as identical with Śiva is a concept to be found in the Pratyabhijñā/Śrīvidyā, and the content of the *dhyāna*, i.e. *so 'smi vicitraśaktiḥ*, is in fact an assertion of identity with Śiva as the Lord of all Śaktis. One further point to be noted is the context of this *stotra*, which is a dialogue between a disciple desperately seeking for enlightenment and the teacher. Here the inclusion of Vedāntic concepts may not even be a modification of his own doctrine, but merely a didactic adaptation to the addressee's background.

Does this mean that our author was preaching in an environment dominated by adherents of the Vedānta whom he wished to draw into Śrīvidyā? If this hypothesis could be substantiated then his inclusion of the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* in the *Devīnāmavilāsa* could be seen as an attempt to balance different objectives, namely to locate himself within the Kashmirian Śaiva tradition, while recognizing and eventually attracting the attention of the Vedāntins. If so it would be misleading to talk of a influence, however superficial, of Vedānta in his works, but rather of a reaction to a socio-religious environment that may have been dominated by Vedāntins/Smārtas. All this is of course only a preliminary attempt to reconstruct the process of a vedāntisation of the Śrīvidyā from literary evidence, the next step must be an edition of Sāhib Kaul's works.

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HINDU CONCEPTS OF ANGER: *MANYU* AND *KRODHA*

The two Sanskrit words *manyu* and *krodha* are both used in the sense of 'anger'. Historically speaking, *manyu* plays an important role in the *Ṛgveda* as an abstract deity (*manyu-sūkta*), whereas *krodha* never appears there as a nominal form. All that we meet there are derivations from the verbal root *krudh-*: *cu-krudh-am* (8.1.20), *cu-krudh-āma* (2.33.4, 10.142.3), *á-cu-krudh-at* (5.34.7) and its participle *kruddhá* (5.15.3, 10.43.8). Such a form as *krudh-mín* also appears in 7.56.8.

These two words, however, are often treated as synonyms. In his commentary to the *Ṛgveda*, Sāyaṇa renders the word *manyu* fourteen times as *krodha*[1], five times as *kopa*[2] and once as *tejas* (1.139.2). He paraphrases *manyu-mat* as *krodha-yukta* (7.104.3) and *manyumat-tama* as *atyantam krodhavat* (4.30.7)[3]. The *Amarakośa* also considers them to be synonyms[4].

[1] ṚV 1.101.2, 1.104.2, 6.46.4, 7.18.16, 8.4.5, 8.19.15, 8.78.6, 8.6.13, 8.71.2, 10.34.14, 10.35.4, 10.89.6, 10.128.6, 10.152.3.

[2] ṚV 1.24.6, 4.17.10, 6.25.2, 7.36.4. Cf. also 7.56.22 (*manyubhiḥ kopair abhimānair vā*).

[3] Cf. also ṚV 8.48.8 (*manyuḥ krodhaḥ kruddho vā alarti*), 2.24.2 (*manyunā manunā krodhena vā*), 2.23.12 (*manyuṃ krodhaṃ jñānaṃ vā*), 2.24.14 (*manyuḥ manana-sādhano mantraḥ krodho vā*), 7.86.6 (*manyuḥ krodhaś ca gurv-ādi-viṣayaḥ sann anartha-hetuḥ*).

Other paraphrases are as follows: 1) *manyu=stotra*: 7.60.11. 5.7.*10 (manyuṃ manana-sādhanaṃ stotram*) and 7.61.1 (*manyuṃ stotraṃ karma vā*); 2) *manyu=abhimāna*: 9.97.8. Such compounded forms as *manyu-mī and manyu-ṣāvin* are found in 1.100.6: *manyumīḥ manyoḥ kopasya nirmātā/abhimanyamānasya śatroḥ hiṃsakaḥ*, 2.23.4: *manyumīḥ manyoḥ krodhasya pareṣāṃ jñānasya vā hiṃsako 'si* and 8.32.21: *manyuṣāviṇaṃ krodhena somam sunvantam*.

[4] *manyur dainye kratau krudhi* (*Amara* 3.4.24.155d) "*manyu* is used in the sense of (=synonymous with) distress (*dainya*), sacrifice (*kratu*) and anger (*krudh*)".

Cf. also *vairaṃ virodho vidveṣo manyu-śokau tu śuk striyām*
paścāttāpo 'nutāpaś ca vipratīsāra ity api (25)
kopa -krodhāmarṣa-roṣa-pratighā ruṭ krudhau striyām (*Amarakośa* 1.7.26).

These and other examples[5] testify to the fact that ordinarily these two words are treated as synonyms.

Yet, those who are familiar with Classical Sanskrit literature are aware of the fact that *krodha* is more concretely portrayed than *manyu*. That is to say, *krodha* like *roṣa* and *kopa* is often characterised by such outward signs as red eyes (*saṃrakta-netra*), contraction of the eye brows (*bhrū-kuṭī*), bitten teeth (*saṃdaṣṭa-daśana*), trembling lips (*visphuramāṇoṣṭha*) etc., while *manyu* is scarcely accompanied by them[6]. There is a privative form *a-krodha* for *krodha*[7], but it is not the case with *manyu*, which has *nir-manyu*[8] instead.

Manyu in Vedic literature has been dealt with by eminent vedisants[9] and was fully elucidated by the French savant Ch. Malamoud[10], while *krodha* as the *sthāyi-bhāva* of the *rasa raudra* is fully analysed in Hindu dramaturgy. It is, then, out of great respect to Professor R. Gnoli who has contributed much to Hindu dramaturgy that the present writer here presents a comparative study of *krodha* and *manyu* as revealed in Classical Sanskrit literature.

1
krodha

First, let us present the general context in which the word *krodha* appears in Classical Sanskrit literature.

1.1. Frequently, *kāma* and *krodha* are considered as the two representatives of evil[11]. Also, in the *Bhagavadgītā* 16.21, *kāma*, *krodha* and *lobha* are said to be the threefold gate of hell (*narakasya dvāra*). Another trinity is composed

[5] Cf. Kullūka *ad* MS 2.152 (*āgata-manyavaḥ=jāta-krodhāḥ*), Mallinātha *ad Raghuvaṃśa* 2.32 (*vivṛddha-manyuḥ=pravṛddha-roṣo…*), 14.73 (*manyuḥ=kopo...*), *Kirātārjunīya* 1.27 (*manyu-vyavasāyayoḥ= krodhodyogayor*), 1.32 (*manyuḥ=krodhaḥ*), 1.35 (*manyuṃ= krodhaṃ duḥkhaṃ vā*), 17.49 (*ātma-manyuḥ=sva-kopo...*).

In the *Praśastapādabhāṣya* both *krodha* and *manyu* are treated as variations of *dveṣa*: *krodho droho manyur akṣamā 'marṣa iti dveṣa-bhedāḥ* (Bronkhorst-Ramseier 1994: 60 [294]).

[6] Yet, we have a counter-example in MBh 5.73.10-11.

akasmāt smayamānaś rahasy āsse rudann iva
jānvor mūrdhānam ādhāya ciram āsse pramīlitaḥ (10)
bhru-kuṭiṃ ca punaḥ kurvann oṣṭhau ca vilihann iva
abhīkṣṇaṃ dṛśyase bhīma sarvaṃ tan manyu-kāritam (11)

[7] For *akrodha* Gonda 1959: 98 (cf. also Renou 1997:134 ff).

[8] Cf. MBh 5.131.5, 8.30.84, 12.312.27, 13.36.14 (*nirmanyu*).

[9] For example, Gonda 1957: 94, Thieme 1984: 99-100, Renou 1997: 84.

[10] Malamoud 1996: 144-155. This is an English version of Malamoud 1968.

[11] Cf. MS 7.45 ff. and AŚ 8.129 (Wilhelm 1960: 41-48). Cf. also Böhtlingk 1966: 1642-45. *Krodha* is coupled with *lobha* in Böhtlingk 1966: 1515 and Böhtlingk 1966: 7511.

of *krodha* with *kāma* and *moha* (Böhtlingk 1966: 3670) and also with *lobha* and *moha* (*Yogasūtra* 2.34). Sometimes *kāma*, *krodha*, *lobha*, *harṣa*, *māna* and *mada* constitute *ṣaḍ-varga* (Böhtlingk 1966: 2739-40) and another set of six (*ṣaḍ-doṣa*) is found in Böhtlingk 1966: 6615 (*nidrā*, *tandrī*, *bhaya*, *krodha*, *ālasya* and *dīrghasūtratā*). Also, a causal chain is mentioned in the *Bhagavadgītā* 2.62-3, which is made of *saṅga*, *kāma*, *krodha*, *saṃmoha*, *smṛti-vibhrama* and *buddhi-nāśa*[12]. The *Abhidharmakośa* enumerates *krodha* among the ten *parīta-kleśa-bhūmika*-s (2.27)[13] and there is introduced the Vaibhāṣika classification which enumerates it among the ten *paryavasthāna*[14]. These and other references testify to the fact that *krodha* is one of the representatives of major evil in Classical Sanskrit literature, whereas *manyu* never appears in such a context[15].

1.2. *Krodha* is further anthropomorphized. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 4.8.3, it is styled as a son of *lobha* and *nirṛti*[16], and in the *Āśvamedhika-parvan dharma* takes the form of *krodha* in order to test the patience of the sage Jamadagni (MBh 14.69).

However, the anthropomorphism of *krodha* is best illustrated in the allegorical play of Kṛṣṇamiśra, *Prabodhacandrodaya*. Here, the trinity *kāma*, *krodha* and *lobha* appears together with *dambha* and *ahaṃkāra* as the ministers of the king Mahāmoha. As *kāma* and *lobha* have *rati* and *tṛṣṇā* as their wives respectively, *krodha*'s wife is *hiṃsā*. Furthermore, *krodha* is destined to be destroyed by *kṣamā*, as *kāma* is by *vastu-dṛṣṭi* and *lobha* is by *saṃtoṣa* (4.15-18). In the prose portion after verse 4.18, *krodha* is accompanied not merely by *hiṃsā*, but also by such evils as *pāruṣya*, *māna*, *mātsarya* and others[17].

[12] Cf. Böhtlingk 1966: 6675.

[13] *krodhopanāha-śāṭhyerṣyā-pradāsa-mrakṣa-matsarāḥ*
māyā-mada-vihiṃsāś ca parītta-kleśa-bhūmikāḥ (Pradhan 2.27)
(Cf. La Vallée Poussin 1980 I: 164). Cf. also *Mahāvyutpatti* (U. Wogihara ed., Tokyo 1927) nos. 1961-1970.

[14] *āhrīkyam anapatrāpyam īrṣyā mātsaryam uddhavaḥ*
kaukṛtyaṃ styāna-middhaṃ ca paryavasthānam aṣṭadhā (5.47)
krodha-mrakṣau ca (cf. de La Vallée Poussin 1980 IV: 89-90).

[15] The word *manyu* never appears in the *Bhagavadgītā*. According to Honda 1954, no *sūtra* of the *Ṣaḍdarśana* contains the word.

[16] Cf. Dikshitar 1951 I: 482. It is also called a son of *asūyā* (envy).
āśāyās tanayo 'dharmaḥ krodho 'sūyā-sutaḥ smṛtaḥ
putro lobho nikṛtyās tu kṛtaghno nārhati prajām (MBh 12.263.12).

[17] An anthropomorphism of *manyu* is referred to in the *Brahma-purāṇa* 162. Born out of Śiva's third eye, he is the manliness of men (*pauruṣaṃ puruṣeṣu*) and the sense of ego in

1.3. As is mentioned above, *krodha* is often accompanied with outward expressions of anger. Some are connected with the eyes, that is, red eyes (*krodha-saṃrakta-nayana*)[18], wide-opened eyes (*krodha-utphulla-locana*)[19], distracted eyes (*krodha-vyākula-locana*)[20], glaring eyes (*krodha-dīptekṣaṇa*)[21]; some with the eyebrows (*bhrū-kuṭī*)[22]; some with lips, trembling lips (*krodha-prasphuritādhara, krodhād visphuramāṇoṣṭha*)[23]; some with speech (*krodha-paryākulākṣara*)[24], and some are connected with the whole body (*krodha-dīpta-vapus*)[25].

However, these outward signs of *krodha* seem to be best summarized in the treatises of Hindu dramaturgy. As is mentioned above, *krodha* is the *sthāyi-bhāva* of the *rasa raudra*, having a red colour (*rakta*) and Rudra as the presiding deity (*rudrādhidaivata*: *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* 3.227b). A concise definition in the *Daśarūpa* of Dhanaṃjaya reads as follows:

> *krodho matsara-vairi-vaikṛtamayaiḥ poṣo 'sya raudro 'nujaḥ kṣobhaḥ svādhara-daṃśa-kampa-bhrūkuṭi-svedāsya-rāgair yutaḥ śastrollāsa-vikatthanāṃsa-dharaṇī-ghāta-pratijñā-grahair atrāmarṣa-madau smṛtiś capalatāsūyaugrya-vegādayaḥ* (*Daśarūpa* 4.81)

living beings (*ahaṃkāraś ca jantuṣu*: 21). As a leader of the gods' army he destroyed asuras (*atyugraṃ deva-sainya-purogamam*: 11). Cf. Schreiner-Söhnen 1987: 505, and Schreiner-Söhnen 1989: 260.

[18] For expressions (*anubhāvas*) of anger (*krodha*) in MBh, cf. Sharma 1964: 148-150. For the red eyes, cf. also Brockington 1970: 401. *krodha-raktekṣaṇa*: MBh 1.73.31, 165.32, 6.89.30, 7.107.7, 134.13, 145.26, 8.11.34, 44.3, 55.35, 55.63, 57.21, 9.54.19. R 6.67.113. *krodha-saṃrakta-nayana*: MBh 1.73., 2,68.38, 5.9.40, 6.74.6, 7.1.18, 141.4, 144.5. R 1.59.17,62.15, 6.104.1. *krodha-saṃrakta-locana*: MBh 1.78.24, 4.54.20, 5.178.17, 6.60.26, 88.8,15 36, 96.50, 7.81.28, 98.49, 109.7, 110.39, 131.15, 134.60, 137.37, 169.62, 171.18, 8.20.12, 33.10, 9.41.12. R 1.36.22, 5.44.19, 6.95.3,99.22, 7.22.2. *krodha-tāmrekṣaṇa*: MBh 6.102.55, R 6.81.2. *krodha-tāmrākṣa*: R 7.131.59 (*roṣa-tāmrākṣa*: 7.131.63). *krodhād dviguṇa-tāmrākṣa*: R 6.52.27.

[19] Wide-opened eyes: *krodhād utphulla-locana*: MBh 5.165.9. *krodhād udvṛtta-cakṣus*: MBh 9.64.8. *krodhād udvṛtya cakṣuṣī*: MBh 6.54.39, 7.20.10, 106.48, 8.11.33.

[20] Disturbed eyes: *krodha-paryākulekṣaṇa*: MBh 1.166.30, 173.5, 5.126.1, 178.12-13,179.30. 6.102.65, 7.68.58, R 1.40.27. *krodha-vyākula-locana*: R 6.46.30. *krodha-dūṣita-netra*: R 7.32.39.

[21] Inflamed eyes: *krodha-dīptekṣaṇa*: MBh 6.116.44,165.33. *krodha-dīptena cakṣuṣā*: MBh 6.112.79, 13.41.24.

[22] For *bhrūkuṭī*, cf. Gnoli 1985: 7, line 10 and Gnoli 1985: 37.

[23] Trembling lips: *krodhād visphuramāṇoṣṭha*: MBh 2.61.43. *krodhāt prasphuramāṇoṣṭha*: R 3.59.20. *krodhāt prasphuritādhara:* MBh 8.11.34.

[24] Speech: *krodha-paryākulākṣara*: R 1.58.6,59.12. *krodhāvyakta-kathā*: R 6.95.4.

[25] Body: *krodha-dīpta-vapus*: MBh 1.165.34, 8.8.33. Others: *krodhena kaluṣī-kṛta*: R 7.95.5.

"(The Permanent State of) anger (is caused) by (feelings) such as indignation and aversion to an enemy (as Determinants); the resulting development of it is the furious sentiment (*raudra*), a state of agitation accompanied by biting one's lip, trembling, frowning, sweating, redness of the face, (and also) by the drawing of weapons, (holding) the shoulders boastfully, striking the earth, vowing, and imprisonment (as Consequents). In it (there occur the Transitory States) Indignation, Intoxication, Recollection, Inconstancy, Envy, Cruelty, Agitation and the like" (tr. Haas).

A definition and a stage-direction of how to play *krodha* (*abhinaya*) in the theatre are given in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* 7.14 ff.

> *krodho nāma: ādharṣaṇākruṣṭa-kalaha-vivāda-pratikūlādibhir vibhāvaiḥ samutpadyate / asya vikṛṣṭa-nāsāpuṭodvṛtta-nayana-saṃdaṣṭoṣṭha-puṭa-gaṇḍa-sphuraṇādibhir anubhāvair abhinayaḥ prayoktavyaḥ*

> "Anger is caused by such Determinants (*vibhāva*) as assault, abusive speech, quarrel, dispute, opposition and the like. (In order to express it) the following gesture (*abhinaya*) is to be employed by Consequents (*anubhāva*) such as swollen nose, upturned eyes, bitten lips, throbbing cheeks and the like".

Bharata classifies *krodha* into five categories, that caused by enemies (*ripu-ja*), by elders (*guru-ja*), by a beloved (*praṇayi-prabhava*), by servants (*bhṛtya-ja*) and finally an artificial anger (*kṛtaka*). For brevity's sake, here only the first is presented.

> *bhrūkuṭī-kuṭilotkaṭamukhaḥ saṃdaṣṭoṣṭhaḥ spṛśan kareṇa karaṃ kruddhaḥ svabhuja-prekṣī śatrau niryantraṇaṃ ruṣyet*

> "Against one's enemy, one can be angry without reserve with knitting of the eye-brows, a curved and fierce look, bitten lips, hands clasping each other and watching his own arms".

Attribution of the particular colour (*rakta*) in accordance with *kavisamaya*[26] and these stage-directions (*abhinaya*) are scarcely met with in the case of *manyu*[27].

[26] Cf. *asato guṇasya nibandhanaṃ yaśo-hāsa-prabhṛteḥ śauklyam, ayaśasaḥ pāpa-prabhṛteś ca kārṣṇyaṃ, krodhānurāga-prabhṛteś ca raktatvam* (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 83, lines 2-3).

[27] A stage-direction of *manyu* is given in the description of a jealous woman.
pratipakṣa-sakāśāt tu yaḥ saubhāgya-vikatthanaḥ /
upasarpet sacihnas tu manyus tatropajāyate //
valayaparivartanair atha suśithilam utkṣepaṇena raśanāyāḥ /

1.4. The concreteness attributed to *krodha* is not confined to the colour description and the stage-direction, but further extended to its image-representations. As it is known, Bhairava has eight different aspects, namely Asitāṅga, Ruru, Chaṇḍa, Krodha, Unmatta Bhairava, Kāpāla, Bhīṣaṇa and Saṃhāra, corresponding to Viṣṇu, Brahman, Sūrya, Rudra, Indra, Candra, Yama and the Supreme Being respectively[28]. According to the *Varāha Purāṇa*, the Mother-goddesses (*mātṛkā*-s) represent eight mental qualities which are morally bad: Yogeśvarī represents *kāma*, Māheśvarī *krodha*, Vaiṣṇavī *lobha*, Brahmāṇī *mada*, Kaumārī *moha*, Indrāṇī *mātsarya*, Yāmī or Cāmuṇḍā *paiśunya* and Vārāhī *asūya*[29]. Such iconographical presentations are peculiar to *krodha*, but never to *manyu*.

2
manyu and *krodha* in the same context

These outward manifestations of anger which characterize *krodha* are scarcely met with in the case of *manyu*. Then, what are the features which characterize *manyu*?

But, prior to entering into a detailed study of *manyu*, here let us briefly examine some passages, in which the word *manyu* appears in close context with *krodha* and the like. These examples may serve to illustrate some aspectual differences between the two.

2.1. To begin with, let us see an example where both words appear in a *dvandva*-compound. In the description of the raising of spirits, which was performed by Vyāsa at night by means of his *tapas*-power, the departed souls, being called back by the ascetic, appeared over the water of Ganges, now all destitute of their former enmity[30].

manyus tv abhinetavyaḥ saśaṅkitaṃ bāṣpa-pūrṇākṣyā //
(*Nāṭyaśāstra* 22.273-274).
"*Manyu* arises (in a woman) against the beloved one, when he comes from a rival woman and boasts of happiness (with her) with manifest signs of love-making. It should be represented by the rolling about of the bracelet and the loosely throwing up of the girdle with eyes full of tears".

[28] Rao 1968 I: 28 and 181, Banerjea 1956: 466.

[29] Rao 1968 II: 381. For *krodha-hayagrīva*, *krodha-rāja*, *krodha-rātrī*, etc., see Liebert 1976: 140.

[30] Cf. MS 3.192:
akrodhanāḥ śauca-parāḥ satataṃ brahmacāriṇaḥ
nyasta-śastrā mahābhāgāḥ pitaraḥ pūrva-devatāḥ.

divyāmbara-dharāḥ sarve sarve bhrājiṣṇu-kuṇḍalāḥ /
nirvairāḥ nirahaṃkārā vigata-krodha-manyavaḥ // (MBh 15.40.15)

"All clothed in divine clothes and shining with earrings, now without enmity and egoism, free from *krodha* and *manyu*"[31].

Here in this *dvandva*-compound the two words in question should be differentiated in meanings of their own. A translation of both the words, however, will be given at the end of this chapter.

2.2. Three examples are taken from curse-passages, where ascetics and a chaste woman are on the verge of hurling their curses.

2.2.1. Śṛṅgin cursed king Parikṣit, seeing his father Śamīka being slighted by the king.

kopa-saṃrakta-nayanaḥ prajvalann iva manyunā //
āviṣṭaḥ sa tu kopena śaśāpa nṛpatiṃ tadā / (MBh 1.37. 10cd-11ab)

"His eyes bloodshot with anger (*kopa*) and fairly blazing with rage (*manyu*), he was seized with fury (*kopa*)... cursed the king then..." (tr. van Buitenen).

Here the outward sign, *saṃrakta-nayana* (red-eyed), is assigned to *kopa*, while no such indication is given for *manyu*.

2.2.2. The same phrase *prajvalann iva manyunā* is repeated in the description of Damayantī on the verge of her cursing a hunter who approached her with evil intention.

damayantī tu taṃ duṣṭam upalabhya pati-vratā /
tīvra-roṣa-samāviṣṭā prajvalann iva manyunā // (MBh 3.60.34)

"When Damayantī, forever faithful to her husband, saw that he meant evil, a bitter rage (*roṣa*) took possession of her and she seemed to flame up in fury (*manyu*)" (tr. van Buitenen).

Both the young ascetic and the chaste woman hurl their curses, being possessed (*āviṣṭa*)[32] by *kopa* and *roṣa*, flaming up in *manyu*.

[31] Cf. MBh 7.1145* (p. 771)
prasādyamānas tu tato rājñā drauṇir mahā-manāḥ
prasasāda mahārāja krodha-manyu-samanvitaḥ.
[32] Cf. Hara 1979.

2.2.3. Similarly, Bhṛgu cursed Agni:

iti śrutvā pulomāyā bhṛguḥ parama-manyumān /
śaśāpāgnim abhikruddhaḥ sarva-bhakṣo bhaviṣyasi // (MBh 1.6.13)

"When he heard this from Pulomā, the greatest fury took possession of (*parama-manyumat*) Bhṛgu, and in a rage (*abhikruddha*) he cursed the Fire: 'Thou shalt eat anything' " (tr. van Buitenen).

These passages seem to indicate that one is first ignited by *manyu* and then under a spell of *kopa* (*roṣa*) one is impelled to the act of cursing.

2.3. A passage of the *Nītidviṣaṣṭikā* reads as follows,

nīcajanajanita-manyuḥ kruddho 'pi na vipriyaṃ vadaty āryaḥ /
na hi rāhu-vadana-daṣṭaś candraḥ śaityaṃ parityajati // (74)

"A noble man never utters anything unpleasant, though an ignoble man provokes his mental anguish (*manyu*) and he becomes angry (*kruddha*). The moon never gives up its coolness, even when it is bitten by Rāhu" (tr. Jayasree).

Here one's *manyu* is first provoked (*janita*) by the ignoble man and then he becomes angry (*kruddha*). *Manyu* is mental impulse as pointed by Malamoud, while *krodha* is tinged with emotion. Here *kruddha*, the emotional state of being angry, is preceded by *manyu*.

2.4. The temporal precedence of *manyu* to *krodha* enables a man to control *manyu*, prior to its being developed into *krodha*. That is to say, though driven by *manyu*, one can keep it within, without giving free vent to actual anger. In the following discourse of Yayāti, *krodha* and *manyu* appear one after another.

yaḥ samutpatitaṃ krodhaṃ kṣamayeha nirasyati /
yathoragas tvacaṃ jīrṇāṃ sa vai puruṣa ucyate //
yaḥ saṃdhārayati manyuṃ yo 'tivādāṃs titikṣate /
yaś ca tapto na tapati dṛḍhaṃ sa 'rthasya bhājanam // (MBh 1.74.4-5)

"The one who dispels his rising anger (*krodha*) with forgiveness (*kṣamā*), as a snake sloughs off its old skin, is called the (real) man (*puruṣa*).
The man who contains his fury (*manyu*), who bears abuse and who, being himself tormented, does not torment (others) is surely a receptacle of profit".

Here we notice that, whereas *krodha* is the object of dispelling (*nir-as-*) by means of *kṣamā* or *a-krodha* (cf. MBh 1.74.3), *manyu* is the object to be contained (*saṃdhāraya-*) within, and characterized by endurance (*titikṣ-*).

2.5. A causal precedence of *manyu* to *krodha* is also indicated by the following passage. When Sātyaki killed Bhūriśravas, the Pāṇḍava soldiers defended Sātyaki's action, saying:

na vārṣṇeyasyāparādho bhavitavyaṃ hi tat tathā /
tasmān manyur na vaḥ kāryaḥ krodho duḥkha-karo nṛṇām //
(MBh 7.118.40)

"It is not the fault of Sātyaki. It is destined to be so. Therefore, you must not hold *manyu* (against him). (Otherwise, if it develops into) *krodha*, (it) torments people".

Manyu comes first, then *krodha* follows[33]. If *manyu* is controlled, one can avoid *krodha*, which is destructive to all the people.

2.6. One can keep one's countenance (*ākāra*), even when agitated by *manyu*. Thus, Śakuntalā could conceal her facial expressions, even when she was rejected bitterly by her husband.

ākāraṃ gūhamānā ca manyunābhisamīritā /
tapasā saṃbhṛtaṃ tejo dhārayām āsa vai tadā // (MBh 1.68.22)

"Yet, although driven by her fury, she checked her expression (*ākāra*) and controlled the heat (*tejas*) that had been accumulated by her austerity (*tapas*)" (tr. van Buitenen).

Here *ākāra* corresponds to such outward expressions as red eyes, the knitting of the eyebrows and others. Despite the presence of *manyu*, one can conceal one's countenance (*ākāra*) by virtue of endurance (*titikṣā*) without bursting into actual anger (*krodha*).

2.7. One more passage where *krodha* and *manyu* appear in the same verse is found in the Nakulopākhyāna at the end of the Āśvamedhika Parvan. Here the deity Dharma, with the intention of testing the patience of the sage Jamadagni, assumed the form of *krodha* and spoiled milk which he had prepared for the *śrāddha*. Realizing that the ascetic was not

[33] Cf. MBh 8.30.84d (*nirmanyur bhava mā krudhaḥ*).

moved at all to anger (*cukupe*) despite his mischief (*vipriya*), *krodha* revealed his real form and begged his pardon. Upon this, Jamadagni answered as follows,

> *sākṣād dṛṣṭo 'si me krodha gaccha tvaṃ vigata-jvaraḥ* /
> *na mamāpakṛtaṃ te 'dya na manyur vidyate mama*[34] // (MBh 14.96.9)
>
> "I have seen you in person, o Krodha. Go (anywhere you like) without anxiety. Today, you have done nothing wrong to me, (and) I have no *manyu* (against you)".

The personified Krodha could not move the sage to anger, when the latter has no *manyu*. If there is no *manyu*, there is no room for *krodha* to play an active role. *Manyu* is the inner motivation of *krodha* which may develop into an outburst, if *manyu* is not held in check.

2.8. All these passages, in which both *krodha* and *manyu* appear in close context, seem to illustrate the aspectual differences of anger. The causal and temporal precedence of *manyu* to *krodha* indicates that the former is the inner motivation of the latter which manifests itself with several external signs.

After examining these passages, let us come back once again to the compound *vigata-krodha-manyu*. The compound denies the presence of anger inside (*manyu*) as well as outside (*krodha*). That is to say, all these departed souls are "free from (manifested) anger (*krodha*) and (its inner motivation, preserved within in the form of) a grudge (*manyu*)"[35]. With

[34] For this phrase, see also 1.72.14, 1.78.7, 4.64.7, 14.83.9. Cf. also 15.8.17 (*na manyur vidyate cāsya*).

[35] A contrast between *krodha* and *manyu* can be seen in the examination of the means of checking them. Though in the following examples *manyu* is used in the sense of grief instead of fury, the means of checking both *krodha* and *manyu* may suffice to illustrate the difference. In the same discourse of Yayāti we read:

yaḥ samutpatitaṃ krodham akrodhena nirasyati /
devayāni vijānīhi tena sarvam idaṃ jitam // (MBh 1.74.3)

"The man who dispels his rising anger with equanimity (*akrodha*), know, Devayānī, that he has won all" (tr. van Buitenen).

In Saṃjaya's advice to king Dhṛtarāṣṭra who shed tears in lamentation for his departed sons, we read:

visphuliṅgā iva hy etān dahanti kila mānavān /
jahīhi manyuṃ buddhyā vai dhārayātmānam ātmanā // (MBh 11.1.36).

"These tears, like sparks of fire, burn the dead for whom they are shed. Abandon your grief (*manyu*) with your *buddhi* and bear yourself up with yourself".

this brief survey of *krodha* and *manyu*, let us now examine the concept of *manyu* more closely.

3
manyu (1)

3.1. Though not so clearly and systematically presented as in the case of *krodha* as we have seen in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, a definition of *manyu* is found in some advice given by Saṃjaya to Yudhiṣṭhira.

avyādhi-jaṃ kaṭukaṃ śīrṣa-rogaṃ
yaśo-muṣaṃ pāpa-phalodayaṃ ca /
satāṃ peyaṃ yan na pibanty asanto
manyuṃ mahārāja piba praśāmya // (MBh 5.27.23)

"A bitter headache, not born out of disease, that steals one's fame and brings about misdeed, is *manyu*. It is to be swallowed by good men, but bad people do not swallow. O great king, appease and swallow it!".

The verse is repeated with slight variations in MBh 2.57.19[36] and 5.36.66[37]. It is a dangerous mental impulse which is apt to lead one to ruin. One is recommended to swallow it, lest it should be developed into an actual outward explosion.

3.2. As *manyu* is an object to be swallowed (*pā-*), so it is the object of restraint. Hence its construction with *ni-grah-*:

etad gopālataḥ śrutvā manyum antar-nigṛhya ca /
tattvaṃ jijñāsamānas taṃ rudrasomo jagāda saḥ // (KSS 64.116)

"Having heard this from a cowherd, Rudrasoma restrained his anger (*manyu*), and wishing to find out the truth, he said to him (as follows)".

3.3. But, if one must swallow (*pā-*) it and it is to be kept inside (*antar nigrah-*), where is it to be preserved? Several verses connect it with the

Here in these examples, *krodha* is dispelled by *akrodha*, the absence of *krodha*, or *kṣamā*, whereas *manyu* is to be removed (*hā-*) by *buddhi*, the intellectual organ, or mental judgement.

[36] MBh 2.57.19 which has *tīkṣṇam uṣṇaṃ* for *śīrṣa-rogam* and *paruṣaṃ pūti-gandhi* for *pāpa-phalodayaṃ ca*.

[37] MBh 5.36.66 which has *pāpānubandhaṃ paruṣaṃ tīkṣṇam ugram* in b.

heart (*hṛdaya*), which, however, is thereby annoyed. Reflecting on thirteen years' hardship, Draupadī says:

trayodaśa ha varṣāṇi pratīkṣantyā gatāni me /
nidhāya hṛdaye manyuṃ pradīptam iva pāvakam // (MBh 5.80.40)

"Thirteen years have gone by, while I waited, hiding my rage (*manyu*) in my heart like a blazing fire" (tr. van Buitenen).

Like a blazing fire, it scorches one's heart[38]. Rākṣasa Puloman speaks to himself, when his wife Pulomā is taken away by Bhṛgu.

manyur hi hṛdayaṃ me 'dya pradahann iva tiṣṭhati /
mat-pūrva-bhāryāṃ yad imāṃ bhṛguḥ prāpa sumadhyamām // (MBh 1.5.21)

"For a fury (*manyu*) has been burning my heart that Bhṛgu should have got the slim-waisted wife that was mine first!" (tr. van Buitenen)[39].

3.3.1. Harboured in one's heart, it never ceases to exist and becomes a load on one's mind. Hence the compound *manyu-bhāra*.

bhajyamānaṃ ca dhāvitvā keśeṣv ākṛṣya pṛṣṭhataḥ /
nihanti śaṅkhadattas taṃ yāvan manyu-bhārākulaḥ // (KSS 74.84)

"As he (Samarabhaṭa) was put to flight, Śaṅkhadatta, being annoyed by the burden of (the former) enmity (*manyu*), ran after him and holding his hair[40] behind, was about to kill him..., then...".

3.3.2. It not only remains as a load (*bhāra*), but it actually pains one's mind, as indicated by another compound *manyu-śalya* and by a phrase like *krakaca iva manyu*[41]. As such, it deprives one of sound sleep (*nidrā*). Being scorched by rage (*atimanyu*) and ever intent on avenging his father's wrong[42], Aśvatthāman was awake all the night.

na lebhe sa tu nidrāṃ vai dahyamāno 'timanyunā /
vīkṣāṃ cakre mahābāhus tad vanaṃ ghora-darśanam // (MBh 10.1.33)

[38] Cf. KSS 12.107 (*gacchan aṭavyāṃ saṃtaptaḥ kuṭṭanī-manyunā hṛdi*).

[39] A counter-example is also found. Sometimes it is impossible to keep it in the heart. The irritated sage Durvāsas threatened Lakṣmaṇa, saying, *na hi śakṣyāmy ahaṃ bhūyo manyuṃ dhārayituṃ hṛdi* (R 7.95.7cd): "For I can no longer contain my *manyu* in my heart". Cf. *na manyur hṛdi na kaś cit duryodhana-kṛte 'nagha* (MBh 15.6.10a).

[40] Hara 1986.

[41] For the compound *manyu-śalya*, see R 6 App. 38.35, p. 995 and for the phrase *krakaca iva manyu*, *Uttararāmacarita* 4.3.

[42] *Manyu* should be materialized (*satya*). Cf. Malamoud 1996:151.

"He did not sleep, burnt with excessive *manyu*. The great armed one, then, looked at the forest of terrible outlook".

3.4. As is evident from the above examples, one's *manyu* is caused by the humiliation by others[43] and it remains in one's heart without finding appeasement[44] until he wreaks his grudge.

sa lohajaṅghaḥ pratikṛtya kuṭṭanī-
nikāra-manyuṃ nyavasad yathā-sukham (KSS 12.194)

"Lohajaṅgha, having wreaked upon the bawd his wrath caused by her ill usage of him (*nikāra-manyu*)[45], lived happily".

Hence the oft-repeated compound *manyu-pratikriyā* and the like. In the firm resolution of Kāvyālaṃkārā, the second wife of the king, we read:

aho ahaṃ suta-prāpteḥ sapatnyā vañcitaitayā /
tad etasya mayāvaśyaṃ kāryā manyu-pratikriyā // (KSS 42.75)

"Alas, I have been cheated by this rival wife out of having children; so I must without fail revenge myself upon her".

tad āgaccha pituḥ pārśvaṃ manyu-pratikṛtiṃ kuru // (KSS 57.130cd)
"So return to your father and appease his grudge"[46].

3.5. However, this strong will to revenge is the foundation of a brave act of the proud warriors, who cannot submit to other's humiliation. At the same time, as is evident in the context of the transference of merit[47], *manyu*

[43] Cf. KSS 124.48 (*avamāna-prabhavaṃ... manyum...*).

[44] Without finding appeasement (*upaśama*), an ascetic's *manyu* often results in his act of cursing (*śāpa*). In Pauṣya's curse on Uttaṅka, we read, *nāhaṃ śaktaḥ śāpaṃ pratyādātum / na hi me manyur adyāpy upaśamaṃ gacchati* (MBh 1.3.131). "I cannot take back my curse. Even now my anger has not quieted" (tr. van Buitenen).

[45] As here (*nikāra-manyu*), often the content of insult or the motivation of revenge is further specified. Cf. KSS 121.241 (*sītā-haraṇa-manyu*) and 48.40 (*nihatāneka-pravīrotthena manyunā*).

[46] Cf. KSS 71.187 (*manyu-pratikriyāṃ tasyāḥ kariṣyāmi*) and 115.41 (*manyu-pratikriyāṃ kṛtvā...*).

[47] Cf. *kṣepābhimānād abhiṣaṅga-vyalīkaṃ*
nigṛhṇāti jvalitaṃ yaś ca manyum /
aduṣṭa-cetā mudito 'nasūyuḥ
sa ādatte sukṛtaṃ vai pareṣām // (MBh 12.288.11).
Cf. also Hara 1994: 124 (notes 123-124).

which is held inside by means of endurance (*titikṣā*)[48] is believed to generate a special energy[49]. *Manyu* is comparable to Latin *furor*, and constitutes the foundation of the fighting spirit of the Hindu warriors[50]. Kṣatriyas are expected to be *manyu-mat* (MBh 12.79.27) and *satya-manyu* (MBh 3.182.25). Those who are destitute of *manyu* do not deserve the name of *kṣatriya*. Thus, heroic women often blame a man without *manyu* (*nirmanyu*).

Draupadī criticizes Yudhiṣṭhira for the lack of resentment against the Kauravas. Having repeated eight times *kasmān manyur na vardhate*[51] ("why doesn't your anger grow?") (MBh 3.28.20-21, 25, 27, 29-32), she finally said[52]:

na nirmanyuḥ kṣatriyo 'sti loke nirvacanaṃ smṛtam /
tad adya tvayi paśyāmi kṣatriye viparītavat // (MBh 3.28.34)

"There is no *kṣatriya* without *manyu*. It is a proverbial saying in the world. I now see the opposite in you" (tr. van Buitenen)[53].

Similar is Vidulā's encouragement of her son.

na mayā tvaṃ na pitrāsi jātaḥ kvābhyāgato hy asi /
nirmanyur upaśākhīyaḥ puruṣaḥ[54] *klīvasādhanaḥ //* (MBh 5.131.5)

"Where did you come from? Neither I nor your father begot you! Too cowardly for anger, barely hanging on to a low branch, you are a man with the tools of a eunuch" (tr. van Buitenen)[55].

[48] For the juxtaposition of *manyu* and *titikṣ-*, cf. also Böhtlingk 1966: 5420.
yaḥ saṃdhārayate manyuṃ yo 'tivādāṃs titikṣate /
yaś ca tapto na tapati dṛḍhaṃ so 'rthasya bhājanam // (MBh 1.74.5).

[49] For its connection with *ojas*, cf. Malamoud 1996:147-8.

[50] Cf. *Kirātārjunīya* 17.49d (*lauhas tiraskāra ivātma-manyuḥ*).

[51] *manyu* is often construed with the verb *vṛdh-*. Cf. *Kumārasambhava* 3.71, *Raghuvaṃśa* 2.32, *Śiśupālavadha* 15.87 (*vivṛddha- manyu*).

[52] Cf. *Kirātārjunīya* 1.27 (*manyu-vyavasāya-dīpinīr giraḥ*) and 1.32 (*kathaṃ na manyur jvalayaty...*).

[53] Yudhiṣṭhira answered her, bearing anger (*manyu*) inside.
MBh 3.30.8: *etad draupadi saṃdhāya na me manyuḥ pravardhate*. 3.30.11: *tasmād draupady aśaktasya manyor niyamanam smṛtam*. 3.30.14: *manyor hi vijayaṃ kṛṣṇe praśaṃsantīha sādhavaḥ*. 3.30.30: *tasmān manyur vināśāya prajānām abhavāya ca*. 3.30.43: *yeṣāṃ manyur manuṣyāṇāṃ kṣamayā nihataḥ sadā*. Cf. Meyer 1971: 450 ff.

[54] *Puruṣa* is expected to have *manyu*. For the juxtaposition of *manyu* and *pauruṣa* (manliness), cf. MBh 9.10.24 (*āviṣṭa iva madreśo manyunā pauruṣeṇa ca*). As regards its synonymy with *nṛmṇá* in Vedic passages, cf. Malamoud 1996: 148.

[55] However, this fighting spirit is disturbed by grief. When Duḥśāsana was killed, the Kauravas lost *manyu*.

3.6. The manly exercise of revenge because of *manyu* is justified in the name of self-defence in the warrior's code.

nātatāyi-vadhe doso hantur bhavati kaś cana /
prakāśaṃ vāprakāśaṃ vā manyus taṃ manyum ṛcchati // (MS.8.351)

"By killing an assassin the slayer incurs no guilt, whether (he does it) publicly or secretly; in that case fury recoils upon fury" (tr. Bühler)[56].

Here *manyu* becomes almost equivalent to the vindicative "grudge", replete with ill will and enmity.

3.7. However, if the warrior fights resorting to *manyu*, it is naturally imbued with the sense of "seriousness." Kṛṣṇa suggested to Yudhiṣṭhira to attack Droṇa, even contrary to the rule, seeing the prowess of Droṇa, who would annihilate the Pāṇḍavas immediately, if he resorted to his *manyu*.

yady ardha-divasaṃ droṇo <u>yudhyate manyum āsthitaḥ</u> /
satyaṃ bravīmi te senā vināśaṃ samupaiṣyati // (MBh 7.164.98)

"If Droṇa fights for even half a day, resorting to *manyu* (fury=seriously, in earnest), I tell you the truth, (all) your army will be annihilated (immediately)"[57].

3.8. Anger is often condemned as the vice of a king, but it is not *manyu*, but *kopa* that is there referred to, as Kauṭilya specifically mentioned in the AS 8.3 (129). These two are not to be confused[58], for *manyu* is essential to the ruling and military caste of ancient India.

duḥśāsanasya rudhire pīyamāne mahātmanā /
vyāpanna-cetasaś caiva <u>śokopahata-manyavaḥ</u> // (MBh 8.62.10)

[56] Cf. MBh 12.15.55 (fury meets fury, Scharfe 1989: 183), 12.35.199 and 12.56.30.

[57] A hero fights, resorting not only to *manyu*, but also to *satya*.
śūro hi satya-manyubhyām āviṣṭo yudhyate bhṛśam /
kṛtyamānāni gātrāṇi parair naivāvabudhyate // (MBh 12.98.29)
"Urged by truthfulness (to his duty) as well as by earnestness, a hero fights vehemently and does not care about the wounds inflicted upon his limbs by foes".

[58] Wilhelm seems to have confused *manyu* and *kopa* (1960: 48 and 76, and 1965: 15 note).

4
manyu (2)

Contrary to *krodha* which is manifest, if *manyu* is kept concealed (*gūḍha*, *nigūḍha*)[59] within without being given a free vent for outburst and is ever harboured in one's heart, it is more malignant and dangerous than *krodha* like a retrogressive disease. Compared with this deep-rooted and persistent nature of *manyu*, *krodha* is innocent and benign, for it becomes extinct[60] leaving no trace whatsoever after an outburst[61], no matter how violent[62] it may be.

4.1. It is due to this malignant aspect that *manyu* is occasionally treated as a vice. It becomes a counter-concept to *dharma*. In the sharp contrast between the righteous Paṇḍavas and the malicious Kauravas, we read:

duryodhano <u>manyu-mayo</u> mahā-drumaḥ
skandhaḥ karṇaḥ śakunis tasya śākhāḥ /
duḥśāsanaḥ puṣpa-phale samṛddhe
mūlaṃ rājā dhṛtarāṣṭro 'manīṣī // (65=/=45)
yudhiṣṭhiro <u>dharma-mayo</u> mahā-drumaḥ
skandho 'rjuno bhīmaseno 'sya śākhāḥ /
mādrī-sutau puṣpa-phale samṛddhe //
mūlaṃ kṛṣṇo brahma ca brāhmaṇāś ca (MBh 1.1.65-66=/=5.29.45-46)

Thus, a noble man never cherishes *manyu* against anybody.

parāpavādaṃ na brūyān nāpriyaṃ ca kadā cana /
na manyuḥ kaś cid utpādyaḥ puruṣeṇa bhāvitātmanā // (MBh 13.107.98)

[59] Cf. Böhtlingk 1966: 6185 (*vivarṇa-vadanair manyur <u>gūḍho</u> 'pi antaḥ prakāśate*), MBh 1.68.22 as quoted above (*ākāraṃ <u>gūhamānā</u>...*) and a passage quoted by Bronkhorst-Ramseier 1994: 60 (*<u>nigūḍho</u>pakārāsamarthasyāpakāriṇi dveṣo manyuḥ*). He who is afflicted by *manyu* is compared to a fire concealed by smoke (*sadhūma iva pāvakaḥ*):

niḥśvasann agni-varṇena saṃtaptaḥ svena manyunā /
apraśānta-manā bhīma sadhūma iva pāvakaḥ // (MBh 5.73.6).

[60] Cf. *Nyāyakandalī* ad *Praśastapādabhāṣya*, pp. 639-40 (*śarīrendriyādi-vikāra-hetuḥ <u>kṣaṇa-mātra-bhāvī</u> dveṣaḥ <u>krodhaḥ</u> /... apakṛtasya pratyapakārāsamarthasyāntar-nigūḍho dveṣo <u>manyuḥ</u>*) and a passage quoted by Bronkhorst-Ramseier 1994: 60 (*tatrāśutara-vināśī krodhaḥ*). *Kopa* of good men lasts for an instant: *tat-kṣaṇa-bhaṅgura* (Böhtlingk 1966: 976), *uttamasya kṣaṇaṃ kopo...* (Böhtlingk 1966: 1176).

[61] An outburst of *krodha* often takes the form of a curse. For the connection between *krodha* and *śāpa*, cf. Smith 1995: 130.

[62] Cf. *krodha-vega* in MBh 1.37.11, 1.73.13, 7.73.7. But we have no such construction with *manyu*.

"One should not speak ill of others, never an unpleasant word. The man of cleansed soul should not bear a grudge (*manyu*) against any one".

A negative and deprecatory sense is attributed to *manyu*, when its persistent aspect is emphasized[63].

4.2. As a deep-rooted hostility, it can be pointed at an enemy, but this dangerous mental state is not supposed to be cherished among relatives and friends, as long as they wish to live together in peace. Perchance, if misunderstanding arises among them, this dangerous mental state must be removed as soon as possible.

Under such circumstances, it is interesting to investigate the usage of the word in prohibition sentences, such as *manyur na ca tvayā kāryaḥ* and the like, used among relatives and friends.

4.3. *Manyu*, the noxious mental activity, should not intervene among family members.

4.3.1. Between husband and wife:

Toward the end of the drama, Marīca tells Śakuntalā as follows,

vatse, viditārthāsi/tad idānīṃ sahadharmacāriṇaṃ prati na tvayā manyuḥ karaṇīyaḥ (*Śakuntala* 7.31.12-13)

"Daughter, you know the truth. So now you mustn't be angry with your lawful husband" (Emeneau).

A pilgrim (*kārpaṭika*) negotiates between king and queen, saying:

mā sma manyuṃ kṛthā devi śraddhayā parayā hy asi /
pariṇītātisaṃrambhād atrāmūlāt kathāṃ śṛṇu // (KSS 123.6)

"Do not be angry, Queen, for the king married you in eager haste with the utmost desire (*śraddhā*)[64] for you. Hear the whole story from the beginning"[65].

[63] Cf. Malamoud 1996: 147.

[64] Hara 1992 and Bodewitz 1997:15-6.

[65] Similarly, Daśaratha's advice to Sītā.
kartavyo na tu vaidehi manyus tyāgam imaṃ prati /
rāmeṇa tvad-viśuddhy-arthaṃ kṛtam etadd hitaiṣiṇā // (R 6.107.34)
"Do not take it seriously that Rāma renounced you. He did it, wishing the best for you in order to demonstrate your innocence".

4.3.2. Between lovers:

In the first story of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*, a minister's son advises the prince as follows:

> *tan muñca manyum etasyāṃ bandhu-tyāgān mahātmanaḥ* /
> *kuryās tvaṃ haraṇe yuktiṃ vakṣyāmy ālocya yām aham* // (KSS 75.150)
>
> "So give up the idea of being angry with her, persuade the high-spirited woman to leave her relations, and I will invent and tell you an artifice for carrying her off" (tr. Penzer).

4.3.3. Between mother and son:

In the well-known encounter of Kaikeyī and Rāma where he was sentenced by her to retreat into the forest, he said to her,

> *manyur na ca tvayā kāryo devi brūmi tavāgrataḥ* /
> *yāsyāmi bhava suprītā vanaṃ cīra-jaṭādharaḥ* // (R 2.16.30)
>
> "You need not worry, my lady, I say it to your face: I shall go to the forest, – rest assured – wearing barkcloth and matted hair"[66] (tr. Pollock).

4.3.4. Between brothers:

A fierce quarrel between brothers[67] is reconciled by abandoning resentment (*manyu*). Thus, Yudhiṣṭhira let Arjuna off, saying:

> *ahaṃ tvām anujānāmi jahi karṇaṃ dhanaṃjaya* /
> *manyuṃ ca mā kṛthāḥ pārtha yan mayokto 'si dāruṇam* // (MBh 8.50.27)
>
> "I forgive you. Kill Karṇa. Forget a wrong that I said with sharp words"[68].

Cf. *manyuṃ asyāṃ sva-bhāryāyāṃ mā kṛthāḥ* (KSS 66.57)

niyamita-mano-manyur dṛṣṭā mayā rudatī priyā (*Nāgānanda* 2.6d).

Bhīma apologizes to Draupadī for his being unaware of her presence.

devi, vardhitāmarṣair asmābhir āgatāpi bhavatī nopalakṣitā / ato na manyuṃ kartum arhasi (*Veṇīsaṃhāra* 1.17 prose). "Lady, overwhelmed by anger, I did not notice you here. Please excuse me (lit. 'So, you should not take offence')".

[66] Kaikeyī further said to Rāma who wondered why his father Daśaratha said nothing in this occasion:

vrīḍānvitaḥ svayaṃ yac ca nṛpas tvāṃ nābhibhāṣate
naitad kiṃcin naraśreṣṭha manyur eṣo 'panīyatām (R 2.16.41).

"That the king is ashamed and does not address you himself, that is nothing, best of men, you needn't worry about that".

[67] For this story, see Matilal 1989: 7-9.

[68] We have a similar example between uncle and nephew. In Yudhiṣṭhira's pacifying words to Dhṛtarāṣṭra after battle, we read:

4.4. The same prohibition phrases appear notably in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[69] with the intention of pacifying the anger of others. These phrases are used in a polite refusal, when one is unable to accept an invitation for some personal reason. As we have seen above, that *manyu* is imbued occasionally with the tinge of 'seriousness', here those who are addressed by these phrases are expected not to take the refusal *seriously*. One can translate the phrase into English as 'I am sorry' or even as 'would you kindly excuse me?'.

4.4.1. When it was suggested by the ocean (*sāgara*), Mt. Maināka appeared out of the ocean and invited Hanumān to repose for a moment. But Hanumān, unable to accept this offer out of good will, said,

prīto 'smi kṛtam ātithyaṃ manyur eṣo 'panīyatām //
tvarate kārya-kālo me ahaś cāpy ativartate / (R 5.1.116cd-117ab)

"I am pleased by your hospitability. Would you kindly excuse me, for time presses me and the day is declining".

4.4.2. We notice the same tone in Rāma's polite refusal to Vibhīṣaṇa's offer.

anujānīhi māṃ saumya pūjito 'smi vibhīṣaṇa /
manyur na khalu kartavyas tvaritas tvānumānaye // (R 6.109.21)

"Grant me leave, my dear Vibhīṣaṇa, I am honoured. Do not be angry (=excuse me). Being in a hurry I ask your leave"[70].

4.5. One is expected not to take another's joke seriously; hence the phrase's juxtaposition with *parihāsa*. In Rāma's address to the sage Trijaṭa, we read:

manyur na khalu kartavyaḥ parihāso hy ayaṃ mama
(R 2.29.26cd)

kathaṃ guruṃ tvāṃ dharma-jñam anujñātum ihotsahe //
na manyur hṛdi naḥ kaś cid duryodhana-kṛte 'nagha / (MBh 15.6.9cd-10ab).

There is a similar example between master and servant. Thus, Piṅgalaka says to Damanaka: *sarvathā saṃjīvako 'yaṃ suhṛd asmākaṃ na taṃ prati kaś cin manyur iti* (*Pañcatantra* 51.18-19).

In the well-known passage of the *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad*, Naciketas, choosing the first boon (*vara*), said to Yama as follows:
śānta-saṃkalpaḥ sumanā yathā syād
vīta-manyur gautamo mābhi mṛtyo (*Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad* 1.10. Cf. 1.11).

[69] In MBh the phrase *na ca manyus tvayā kāryaḥ* appears four times instead (MBh 3.158.42, 13.53.57, 15.19.7, 18.3.11).

[70] Cf. *yāmy ahaṃ mayi mā manyuṃ kṛthāḥ paravatī hy aham* (KSS 124.200cd).

"Do not take it seriously, for this is just a joke of mine".

mā svayaṃ manyum utpādya parihāse viśeṣataḥ (*Pratimānāṭaka* 1.10a)

"Raise not wrath thyself, especially in jest" (tr. Woolner).

4.6. As a word of serious personal concern, *manyu* occasionally means "worry" caused by compassion or sympathy. In the story of the *dharma-vyādha*, a hunter replies to a Brahmin, who feels sorry for his family occupation (*anutapye bhṛśam*).

kulocitam idaṃ karma pitṛ-paitāmahaṃ mama /
vartamānasya me dharme sve manyuṃ mā kṛthā dvija //
(MBh 3.198.19)

"It is my family occupation, which has come down to me from my father and grandfather. Do not make *manyu* for me who am in pursuit of my own duty".

Van Buitenen translates "Be not angry… if I do my own job", but it is not necessary to take the word in the strong sense of emotion, but in the sense of mental worry (*dainya*).

4.7. Not such a strong emotion as anger, but simply embarassment or annoyance is meant by the word. Two examples are here quoted from Bhāsa's *Pañcarātra*.

Jayasena: *janma-nakṣatra-kriyā-vyāpṛtasya mahārājasya tāvad akāla-nivedanaṃ manyum utpādayati / tasmāt puṇyāhāvasāne nivedayiṣye* (*Pañcarātra* 2.2 prose)

"Now, His Majesty is engaged in his birthday ceremonies, so your untimely notice brings about his mental disturbance. So I will tell him at the end of this auspicious day".

Rājā: *bhagavan! svastha-vākyaṃ manyum utpādayati*
(*Pañcarātra* 2.20 prose)

"Bhagavān, your cool[71] talk out of season irritates me".

[71] Hara 1995: 82.

5
manyu (3) = *dainya* or *śoka*

Manyu, the mental anguish (*śiro-roga*: *erregter Sinn, Ungestüm, heftiger Andrang*[72]) which is to be kept inside (*guh-*) by means of endurance (*titikṣ-*) can be developed into a sentiment of "grief" and "depression". In the famous story of king Sātavāhana we read:

ahaṃ jānāmi rājño 'sya manyur maurkhyānutāpataḥ /
mūrkho 'ham iti pāṇḍityaṃ sadaivāyaṃ hi vāñcchati // (KSS 6.131)

"I (Śarvavarman) know that the king's mental depression is caused by sorrow for his own ignorance, for he is always expressing a desire for culture, saying, 'I am a blockhead'".

Finaly, we shall list below some examples of this sort.

5.1. Grief (*śoka*):

1. *visphuliṅgā iva hy etān dahanti kila mānavān* /
   jahīhi manyuṃ buddhyā vai dhārayātmānam ātmanā // (MBh 11.1.36).
2. *sa śokaṃ jahi durdharṣa mā ca manyu-vaśaṃ gamaḥ* /
   śastra-pūtāṃ hi sa gatiṃ gataḥ para-puraṃ-jayaḥ //
   (MBh 14.60.23).
3. *nikṛntan marmāṇi krakaca iva manyur viramati* /
   (*Uttararāmacarita* 4.3d).
   (Stchoupak: *manyu*, à la fois chagrin et colère).
4. *iti śrutvā ca sodarya-sneha-nihita-niratiśaya-manyu-mṛdū-kṛta-manāḥ katham api na vavāma bāṣpa-vāri-pravāhotpīḍena saha jīvitam* (*Harṣacarita* 176.5-6) (Cowell-Thomas: sorrow).
5. *bhūyasā manyu-vegenottamāṅge kṛtvā mac-caraṇāv itaravad arodīt* (*Kādambarī* 585.4-5) (Comm. *manyuḥ śokaḥ*).
6. *atha bruvantaḥ samupeta-manyavo*
   janāḥ pathi chandakam āgatāśravaḥ
   (*Buddhacarita* 8.9ab) (Johnston: grief; "wrath" here or "sorrow" in note).
7. *tatas tad-āśrama-sthānaṃ śūnyaṃ taiḥ śūnya-cetasaḥ* /
   paśyanto manyunā taptā vyālā iva niśaśvasuḥ //
   (*Saundarananda* 1.38) (Johnston: sorrow).

[72] These are Grassmann's renderings, as quoted by Malamoud 1996:146.

8. *tad alaṃ paritāpena devi manyur vyapaitu te /*
ekotpātena te laṅkām eṣyanti hari-yūthapāḥ //
(R 5.66.23) (Goldman: Banish your grief!)[73].

5.2. Depression:

Mental anguish occasionally takes the form of anxiety and depression. Indra who had been trying to disturb king Bhaṅgāśvana was overwhelmed by *manyu*, seeing the prosperity of the king.

tān dṛṣṭvā bhrātṛ-bhāvena bhuñjānān rājyam uttamam /
cintayām āsa devendro manyunābhipariplutaḥ //
(MBh 13.12.24)

"Beholding these (children of the king) (all jointly) enjoying the kingdom as brothers, the chief of the celestials, filled with anxiety, began to reflect".

There should be no apprehension or worry, when a Kṣatriya kills his enemy in battle, since it is his prime duty in battle.

mā ca te nighnataḥ śatrūn manyur bhavatu bhārata /
na tatra kilbiṣaṃ kiṃcit kartum bhavati bhārata //
(MBh 12.15.54)

"Do not worry, even when you kill enemies, for there is no sin whatsoever to be committed".



Conclusion

Though they are often treated as synonyms and translated by the single English word 'anger', *manyu* and *krodha* originally represent different aspects of anger. The comparative studies above lead us to ascertain some connotational differences between the two words. We shall list below some results of our modest investigation.

[73] A Ceṭī encourages Draupadī in distress with the following words: *avaṇaissadi de maṇṇuṃ ṇiccāṇubaddha-kuru-vero kumālo bhīmaseṇo* (*Veṇīsaṃhāra* 1.14 prose) ("The prince Bhīmasena… will remove your chagrin").

In his address to Duryodhana, Bhīma says: *ayi bhoḥ kaurava-rāja, kṛtaṃ bandhu-nāśa-darśana-manyunā* (*Veṇīsaṃhāra* 6.9 prose) ("Away with grief at the sight of the destruction of your relatives!").

Cf. also Renou 1997: 206 (colère, chagrin).

(1) First, *manyu* is an internal state of mental agitation and can be preserved within (*peya*) by such virtues as patience (*a-krodha*, *kṣamā*) or endurance (*titikṣā*). *Krodha*, on the other hand, is characterized by outward signs such as red eyes, the knitting of the eye-brows, the gaping of the mouth.

(2) These aspectual differences enable *krodha* to be staged in theatres and portrayed in images, but *manyu* is amorphous as an internal mental impulse, and thus not entitled to be staged with gestures (*abhinaya*) and hardly presented in the form of images.

(3) As an internal mental state, *manyu* is subjective and personal, whereas *krodha* is an abstract idea which can be objectified. Hence *manyu* can be attributed to particular individuals or classes such as Draupadī, Aśvatthāman or the Kṣatriya caste[74]. This is a vedic heritage as is seen in Indra's *manyu*, Varuṇa's *manyu* and Agni's *manyu* as is elucidated by Malamoud.

(4) In a sense, *krodha* is innocent, simply because it becomes extinct once it bursts out, but *manyu* is *noxious* for its persistent nature, often in the form of a grudge. As was the case with vedic *manyu*, it is "the impulse that moves a being to realize his desire". It is the "uninterrupted mental activity" which never ceases until one's design is accomplished. It never designates a "passion" or "passing mood" like *krodha*, as Malamoud pointed out.

(5) As a mental tension, the semantic field of *manyu* extends to grief (*śoka*) and depression (*dainya*), but we have no such semantic expansion in the case of *krodha*.

As *tapas* has a potential power and dignifies *tapasvin* as long as it is kept inside[75], so also *manyu* is power (Wut-kraft)[76] as long as it is kept inside (*peya*) and does not burst out in the form of actual anger. It might be due to this potential efficacy it possesses, that *manyu* became a deity in the Veda.

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[74] For *manyu*'s construction with *abhūta-pūrva* (never experienced before), cf. MBh 7.172.11cd (*abhūta-pūrvo bībhatsor duḥkhān manyur ajāyata*).

[75] Hara 1997: 242-3.

[76] "Die im zornigen Affekt Ausdruck findende, ihrem Träger Kraft gebende innere *Macht*" (Thieme 1984: 24).

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THE PROBLEM OF GRAMMATICAL GENDER IN THE *APOHA* THEORY

In his ŚV, Kumārila devotes a chapter consisting of 176 verses to the critical examination of Dignāga's *apoha* theory, viz., the theory that the meaning of a word is nothing other than the 'exclusion of others' or the 'differentiation [of the object] from other things' (*anyāpoha*, °*vyāvṛtti*). Kumārila points out as one of the difficulties to be found in this theory that gender and number cannot be attributed to *apoha*, which he regards as a kind of nonexistence (*abhāva*)[1].

As is well known, there were divergent views among pre-Patañjali Vaiyākaraṇas concerning the meaning of a word. Vājapyāyana held the view that a word denotes a universal (*ākṛti*, *jāti*), while Vyāḍi maintained that the meaning of a word is a particular (*dravya*)[2]. One of the reasons for Vyāḍi's admitting that a word denotes a particular was that the gender and number of a word, which correspond to the gender and number of the object denoted, are attributes of a particular and not of a universal.

Kumārila holds, as a Mīmāṃsaka, the view that a word denotes a universal (*ākṛti*). However, according to him, there is no absolute distinction (*atyantabheda*) between a universal and a particular. There is a natural relationship (*svābhāvikaḥ saṃbandhaḥ*) between them[3]. Accordingly, Kumārila holds, a word denotes primarily a universal, and indirectly a particular which is naturally related to the universal. The gender and number of a word correspond to those of the particular which is indirectly expressed by the word.

[1] ŚV, Apohavāda 135ab (=TS 972ab): *liṅgasaṃkhyādisaṃbandho na cāpohasya vidyate /*

[2] Mbh Vol. I, 242ff. Cf. Strauss 1927: 137ff.; Scharfe 1961: 133-136; Biardeau 1964: 43-63.

[3] ŚV, Ākṛtivāda 45-48ab.

Against Kumārila's critical remark that *apoha* as a kind of nonexistence cannot be recognized as the meaning of a word, the counter arguments from the side of the Buddhists are put forward by Śāntarakṣita (ca. 725-788 A.D.). In the chapter intended for the 'examination of the meaning of a word' (*Śabdārthaparīkṣā*) in his TS, Śāntarakṣita carefully traces Kumārila's arguments against the *apoha* theory, and repudiates them one by one. The problem of gender and number is treated in vv. 1121ff. This paper is intended to examine his view concerning the gender of words, leaving aside the consideration of the problem of number for another occasion.

First of all Śāntarakṣita states as follows:

> [You reject the view that *apoha* is the meaning of a word for the reason that it cannot be connected with gender and number,] but the connection with gender and number does not take place for a particular (*vyakti*) either. This [connection] is caused by the convention (*saṃketa*) which is set up by the 'desire to express' (*vivakṣā*), and does not belong to real entities (*vāstava*).

In Kamalaśīla's commentary the import of this verse is formulated as follows:

> (Invariable concomitance:) That which does not follow the presence and absence of x is not an attribute of x. For example, the coldness of fire.
> (*pakṣadharmatva*:) Gender and number do not follow the presence and absence of a real entity (*vastu*).
> (Conclusion: Therefore gender and number are not attributes of a real entity)[4].

It is clearly stated by Dharmakīrti that a word is used in accordance with convention (*saṃketa*) which is set up on the basis of man's desire to express (*vivakṣā*)[5]. Śāntarakṣita accepts Dharmakīrti's theory and criticizes the view that the gender and number of a word are expressive of the attributes of a real entity.

[1] The word *taṭa-* (bank of a river) has three forms: *taṭī* (f.), *taṭam* (n.) and *taṭas* (m.). It is not possible for a real entity to have masculine, feminine and neuter natures which are incompatible with each other. If entities which have mutually incompatible natures were to be recognized as one, then the

[4] TSP, p. 424: *prayogaḥ – yo yadanvayavyatirekau nānuvidhatte nāsau taddharmaḥ, yathā śītatvam agneḥ, nānuvidhatte ca liṅgasaṃkhyādi vastuno 'nvayavyatirekau.*

[5] PV I. 327ab: *vivakṣā niyame hetuḥ saṃketas tatprakāśanaḥ.*

entire universe would become a single entity, and there would follow the absurdity that all things are produced and destroyed at one and the same time. Moreover, since there are cases in which a thing is expressed by three different forms of a word, for example *taṭa-*, or by three words of different genders, e.g., *jāti* (f.), *sāmānya* (n.) and *bhāva* (m.), the cognition of that thing would be of variegated character, just like a *mecaka* (1122)[6].

[2] The following might be argued by an opponent: Though all things have three natures, masculine, feminine and neuter, only that nature which a speaker desires to express appears in his consciousness. Therefore his consciousness is not variegated. If that is the case, the consciousness would not take a real thing for its object. While a real thing has three natures, the thing that appears in consciousness is of one form (1123).

[3] Some people maintain that the three grammatical genders correspond to the three states of things, viz., origination (*prasava*), duration (*sthiti*) and destruction (*saṃstyāna*)[7]. This theory is also untenable. Since all things undergo the process of origination, duration and destruction, all words denoting them would have masculine, feminine and neuter forms, like *taṭa*, *sṛṅkhala-* (chain), etc. (1124).

[4] In the case of nonexistences (*asat*), such as the hare's horn and the like, there is no origination, duration or destruction. Nevertheless, words of three genders are applied to nonexistence: *abhāva* (m.), *nirupākhyatva* (n.) and *tucchatā* (f.). Hence, the view that the three grammatical genders correspond to the three states of things is not acceptable (1125).

[5] It is not always the case that words standing for origination (*prasava*), destruction (*saṃstyāna*) and duration (*sthiti*) are respectively masculine, feminine and neuter. Origination is denoted by such words as *utpatti* (f.) and *janman* (n.), and destruction by such words as *tirobhāva* (m.), *nāśa* (m.) and *tirobhavana* (n.). Duration is signified by the term *svabhāva* (m. 'own state of being'), and also by the term *sthiti* (f.). Since origination, etc. are thus expressed by either masculine, feminine or neuter words, it is unreasonable to maintain that the gender of nouns corresponds to origination, etc. It might be argued as follows: Since origination etc. are not clearly differentiated from each other, each of them may be expressed by a word of any gender. If that were the case, there should be only one gender instead of three (1126-29).

[6] The number in parentheses indicates the verse number of TS.

[7] For the interpretation of the terms *prasava* and *saṃstyāna* as meaning origination and destruction, see below p. 452.

[6] There are some who hold that things denoted by masculine, feminine and neuter words are qualified by maleness (*puṃstva*), femaleness (*strītva*) and neuterness (*napuṃsakatva*) respectively. According to them, the difference of gender is due to the difference of the universal residing in the objects denoted. This view is hardly acceptable for the Buddhists who deny the reality of universals (1130).

[7] Another difficulty is to be found in this view. Since maleness (*puṃstva*), etc. are universals, any of the terms *jāti* (f.), *bhāva* (m.) and *sāmānya* (n.) can be applied to them. This may lead to the assumption that there is a common feature in the objects denoted by these terms of different genders, and that this common feature, i.e., a universal, resides in maleness, etc. However, as asserted by the Vaiśeṣikas, there is no universal residing in a universal (1131).

[8] Even those who admit the reality of universals do not concede that there resides a universal in nonexistences like the hare's horn. If the gender of a word were to be determined by the universal residing in the object denoted, it would be impossible to apply such terms as *abhāva* (m.), *nirupākhyatva* (n.) and *tucchatā* (f.) to nonexistences (1132ab).

Thus repudiating the view that the gender of a word is determined by the nature of the things denoted, Śāntarakṣita draws the conclusion that the determination of gender is based solely upon convention (*sāmayika*). (1132cd)

The view that the gender of a word corresponds to the nature of the referent is grounded on the idea that a word has a direct reference to a real entity. This idea was utterly rejected by Dignāga, who first advocated the *apoha* theory. According to him, a real thing is an indivisible whole, and as such has nothing in common with other things. It is grasped only by means of perception, and cannot be expressed by a word. What is expressed by a word is something that is supposed to be common to many things. It is a mental construct and superimposed upon the real thing. The *apoha* theory was formulated through the observation of the process of this mental construction[8].

In denying the view that the gender of a word corresponds to the characteristic feature of the referent, Śāntarakṣita bases himself on Dignāga's idea that a word has no direct reference to any real entity. At the same time, following Dharmakīrti, he holds that a word is used in accordance with convention (*saṃketa*). Dharmakīrti is against the Mīmāṃsaka assumption

[8] Cf. *Pramāṇasamuccaya* V: Anyāpoha-parīkṣā, kk. 1-13.

that words are related by nature to their respective objects. He says that a word, having no fixed relation to any object, could be applied to any object. It is, according to him, the speaker's intention (*abhiprāya*) or his desire to express (*vivakṣā*) that determines the object of a word. On the basis of this desire to express, a convention concerning the relation between a word and an object is created. Śāntarakṣita accepts this idea of Dharmakīrti's, and maintains that the gender of a word is also determined in accordance with convention.

Śāntarakṣita's arguments against the view that the gender of a word stands for the nature of the referent are set forth on the basis of the Grammarians' discussions on the problem of gender. In the Mbh on P. 4.1.3, with which the section treating feminine affixes begins, Patañjali raises the question: what is female (*strī*) [expressed by a word of feminine gender][9]? He quotes a verse in which the view that gender is in agreement with the nature of the referent is expressed. The upholder of this view states that the referent of a term of feminine, masculine, or neuter gender is characterized by breast (*stana*) and hair (*keśa*), body hairs (*loman*), or absence of these characteristics[10]. This view is obviously inappropriate since the referents of the terms *khaṭvā* (f. 'couch') and *vṛkṣa* (m. 'tree') have no female and male characteristics respectively. Moreover, there are some words which have three forms of different genders to express one and the same object, as for example, *taṭas* (m.), *taṭī* (f.) and *taṭam* (n.)[11]. For these reasons Patañjali states, "Therefore, Grammarians cannot resort to the commonsense view on gender; they should necessarily resort to their own theory"[12].

He expounds the theory that the characteristic features of female and male are *saṃstyāna* and *prasava* respectively[13], and quotes a verse which explains etymologically the meaning of the words *strī* and *puṃs*: "The word *strī*, which is derived from $\sqrt{\textit{styai}}$ (to coagulate) with the suffix *ḍraṭ* (rī), means *saṃstyāna* (<*sam*$\sqrt{\textit{styai}}$, coagulation). The word *pumān*, which

[9] Mbh II, 195.25ff.

[10] *Ibid.* II, 196.4: *stanakeśavatī strī syāl lomaśaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ / ubhayor antaraṃ yad ca tadabhāve napuṃsakam //* In VP III.13 (Liṅga-samuddeśa). 1-2, seven theories concerning gender are enumerated. Out of them the first one is the same as the theory expressed in this verse.

[11] Mbh II, 196.13-15; 197.22-24.

[12] *Ibid.* II, 197.25-26: *tasmān na vaiyākaraṇaiḥ śakyaṃ laukikaṃ liṅgam āsthātum. avaśyaṃ ca kaścit svakṛtānta āstheyaḥ.*

[13] *Ibid.* II, 197.27-198.10 = I, 245.26-246.8.

is derived from √*sū* (to procreate) with the replacement of *s* by *p*, means *prasava* (<*pra*√*sū*, procreation)"[14]. Then he states as follows:

[A][15] (Objection) In worldly usage, too, *strī* is so called because [in her an embryo] coagulates (*styāyati*), and *pumān* is so called because [he] procreates (*sūti*). [Thus it is to be admitted that Grammarians also follow the commonsense view on gender.] (Response) In common usage, *strī* is a term derived [as follows] in the sense of location (*adhikaraṇa-sādhana*): "In her [womb] (*asyām*: locative case) an embryo coagulates (*styāyati*)", while *puṃs* is a term derived [as follows] in the sense of agent (*kartṛ-sādhana*): "Man (*pumān*: nominative case) procreates (*sūte*)[16]". However, here [in Grammarians' works], both terms are derived in the sense of action (*bhāva-sādhana*), i.e., coagulation (*styāna*) and activity (*pravṛtti*)[17]. Of what, then, is the coagulation *strī*, and of what is the activity *puṃs*? Of *guṇa*s. Of what kind of *guṇa*s? Of sound, touch, colour, taste and smell. All entities are of the nature of comprising sound, touch, colour, taste and smell, thus possessing as attributes coagulation and activity. Where there are fewer *guṇa*s, at least sound, touch and colour are there. Taste and smell are not everywhere.

[B] The activity is constant, because in this world nothing remains as it is even for a moment. A thing grows as long as it has to grow, or it becomes related to destruction (*apāya*). Both [growth and destruction] are [noticed] in every [entity]. (Question) If both are [noticed] in every [entity], then by what [means] is [it] assigned to [one] state? (Answer) By the desire to express (*vivakṣā*). When [a speaker] desires to express repose or activity, [he employs a word of] feminine gender or masculine gender, and when he desires to express neither of them [he employs a word of] neuter gender.

The purport of [B] is not quite clear. We may construe it as follows: All entities are constantly in a process of growth and decline, and do not remain unchanged even for a moment. If it is to be admitted that male stands for procreation (/activity/growth) and female for coagulation (/repose/decline), then it would follow that every entity is recognized as

[14] *Ibid*. II, 198.1 (=I, 245.26): *saṃstyāne styāyater ḍraṭ strī sūteḥ sap prasave pumān*. Cf. Strauss 1927: 146, n. 1.

[15] The passage in Mbh is divided into [A] II, 198.2-7 = I, 245.27-246.5 and [B] II, 198.7-10 = I, 246.5-8, and referred to henceforth as Mbh [A] and Mbh [B].

[16] For the meaning of the terms *adhikaraṇa-sādhana* and *kartṛ-sādhana*, cf. Renou 1957: 334.

[17] For the meaning of *bhāva-sādhana*, cf. Renou 1957: 244; Joshi and Roodbergen 1990: 193.

male and also as female. Nevertheless, a certain entity is expressed by a term of masculine gender while another by a term of feminine gender. This is because an entity is assigned to one state by the desire to express.

Śāntarakṣita's discussions on gender are evidently related to the arguments in MBh referred to above. In his criticism [1] on the view that gender is in agreement with the nature of the referent, Śāntarakṣita cited as an example the term *taṭa-*. This term is used in MBh in the same context. The view that a word which denotes an entity endowed with three natures, viz., male, female and neuter natures, is assigned to a particular gender in accordance with the speaker's desire to express [2], and the view that feminine and masculine genders of words stand for *saṃstyāna* and *prasava* respectively [5] are also found in MBh. There is, however, a considerable difference between Śāntarakṣita and MBh in their interpretations of the terms *saṃstyāna* and *prasava*.

The word *prasava* originally means the male's activity of procreation, viz., the act of emitting semen, and the word *saṃstyāna* the coagulation of semen mixed with menstrual blood in the female's womb[18]. Thus *prasava* and *saṃstyāna* seem to imply maleness and femaleness respectively. However, the theory that masculine and feminine genders stand for *prasava* and *saṃstyāna* is not grounded on the idea that grammatical gender is in agreement with natural sex. In grammatical treatises, the terms *prasava* and *saṃstyāna* stand for activity (*pravṛtti*) and coagulation/repose of the *guṇa*s, which constitute the essential core of all entities. This is the idea as expressed by Patañjali in MBh. The five *guṇa*s mentioned by him, sound and so on, are to be recognized not as attributes inhering in substances but as elements constituting entities, just like the three *guṇa*s, viz., *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, in the Sāṃkhya doctrine formulated in a later period[19]. On the other hand, in the doctrine referred to by Śāntarakṣita in [3], *saṃstyāna* and *prasava* are used as standing respectively for the destruction (*nāśa*) and the origination (*utpāda*) of things, and with the addition of the term *sthiti* (duration), which is not found in MBh, the idea that masculine, neuter and feminine genders correspond to origination, duration and destruction of things is expressed. The source of Śāntarakṣita's reference may be traced to the VP of Bhartṛhari.

[18] In Nāgeśa's *Uddyota* on Mbh-*Pradīpa* (p. 98), the phrases "*styāyaty asyāṃ garbhaḥ*" "*sūte pumān*" in MBh [A] are explained as follows: garbhaḥ *śukraṃ* styāyati *śoṇitena saṃghībhavatīty arthaḥ*. sūte *śukraṃ tyajati yonirūpa ādhāre*.

[19] In Kaiyaṭa's Mbh-*Pradīpa* (p. 98), the term *guṇa* in MBh [A] is explained as follows: *guṇānāṃ sattvarajastamaḥpariṇāmarūpāṇāṃ śabdādīnām*...

In VP III.13 (Liṅgasamuddeśa).13, Bhartṛhari states:

āvirbhāvas tirobhāvaḥ sthitis cety anapāyinaḥ /
dharmā mūrtiṣu sarvāsu liṅgatvenānudarśitaḥ //
Appearance, disappearance and duration are imperishable attributes [residing] in all entities. It is these [attributes] that are indicated as the genders [of words].

In his commentary on VP III.13.1-2, Helārāja (ca. 980 A.D.)[20] quotes a passage from the *Saṃgraha* of Vyāḍi, in which the terms expressing the natures of female, male and neuter are enumerated[21]. In the list of the terms standing for male, we find *prasava, āvirbhāva, pravṛtti* and *vṛddhi*, and among those standing for female, *saṃstyāna, tirobhāva* are included. With reference to this passage it is understood that the terms *āvirbhāva* and *tirobhāva* used in this verse are equivalents of *pravṛtti* and *styāna* in MBh [A] and *vṛddhi* and *apāya* in MBh [B]. The term *sthiti* is also found in Vyāḍi's list of the words standing for neuter gender.

All things are constantly in a process of appearance, duration and disappearance, and these three states of things correspond to the masculine, neuter and feminine genders of words: this idea propounded by Bhartṛhari is close to that which is criticized by Śāntarakṣita. But the terms *prasava* and *saṃstyāna* in the sense of origination and destruction are not used in this verse.

It seems that Bhartṛhari intentionally employed the terms *āvirbhāva* and *tirobhāva* instead of *prasava* and *saṃstyāna* in MBh. In the verse following the one cited above he states:

sarvamūrtyātmabhūtānāṃ śabdādīnāṃ guṇe guṇe /
trayaḥ sattvādidharmās te sarvatra samavasthitāḥ //
In each of the *guṇa*s, such as sound, etc., which constitute the essence of all entities, there are three attributes, such as *sattva*, etc. These [three attributes] reside in every [entity].

The influence of the Sāṃkhya doctrine is evidently noticed in this verse. In MBh [A], sound, touch, colour, taste and smell are mentioned as

[20] Coward and Raja 1990: 193.

[21] PrPr, 131.24-132.2: ... *saṃgrahakāraḥ paṭhati—"saṃstyānaṃ saṃhananaṃ tamo nivṛtir aśaktir uparatiḥ pravṛttiḥ (?pracyutiḥ*) pratibandhas tirobhāvaḥ strītvam, prasavo viṣvagbhāvo vṛddhiḥ śaktir vṛttilābho 'bhyudrekaḥ pravṛttir āvirbhāva iti puṃstvam, avivakṣātaḥ sāmyaṃ sthitir autsukyanivṛttir aparārthatvam aṅgāṅgībhāvanivṛttiḥ kaivalyam iti napuṃsakatvam.* (*conjectured by Hattori)

*guṇa*s constituting the essence of all entities. Bhartṛhari adopted the Sāṃkhya doctrine that all entities which evolved from the primordial matter (*pradhāna*) possess *sattva, rajas* and *tamas*, and formed the idea that the *guṇa*s as the constituents of all entities are endowed with the three attributes, i.e., *sattva, rajas* and *tamas*. As is well known, the Sāṃkhyas maintain the *satkāryavāda*, viz., the doctrine that an effect exists latently in its cause. According to this doctrine, the production of an effect from the cause does not mean that the cause perishes and the effect comes newly into existence. It means that the latent becomes actual and the actual becomes latent. It is thus understood that the expressions *āvirbhāva* (appearance) and *tirobhāva* (disappearance) in VP III.13.13 are Bhartṛhari's interpretation of *prasava* and *saṃstyāna* from the Sāṃkhya standpoint.

Another interpretation of these two terms is also given in VP III.13.27:

> *utpattiḥ prasavo 'nyeṣāṃ nāśaḥ saṃstyānam ity api /*
> *ātmarūpaṃ tu bhāvānāṃ sthitir ity apadiśyate //*
> For some others, *prasava* means origination, and *saṃstyāna* extinction. On the other hand, the own form of things is called *sthiti* (duration).

It is noted by Helārāja that in the previous verses (vv. 13-14) the meaning of *saṃstyāna*, etc. is analyzed on the basis of the Sāṃkhya view, while this verse is stated in accordance with the doctrine of the Vaiśeṣikas, etc.[22]. It cannot be ascertained that the Vaiśeṣikas or any other school really gave this interpretation to *prasava, saṃstyāna* and *sthiti*, but it is exactly the one that was referred to by Śāntarakṣita for criticism.

It seems that Śāntarakṣita was well versed in Bhartṛhari's ideas concerning gender as presented in VP. The theory that maleness (*puṃstva*), femaleness (*strītva*) and neuterness (*napuṃsakatva*) are inherent in the referents of masculine, feminine and neuter words [6, 7] is also found in VP III.13.4[23]. Also the theory that an object possessing three different natures is expressed by a word of a particular gender according to the desire to express (*vivakṣā*) of the speaker is propounded in VP III.13.19[24]. The close relation between the logico-epistemological school of Buddhism

[22] PrPr, 145.7: *pūrvaṃ sāṃkhyadarśanāśrayeṇa saṃstyānādi vibhaktam. idānīṃ vaiśeṣikādinayenocyate.*

[23] VP III.13.4: *tisro jātaya evaitāḥ keśāṃ cit samavasthitāḥ / aviruddhā viruddhābhir gomahiṣyādijātibhiḥ //*

[24] VP III.13.19: *sthiteṣu sarvaliṅgeṣu vivakṣāniyamāśrayaḥ / kasya cic chabdasaṃskāre vyāpāraḥ kva cid iṣyate //*

and Bhartṛhari, which has been pointed out elsewhere, is thus noticed also in their theories concerning gender.

Śāntarakṣita states as the conclusion of his examination of the problem of gender that a word is used in accordance with the convention which is formed on the basis of the desire to express (*vivakṣā*). The idea that the application of a word to an object is based on the speaker's intention or desire to express is set forth also in MBh and VP. While the Grammarians intended to explain that the desire to express functions in such a way as to determine the nature of the referent, the *apoha* theory of the Buddhists laid emphasis on the fact that a word does not have direct reference to any real object*.

ABBREVIATIONS

Mbh	*Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*
PV	*Pramāṇavārttika*
ŚV	*Mīmāṃsā-Ślokavārttika*
TS	*Tattvasaṃgraha*
TSP	*Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*
VP	*Vākyapadīya*
PrPr	*Prakīrṇakaprakāśa*

TEXTS

Bhartṛhari, *Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari with the Prakīrṇakaprakāśa of Helārāja, Kāṇḍa III, Pt. ii*, edited by K.A.S. Iyer. Poona 1973.

Dharmakīrti, *The Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti. The first chapter with the autocommentary. Text and critical notes*, edited by R. Gnoli. Roma 1960.

Helārāja, *Prakīrṇakaprakāśa* (see Bhartṛhari).

Kaiyaṭa, *Mahābhāṣya-Pradīpa*, edited by Śivadatta D. Kudāla and Raghunātha Śāstrī. In: *Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya with Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa and Nāgeśa's Uddyota*, vol. II, Bombay 1935.

Kamalaśīla, *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* (see Śāntarakṣita).

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, *Mīmāṃsā-Ślokavārttika*, edited with *Nyāyaratnākara* of Pārthasārathi Miśra by Dvārikadāsa Śāstrī, Varanasi 1978.

Nageśa Bhaṭṭa, *Mahābhāṣyapradīpa-Uddyota* (see Kaiyaṭa).

Patañjali, *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*, edited by F. Kielhorn, 3rd ed. Poona 1962-72.

Śāntarakṣita, *Tattvasaṃgraha*, with the commentary *Pañjikā* of Kamalaśīla, edited by Dwarikadas Shastri, Varanasi 1968.

* This is a slightly revised English version of the article "apoha-ron ni okeru meishi no sei no mondai" (in Japanese) published in the *Tôhôgaku Ronshû* (Essays in Eastern Studies): Fiftieth Anniversary Volume of the Tôhôgaku (Eastern Studies), Tokyo: the Tôhô Gakkai, 1997.

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Ratnākaraśānti's *Hevajrasahajasadyoga*
(Studies in Ratnākaraśānti's tantric works I)*

Introductory remarks

Among the learned Indian authors[1] whose writings range widely over both tantric and non-tantric Buddhism, Ratnākaraśānti and Abhayākaragupta are probably the most celebrated. Of these two Ratnākaraśānti is the earlier[2], and his tantric writings have, it seems, been less studied than those of Abhayākaragupta. It is my hope in this and some subsequent publications to do a little to redress this; to present editions of some previously unpublished tantric works of Ratnākaraśānti, and to attempt to elucidate his positions on various points of what one might call tantric theory and practice.

* I am grateful to Dr. Dominic Goodall (Wolfson College, Oxford) and Prof. Dr. T. Vetter (Leiden University) for reading an early draft of this paper and making a number of very helpful suggestions, and to Prof. Francesco Sferra (Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli) for reading and commenting on a later version. To Prof. Alexis Sanderson (All Souls College, Oxford) I am greatly indebted for many stimulating conversations and for the examplary model provided by his work on tantric Śaivism.

[1] I use 'India' (and hence 'Indian') in a broad sense in this paper; it should be understood that Nepal is not excluded.

[2] Abhayākaragupta was active in the early twelfth century and possibly a little earlier as well; on his dates (AD 1064-1125, according to Sum pa mkhan po Ye śes dpal 'byor, which is compatible with the dates in the colophons of three of his works) see Bühnemann 1992. Ratnākaraśānti's dates are less precisely fixed, but the general consensus is that he wrote in the early eleventh century; see e.g. Mimaki 1992: 297 n. 1. It may be noted that unlike Abhayākaragupta, Ratnākaraśānti shows nowhere (to my knowledge) any awareness of the Kālacakra-system and its literature. Newman has recently considered afresh the dating of the Kālacakra literature and concluded that "we are quite safe in assuming that the basic texts of the Kālacakra tradition originated during the early decades of the 11th century CE, and we know with certainty that the Śrī Kālacakra [i.e. the *Laghukālacakratantra*, H.I.] and the *Vimalaprabhā* were completed between 1025 and ca. 1040 CE" (Newman 1998: 343).

This article presents an edition (as far as I am aware the *editio princeps*) of the *Hevajrasahajasadyoga* (or *Sahajasadyoga*)[3], a small *sādhana* by Ratnākaraśānti of *utpannakrama* practice in the Hevajra-tradition. The text has been edited from the two Sanskrit manuscripts of it that have thus far been identified; I have also consulted a Tibetan translation and a Tibetan translation of a commentary. The edition is followed by notes intended to clarify some text-critical decisions as well as some of the questions raised by the content of the text. These notes draw heavily on Ratnākaraśānti's unpublished commentary *Muktāvalī* on the *Hevajratantra*[4], which contains many passages that are closely related to and throw more light on the *sādhana*. They do not amount to a full commentary, for my time and the available space did not allow me to investigate certain problems with any

[3] Although I have chosen to use the title found in the colophon of the London manuscript of the work (partly because this title is also that chosen in BBK), others might well prefer the briefer name *Sahajasadyoga*, which is found in the colophon of the other Sanskrit manuscript and the Tibetan translation. For the colophons of the MSS see footnote 79 below.

[4] It will be seen below that in several of the passages that I refer to (and in many other parts of the *Muktāvalī* as well) there are close parallels, sometimes verbatim, with the commentary on the *Hevajratantra* usually attributed to (a) Kṛṣṇa/Kāṇha, the *Yogaratnamālā*. I know at present of no conclusive evidence, nor indeed anything but very weak indications, for the direction of influence. Snellgrove (1959: 13-14 n. 4) suggests that the *Yogaratnamālā* may have been the work of a Kṛṣṇa living in the early ninth century; but he quite frankly calls this proposal 'merely provisional' and the evidence 'almost negligible'. Farrow on the other hand has no reservation or hesitation—but also no arguments—in assigning the *Yogaratnamālā* to 'around the ninth century A.D.' (in Farrow and Menon 1992: viii). I am sceptical of so early a date for the commentary. Neither Snellgrove nor Farrow has taken into consideration the fact that there is some doubt as to the name of the author of the *Yogaratnamālā*. Though one Tibetan translation (Tōhoku 1183, Ōtani 2313) attributes the commentary to Nag po pa (*Kṛṣṇa), a second Tibetan translation of the same text (Ōtani 4687, not included in the Derge *bstan 'gyur*; apparently overlooked by Snellgrove as well as in BBK) gives the author's name as Dam tshig rdo rje (*Samayavajra). Note that a Nag po dam tshig rdo rje (*Kṛṣṇasamayavajra) is named as author of a commentary on the *Mahāmāyātantra* preserved in Tibetan translation (Tōhoku 1624), and that a teacher of the same name is mentioned twice in the *Blue Annals* (I 261 and I 300), both times as active in the first half of the eleventh century. It has also been pointed out by Davidson (1992: 177 n. 9) that according to the Sa skya pa scholar Ṅgor chen kun dga' bzaṅ po (AD 1382-1456) the Kṛṣṇa who wrote the *Yogaratnamālā* was in fact Śāntibhadra, who is supposed to have been a pupil of Ratnākaraśānti. In the introduction to a forthcoming edition of the *Muktāvalī* I shall try to evaluate what internal evidence can be gleaned from a close comparison of the parallel passages in the two commentaries, as well as from a study of a number of cases where there are instead substantial differences between their interpretations of the root-text.

degree of thoroughness. I hope to have an opportunity to return to some of these in a larger publication on the various Indian traditions of Hevajra-practice. An appendix lists the tantric works by Ratnākaraśānti that have survived in Sanskrit.

Introduction to the edition

The work edited here, for the first time, is short but by no means insignificant. Although the Sanskrit text of many *sādhana*s has been published, most of these are of *utpattikrama* practice and do not touch on the *utpannakrama*. The *Hevajrasahajasadyoga* is also somewhat unusual in that an Indian commentary, by one Thagana, is known to us, though this appears to survive only in a Tibetan translation[5].

Apart from this commentary I have noticed one other reference to what is probably this *sādhana* in an Indian work. In the as yet unpublished *Abhiṣekanirukti* by Jinasujayaśrīgupta, the following remark is found: *yādṛśaś cāyaṃ sahajamahāsukhayogo yādṛśaś cāsyābhisamayo*[6] *yathā cāyaṃ bhāvanīyaḥ sa sarvaḥ sahajasādhane hevajrād uddhṛte 'smadguru-bhiḥ sphuṭam abhihita iti neha pratanyata iti* (AbhNir f. 44v9-10). The '*Sahajasādhana*' referred to here is, I propose, the *Hevajrasahajasadyoga*.

[5] Tōhoku 1247, Ōtani 2376. I follow the form of the name of the author given in the colophon of the Derge edition of the translation of the *Hevajrasahajasadyoga*, which is also found in the *Blue Annals* (I 373, II 847), as well as in the colophons of the Derge edition of the translations of a *vivaraṇa* on the *Guhyasamājatantra* (Tōhoku 1845), a *vṛtti* on Buddhajñānapāda's *Samantabhadrasādhana* (Tōhoku 1868), and a **Tattvakoṣagītikā* (Tōhoku 2346). The Peking edition of the translation of our commentary gives the name as Thakana; compare the name Thakkana which occurs several times in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (see Stein's note on his translation of *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 6.230). A Thaganapa is listed as one of the '84 siddhas'; see e.g. Dowman 1985: 138-141. If our commentator is identical with the Thagana of *Blue Annals* I 373, and if the lineage (of the teachings of the Jñānapāda school of Guhyasamāja) given there, in which Thagana precedes Śāntipa (i.e. Ratnākaraśānti), is reliable, the commentary is by a contemporary who knew the author of the *sādhana* and was even, in another branch of Vajrayāna tradition, his teacher. Note that the commentator had access to Ratnākaraśānti's *Muktāvalī*; he refers to it once by name (*...**mu tig gi phreṅ ba** las bstan pa ste* SaSaVṛ D f. 197r6, P f. 231v8-232r1), and seems to follow it closely in many other places.

[6] The manuscript reads *cāsya samayo*, and *samayaḥ* is supported by both Tibetan translations (Tōhoku 2476 D f. 168v1, Tōhoku 2477 D f. 178v6; both render *dam tshig*). Nonetheless I have conjectured *abhisamayaḥ* here, and feel relatively confident of this conjecture in view of the expressions *yathābhisamayas tathā vakṣye* in the opening verse of the *Hevajrasahajasadyoga* and *atrāyam abhisamayaḥ* in the prose directly after verse 7.

In a Tibetan translation of the *Abhiṣekanirukti* that attributes the work to Ratnākaraśānti[7], in place of *asmadgurubhiḥ sphuṭam abhimataḥ* we find *kho bos bstan pas* (f. 168v1), as if translating perhaps **asmābhir darśitaḥ*. It is thus likely that whoever produced this version of the *Abhiṣekanirukti* took the reference – as I do – to be to Ratnākaraśānti's *Hevajrasahaja-sadyoga*[8].

In the invaluable bibliography compiled by Tsukamoto *et al.* of Buddhist tantric works in Sanskrit, a single manuscript is listed as containing the text of the *Hevajrasahajasadyoga* (see BBK p. 301). This is Royal Asiatic Society, London, MS Hodgson 35, in which our work is found on f. 45r4-45v9. For a description of the manuscript, a 'Sammelhandschrift' containing a large number of Buddhist tantric works, see Cowell and Eggeling 1876, 26-28. Though this description is in need of correction on many points, it may suffice here merely to add to it that the manuscript is palm-leaf; that it was a 'religious gift' (*deyadharmaḥ*)[9], and probably an autograph[10], of Vanaratna; and that the date of its copying

[7] Tōhoku 2476; another Tibetan translation, Tōhoku 2477, agrees with the Sanskrit manuscript in naming the author Jinasujayaśrīgupta. See also p. 30 below.

[8] Note that the expression *hevajrād uddhṛte* recalls the concluding verse of the *sādhana* (*hevajrād... uddhṛtya sahajasadyogam*, see below), and that the preceding passage of the *Abhiṣekanirukti* also contains at least faint echoes of the *Hevajrasahajasadyoga*: compare *sahajamahāsukhasya yathāśakti samāhitena manasā sarvāṅgapratyaṅgavyāpanaṃ viśvavyāpanaṃ ca viśvasya ca tanmayīkaraṇaṃ* (AbhNir f. 44v8-9) with the prose after verse 7 (*kathaṃcid abhimukhīkṛtaṃ ca... yoginīcakrātmakān adhimuñcet*) on p. 9 below.

[9] After the colophon of the *Hevajrasahajasadyoga*, there is a further colophon, which I transcribe (without emendation or normalization) thus: *deyadharmmo 'yam pravaramahāyānayāyināṃ* [here 5-6 *akṣara*s have been rubbed out, the last of which possibly was *śrī*] *ya* [perhaps this *akṣara* was intended to be cancelled too?] *śākyabhikṣumahāsthaviraśrīvanaratnapādānāṃ yad atra puṇyan tad bhavatu* [the *akṣara dbha* has been squeezed in, possibly by a later hand] *ācāryopadhyāyamātāpitṛprabhṛtisamastasatvānām iti* (f. 45v10). One expects that this would have been originally intended to be the end of the codex, but if so, the scribe changed his mind, for there follow further folios, numbered continuously and in the same hand.

[10] Or if not an autograph certainly prepared under close supervision of Vanaratna. The manuscript contains a verse that refers to Vanaratna in the first person (*mayā śrīvanaratnena* f. 50v8), and gives for several of the works/teachings that it contains guru-lineages that all end with the name of Vanaratna (ff. 50v9-10, 55v6-7, 68r2-4, 76r10-76v1, 77r3-5). Some of the evidently 'scribal' material emphasizes the secrecy of these teachings; at one place, for instance, we read that the scribe has 'written this special teaching so that I may not forget it; may the *ḍāka*s, *ḍākinī*s etc., [and] all the wrathful deities forgive [me for putting so secret a teaching down in writing]' (*ayaṃ viśiṣṭopadeśo 'vismaraṇahetor mayā likhitaṃ* (*sic* for *likhito*) *ḍākaḍākinyādayaḥ sarvā* (*sic* for *sarvāḥ*) *krodhadevatāḥ kṣamantām iti* f. 52v10).

therefore probably lies between AD 1426 and AD 1468[11], rather than some time in the late eighteenth century[12]. My siglum for the text as transmitted in this manuscript is L.

Although the London manuscript gives us in the main an intelligible text, with few corruptions, we are fortunate that the *Hevajrasahajasadyoga* is transmitted in another, independent, codex as well. It is one of the fourty-two works contained in a palm-leaf manuscript which is of inestimable value for our knowledge of Hevajra *sādhana* in India. This manuscript was long in the possession of the Ṅor monastery in Tibet; it is there that it was seen and photographed by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana[13]. Copies of a number of Sāṅkṛtyāyana's negatives, made in the sixties and seventies, were brought to Germany and kept for some years in the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde, Göttingen[14]. They have recently been moved from there to the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, where the reproductions of the codex I am concerned with have the shelf-mark MS Xc 14/39. I would hazard the guess that the manuscript, written in 'Kuṭilā'-script, may date from the (late) thirteenth or perhaps the fourteenth century[15].

None of the three published descriptions[16] of the contents of this codex mentions the *Hevajrasahajasadyoga*; it is one of eleven works that were

[11] Assuming the commonly given dates for Vanaratna's first trip to Tibet and for his death. For these dates, and for a biography of Vanaratna, see *Blue Annals* II, pp. 797-805. The reason for placing the *terminus post quem* at the date of Vanaratna's first visit to Tibet is that the manuscript contains several references to celebrated Tibetan teachers such as Milarepa (Mi la ras pa; written *mileraspa* at f. 68r3) and Ko brag pa (*kobrakpādena* f. 75v10), and to the Tibetan language (*saṃbhoṭabhāṣānugaṃ* f. 73v7).

[12] As Cowell and Eggeling suggest when they write 'Very minutely written about the end of the last century' (1876, 26). Although I am not an expert in palaeography, the East Indian hand in which the manuscript is written seems more likely to me to be of the fifteenth than the eighteenth century.

[13] It may be presumed that like other Sanskrit manuscripts that Sāṅkṛtyāyana saw in his expeditions to Tibet it was after the Cultural Revolution kept for some years in the Library of the Cultural Palace of the Nationalities in Beijing, and that it may now have been transferred to Lhasa; cf. Tillemans 1996: ix-x.

[14] For the history of the negatives and of these copies of them see Bandurski 1994, 13.

[15] Below I shall occasionally refer to this codex as the *Hevajrasādhanasaṃgraha*, a name, assigned merely for convenience, which is not quite accurate since the manuscript also contains some works, such as *stotra*s, that are not *sādhana*s.

[16] Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935: 38-40; BBK pp. 304-307; Bandurski 1994: 75-77. The latter two are evidently based solely on Sāṅkṛtyāyana's account (although Bandurski had access to Sāṅkṛtyāyana's photographs); BBK adds however some useful notes and suggests some possible correspondences with translations in the Tibetan canon.

apparently overlooked by Sāṅkṛtyāyana when he went rapidly through the manuscript. In my catalogue[17], the *Hevajrasahajasadyoga* is the twenty-first work; it is to be found on f. 199v2-201r1. My siglum for the text as transmitted in this manuscript is G.

In addition to the two Sanskrit manuscripts which are the primary witnesses, I have made use of the Tibetan translation preserved in the *bstan 'gyur*[18], and the Tibetan translation of Thagana's commentary on the *sādhana* (see footnote 5 above). I have also taken into consideration some parallels that I noticed with passages in other works, especially Ratnākara-śānti's commentary on the *Hevajratantra*. The *sādhana* quotes a number of verses from the *Hevajratantra*; in constituting the text of these verses I have also given weight to the readings of the palm-leaf manuscripts of the tantra and the evidence of Ratnākaraśānti's commentary.

With all this material to be drawn on, I believe that there are few serious textual problems that remain unresolved in the text. This is not to say that I have full confidence that the precise wording of what Ratnākaraśānti wrote can be recovered. However, where there is doubt, it is usually on points that do not seriously affect the sense conveyed. The two manuscripts often differ, and sometimes both readings are certainly possible ones. The scribe of the *Hevajrasādhanasaṃgraha* codex was far less careful (I suppose also probably less learned) than Vanaratna was; numerous trivial errors of G will be found in the apparatus. The text of the London manuscript, on the other hand, has undergone, I suspect, deliberate change somewhat more often. In the notes that follow the edition I have briefly discussed cases where I hesitated in choosing between more than one possible reading.

The verse-numbering and punctuation is mine, and I have not reported the punctuation of the MSS in the apparatus. Nor have I reported variants that I regard as non-substantive, e.g. the non-application of sandhi or common orthographic variants such as gemination/degemination of consonants after/before semi-vowels, and the exchange of *anusvāra* and homorganic nasals. However where a MS reading is quoted because of the presence of a substantive variant its orthography and punctuation, if any, is of course reproduced.

Raised italic lower-case letters in the edition refer to a note on the word, sentence, or verse (the notes follow the edition). Folio changes are indicated

[17] I hope to publish this in the near future in an article entitled *A collection of Hevajra-sādhanas and related works in Sanskrit*.

[18] Tōhoku 1246, Ōtani 2375. I have used the Delhi ('Karmapa') reprint of the Derge *bstan 'gyur* and the Kyoto reprint of the Peking *bstan 'gyur*.

in the margin, with a raised asterisk in the text marking the exact place where the new side begins. In the apparatus angled brackets (< >) enclose *akṣara*s that have been cancelled, while *akṣara*s that have been added are placed between plus-signs (+ +), and *akṣara*s of which the reading is uncertain between round brackets (( )). Readings before and after correction are indicated by *ac* (for *ante correctionem*) or *pc* (*post correctionem*) after the manuscript siglum.

Text[19]

hevajrasaniṣyandaṃ[a] [20] paramaṃ praṇipatya yoginīcakram
syād utpannakapakṣe[b] yathābhisamayas tathā vakṣye. (1)

khadhātau [21] bhagaṃ dhyātvā madhye kurvīta bhāvanām
cakraṃ pūrvaṃ [22]yathānyāyaṃ devatānāṃ[23] yathodayam[c]. (2) HeTa I.viii.1

ity uddeśaḥ[d] [24]. ayam asyārthaḥ.

sthāne karaṇam āveśya[e] kriyāṃ kurvīta sādhakaḥ
phalaṃ tu yoginīcakraṃ tanniṣyandaś ca[25] herukaḥ. (3)

iti. utpattipakṣe ya ānandāś catvāras[f] teṣāṃ yas tṛtīyaḥ paramāt paro vira-*māt pūrvaḥ sa khalu sahajānandaḥ[g].

sa eva cātra[26] dvividho dvividhaṃ phalam iṣyate
ekam ākāśasaṃkāśam anyat pūrṇendusannibham[h]. (4)

nabhonibhaṃ yad anayor dharmakāyaḥ sa[27] tāyinām
yat punaḥ[28] pūrṇacandrābhaṃ saiva sāṃbhogikī tanuḥ. (5)

tad eva yoginīcakraṃ yad eva jñānam advayam
mahāsukhaṃ yathānte tat tathādāv[29] apy abhedataḥ. (6)

[19] Scribal *maṅgalam* in G: *namaḥ śrīhevajrāya* ǁ Scribal *maṅgalam* in L: *namo vajraḍākāya* ǁ

[20] hevajra°] G, hevajraṃ L

[21] khadhātau] G, khadhātau ca L

[22] pūrvaṃ] L, pūrvva G

[23] devatānāṃ] L, devānāṃ G

[24] uddeśaḥ] L, uddeśeḥ G

[25] tanniṣyandaś ca] L, tanniṣyanda G

[26] eva cātra] *conj.* (m.c.), evātra G L

[27] °kāyaḥ sa] L, °kāyaśa G

[28] punaḥ] L, puna G

[29] yathānte tat tathādāv] L, yathā ante tat | tathā ā<va> dāv G

prakṛtiḥ sarvadharmāṇāṃ tad eva[30] jñānam advayam
mahāsukhaṃ ca tat[31] tasmāj jagat sarvaṃ[32] mahāsukham. (7)

G f. 200r atrāyam abhisamayaḥ[i][33]. asyāṃ bhāvanāyām adhi*kṛto[34] vīraḥ kvacid[35] ekākī rahogata āsane[j][36] niṣadya svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā iti niścityātmānaṃ herukarūpam adhimucya[37] manasā kāṃcid ānīya nirātmikāṃ[k] tām adhimucya kakkole bolavilāsaṃ[l] yadi vā bolabile svanābhihṛdayād avatīrṇaprajñopāyavilāsaṃ[38] bhāvayan[m] bhāvanābalena paramārtham abhimukhīkuryāt[39]. kathaṃcid abhimukhīkṛtaṃ ca[40] sarvāṅgapratyaṅgeṣu daśadiksarvabhāveṣu ca visphārayet[41]. nirābhāsaprakāśamātraṃ mahāsukham
L f. 45v anantaṃ nirantaraṃ[42] tā*vat paśyed yāvac chaknoti[n]. vyutthito 'pi sarvabhāvān[43] mahāsukhamayatvena yoginīcakrātmakān adhimuñcet[44]. tenaiva ca[45] svasaṃvedyena mahāsukhenābhyarcayet punaḥ punar āśupuṇyajñānasaṃbhāropacayārtham[46], upacitasaṃbhārasya[47] bhāvanāviśeṣād acirād iṣṭasiddheḥ.

madbhavāḥ[48] prāṇinaḥ sarve madbhavaṃ bhuvanatrayam
HeTa I.viii.41 mayā vyāptam idaṃ sarvaṃ nānyamayaṃ dṛśyate jagat. (8)

evaṃ[49] matvā tu vai[50] yogī yo 'bhyaset[51] susamāhitaḥ
HeTa I.viii.42 sa siddhyati na saṃdeho mandapuṇyo 'pi mānavaḥ[o][52]. (9)

[30] tad eva] L, tava G
[31] ca tat] L, calat G
[32] sarvaṃ] L, sarvva G
[33] atrāyam abhisamayaḥ] G, tatrāyam abhiprāyaḥ L
[34] bhāvanāyām adhikṛto] L, bhāvanāyāṃm adhikṛkṛtya G
[35] kvacid] L, *om.* G
[36] āsane] L, kvacid āsane G
[37] °mucya] G[pc] L, *om.* G[ac]
[38] °hṛdayād avatīrṇa°] L, ° hṛdayāvatīrṇṇe G
[39] abhimukhīkuryāt] L, āmukhīkuryāt G
[40] °kṛtaṃ ca] L, °kuryāt G
[41] ca visphārayet] L, sphārayet G
[42] nirantaraṃ] G, *om.* L
[43] sarvabhāvān] L, sarvabhāvānāṃ G
[44] adhimuñcet] L, adhimucyeta G (*or* adhimucyet)
[45] ca] L, *om.* G
[46] āśupuṇyajñānasaṃbhāropacayārtham] L, āsupuṇyajñānasaṃbhārayor upacayārthaṃ G
[47] °saṃbhārasya] G, °saṃbhārasya ca L
[48] madbhavāḥ] L, madbhavā G
[49] evaṃ] L, eva G
[50] vai] L, *om.* G
[51] 'bhyaset] L, abhyaset G
[52] mānavaḥ] L, māṇavaḥ G

punaḥ samāhitayogaḥ[53] punar vyutthitayogo[p] yathābalam evaṃ yogadvayena[q][54]

nadīsrotaḥpravāhena[55] dīpajyotiḥprabandha*vat[56] G f. 200v
satataṃ tattvayogena sthātavyam[57] ahorātrataḥ[r]. (10) HeTa I.viii.56

svasaṃvedyam idaṃ jñānaṃ vākpathātītagocaram[58]
adhiṣṭhānakramo hy eṣa sarvajñajñānatanmayam[s]. (11) HeTa I.viii.51

pṛthivī āpa[59] vāyuś ca[t] teja ākāśa[60] eva ca
kṣaṇāt sarve na bādhante svaparasaṃvittivedanam[u][61]. (12) HeTa I.viii.52

svargamartyaiś[62] ca pātālair ekamūrtir[63] bhavet kṣaṇāt
svaparabhāgavikalpena[v] bādhituṃ naiva śakyate. (13) HeTa I.viii.53

ayaṃ ca yogo 'vasthābhedāc[w] caturdhā bhavati[64]: meghopamo māyopamaḥ[65] svapnopamaḥ svapnajāgaropamaś ceti[x][66].

prāk siddher[67] meghopamas tanumeghacchannapūrṇacandravad[y][68] aparisphuṭatvāt. siddhau[69] māyopamo manonirmitavidyābalena vyaktam udayāt[70]. tataḥ svapnopamo[71] bolākṣarayogabalena[72] yoganidrāgatasya sahasotpatteḥ[z][73]. tad anu svapnajāgaropamaḥ. kathaṃ jāgaropamaḥ? bahirvidyāyogajanitatvāt[aa]. kathaṃ svapnopamaḥ? svaparayor anupalambhāt[ab][74].

[53] samāhitayogaḥ] L, samāhitayogāt G
[54] yogadvayena] G, ya(dva)n L
[55] nadīsrotaḥ°] *em.*, nadīśrotaḥ° L, nadī | śrotra° G
[56] °jyotiḥ°] L, ° jyoti° G
[57] sthātavyam] GL[pc], sthātam L[ac]
[58] °gocaram] L, ° gocaraṃḥ G
[59] pṛthivī āpa] G, pṛthivy āpañ ca L
[60] ākāśa] G, ākākāśam L
[61] bādhante svaparasaṃvittivedanam] L, bādhyaṃte svaparasaṃcitisavedanaṃ G
[62] svargamartyaiś] *em.*, svarggamarttaiś L, svarggair murttaiś G
[63] ekamūrtir] L, ekamūrtti G
[64] bhavati] L, bhavanti G
[65] māyopamaḥ] L, +māyopama+ G
[66] °pamaś ceti] L, °pamaḥ G
[67] prāk siddher] L, prā<ga>gasiddhe G
[68] °pūrṇacandravad] L, ° paripūrṇṇacandravat G
[69] siddhau] L, siddho G
[70] udayāt] L, umudayāt G
[71] tataḥ svapnopamo] L, svapnopamaḥ G
[72] °yoga°] G L[pc], ° yoge L[ac]
[73] sahasotpatteḥ] G, sahasaivotpatteḥ L
[74] anupalambhāt] L, anulambhāt G

ete ca yathottaraṃ viśiṣyante pūrvapūrvabalād uttarottaraniṣpatteḥ[75]. katham antimaḥ sarvottaraḥ? saty api vikṣepahetāv atyantasamāhitatvāt[76], samagrasamayatvāc[77] ceti.

hevajrād atigahanād avikalam uddhṛtya sahajasadyogam
G f. 201r yad upacitaṃ mama kuśalaṃ bhava*tu[78] jagat tena vajradharaḥ[79]. (14)

NOTES[80]

Verse 1 [a] *hevajrasaniṣyandaṃ*. Although at first glance this word may appear strange (perhaps some would expect *hevajraṃ saniṣyandaṃ*), it is this reading that is required by metre and by the sense[81], as well as being supported by the Tibetan translation (*dgyes rdor rgyu mthun daṅ bcas* D f. 194v7, P f. 229r1). The choice for the less obvious *hevajrasaniṣyandam* (to be analysed as *hevajreṇa saniṣyandam*) over *hevajraniṣyandaṃ*, which would be a more immediately understandable bahuvrīhi compound, has in my view no significance but is purely caused by the requirements of metre.

[75] uttarottara°] G^{pc} L, uttara° G^{ac}

[76] °hetāv atyanta°] L, ° heto su° G

[77] °samayatvāc] L, ° satvāc G (*insertion mark after* sa, *an insertion in the margin is probably covered by the next folio in the photograph*)

[78] bhavatu] L, bhava tena G

[79] Scribal colophon in G: *kṛtir iyam paṇḍitaśrīratnākarapādānām iti* ǁ *sahajasadyoga* (sic) *hevajrasya sādhanaṃ samāptam* ǁ Scribal colophon in L: *śrīhevajrasahajasadyogaḥ samāptaḥ* ǁ *kṛtir iyaṃ ratnākaraśāntipādānāṃ* ǁ For the further colophon after this in L see footnote 9 above.

[80] I have imposed restraints on the level of detail at many places in these notes, and have also limited the amount of parallel material quoted. Both for reasons of space and out of a desire to let Ratnākaraśānti speak for and explain himself, I have in several cases quoted relevant passages from my draft edition of the *Muktāvalī* and added little or nothing of my own. I am aware that this may have the effect of rendering this article relatively inaccessible to non-specialists. To avoid making this section considerably longer I have also not provided a full critical apparatus for these quotations; the folio references and the variants that I have judged too important to omit will have to suffice at present. Although I have consulted Thagana's commentary, and not infrequently refer to it, I have not always adduced its evidence in favour of an interpretation if there is already other much stronger such evidence, e.g. from Ratnākaraśānti's own words. Despite these restrictions, no doubt at some places I have digressed or been tempted into giving disproportionate attention to a point.

[81] For the definition of the technical term *niṣyanda* (the forms *nisyanda* and *niḥṣyanda* are purely orthographical variants) see e.g. MuĀv (ad HeTa II.iv.56) '*niṣyando hetusadṛśaḥ*' (quoting AbhDhaKo 2.57c) *iti lakṣaṇam* (MS A f. 101v4; cf. also YoRaMā p. 149).

By beginning the *maṅgala*-verse of his *sādhana* with this word as an adjective to *yoginīcakram* (the object of *praṇipatya*) Ratnākaraśānti could be said to be emphasizing that of the deities of the maṇḍala it is in an important sense the *yoginīs*, Nairātmyā and the rest, who are supreme, and that Hevajra, for all that he is commonly called the *maṇḍaleśa*, is in fact in one sense secondary to them in as much as he is their *niṣyanda*. This relationship of Hevajra and the *yoginīs* may be generalized as that between *upāya* and *prajñā*. As Ratnākaraśānti teaches (at least by implication) in verses 4-6 of our text, when put in the terms of the structures of Buddhological theory, the *yoginīcakram* corresponds to the highest *prajñā*[82], the non-dual experience (*jñānam advayam*)[83], that is supremely blissful (*mahāsukham*), and is called the *dharmakāya*. Hevajra, on the other hand, corresponds to *upāya*, which comprises in Buddhological terms the *saṃbhogakāya* and, though no reference is made to the fact in this work, the *nirmāṇakāya* as well. See for instance Ratnākaraśānti's remarks apropos of the word *prajñopāyasvabhāvataḥ* in *Hevajratantra* I.viii.49d: *prakṛṣṭaṃ jñānaṃ prajñā, dharmakāya ity arthaḥ. tatprasūtayoḥ sambhoganirmāṇakāyayor abhinnaṃ rūpaṃ niravadhisarvākārajagadarthasādhanasāmānyam upāyaḥ* (MuĀv MS A f. 64r4-5)[84]; and his explanation, shortly afterward, of *bhagavān* in *Hevajratantra* I.viii.50a with the words *bhagavān iti kāyadvayasaṃgrāhaka upāyaḥ* (MuĀv MS A f. 64v1)[85].

[b] *utpannakapakṣe*[86]. Among the most fundamental characteristics of practice in the 'higher' systems of Buddhist tantra is that it is said to consist broadly of two stages (which sometimes are further sub-divided): *utpattikra-*

[82] Cf. also the *Muktāvalī* ad *Hevajratantra* I.viii.26d (*tatsukhaṃ cakram ucyate*): ***tatsukhaṃ cakram ucyate*** *yoginīcakram abhidhīyate paramaprajñāsvabhāvena tāsāṃ saṃgrahāt* (MS A f. 56r2). See the quotation of the whole of Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on *Hevajratantra* I.viii.26-27 below (p. 19).

[83] Note in addition to verse 6ab of our text also e.g., from Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on *Hevajratantra* I.i.7, *prakṛṣṭaṃ jñānaṃ prajñā, advayajñānam ity arthaḥ* (MS A f. 7v3, MS C f. 6r1-2).

[84] Cf. also the similar passage in the *Yogaratnamālā ad loc.*: *prakṛṣṭaṃ jñānaṃ prajñā dharmakāyaḥ. upāyo jagadarthakaraṇāya tanniṣyandabhūtasaṃbhoganirmāṇakāyadvayam* (ed. Snellgrove p. 129 l. 10-12).

[85] The same phrase, with the addition of *uktaḥ* at the end, is found in the *Yogaratnamālā* (ed. Snellgrove p. 129 l. 13-14).

[86] The use of *utpannaka°* instead of *utpanna°* is of course dictated by metrical considerations alone.

ma and *utpannakrama*[87]. On the importance of this there is widespread, if not universal, agreement; the precise nature of these two stages, and their relationship, however, are matters on which there appear to have been divergent views from an early period. To give an account of even just the major *pakṣa*s and their differences would go far beyond the scope of an article, and indeed beyond the scope of my knowledge and reading at present. Nonetheless a digression of some length seems to be required here, in order to throw at least a little light on how Ratnākaraśānti understood the two stages, and thus elucidate the nature of the practice that this text is intended to teach.

(Excursus: Ratnākaraśānti on *utpatti-* and *utpannakrama*)

The *Hevajratantra* first mentions the two stages in the following verse:

kramam utpattikaṃ caiva utpannakramam eva ca |
kramadvayaṃ samāśritya vajriṇāṃ dharmadeśanā || (HeTa I.viii.24cd-25ab)

b. *vajriṇāṃ*] A B C[88], *vajriṇā* Snellgrove

This is based directly on the following verse from the eighteenth chapter of the *Guhyasamājatantra*[89], which is possibly the earliest scriptural passage that clearly presents esoteric Buddhist teaching or practice as divided into the two stages:

[87] Instead of *utpannakrama* the term *niṣpannakrama* is sometimes found (it is preferred in e.g. the *Pradīpoddyotana*, in which I find no occurrences of *utpannakrama*); it is, for most authors at least, synonymous (commenting on CaMaTa 6.1 *niṣpannakramayogena* Mahāsukhavajrapāda glosses *niṣpannakrama utpannakramaḥ* (PaCaMaTaPa f. 16v2)). The expression *sampannakrama*, on the other hand, though used with surprising frequency in secondary literature, is not to my knowledge attested in texts that are extant in Sanskrit. Broido's remark 'the form *sampannakrama* is perhaps more common' (1985: 48 n. 73) might conceivably hold good for modern secondary literature, but certainly not (as it is intended) for primary sources. As far as I can see, this term is likely to be simply a wrong back-translation of the Tibetan *rdzogs rim*; note that although Lokesh Chandra does give *sampannakrama* as a Sanskrit equivalent of *rdzogs rim* (LC p. 2005a) he adduces no actual Indian text for this.

[88] The genitive plural is also supported by the YoRaMā and MuĀv, and by the parallel/source in the *Guhyasamājatantra* quoted below.

[89] The eighteenth chapter of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, originally a separate work (a *vyākhyātantra*) entitled *Samājottara* (see e.g. Matsunaga's introduction to his edition of the tantra, pp. xxviii-xxix), is one of the texts that played a key role in the development of the higher Buddhist tantric systems.

kramadvayam upāśritya vajriṇāṃ dharmadeśanā |
kramam autpattikaṃ caiva kramam autpannakaṃ tathā ||[90] (GuSaTa 18.84)

b. *dharmadeśanā*] conj., *tatra deśanā* Matsunaga[91]

The *Guhyasamājatantra/Samājottara*, in its turn, is echoing here, consciously no doubt, a famous verse by Nāgārjuna: *dve satye samupāśritya buddhānāṃ dharmadeśanā* | *lokasaṃvṛtisatyaṃ ca satyaṃ ca paramārthataḥ* || (MūMaKā 24.8). This echo is in fact an indication of a basic point that I suggest underlies the original conception of the division into two *krama*s and remained an important factor in the thought of most teachers. If I were myself to offer a single generalization, it would be that the *utpattikrama* is in a way analogous to *saṃvṛtisat(ya)* and the *utpannakrama* to *paramārthasat(ya)*[92].

Turning to our author, Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on HeTa I.viii.24cd-25ab runs as follows: *kramaḥ prakāro bhāgaḥ pakṣa iti paryāyāḥ. kasya*

[90] The reading in the second half of the verse as quoted in Candrakīrti's commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra* is *krama utpattikaś caiva niṣpannakrama eva ca* (PraUd p. 5); note that Candrakīrti seems to have substituted his preferred term *niṣpannakramaḥ* (cf. footnote 87 above).

[91] A smaller emendation would be *tantradeśanā*, but *dharmadeśanā* is supported by the quotation in the PraUd (p. 5), by the Tibetan translation of the GuSaTa (*chos bstan pa* Peking f. 161v2), and by the parallel/borrowing in the *Hevajratantra* quoted directly above.

[92] And I would suggest that, just as Nāgārjuna's verse could be said to be intended to 'protect' the Buddhist *āryasatya*s and other important elements of Buddhism at a lower 'pluralistic' level (*prapañca*), so too the integration of *utpattikrama* and *utpannakrama* practices into a path-structure to be traversed may have aimed at explicitly ruling out a 'subitist' position and at 'protecting' the 'lower' *utpattikrama* type of practice, as much as or more than at introducing and justifying the 'innovative' practices ranked as belonging to the *utpannakrama*, as Germano has suggested (1994: 220). (For a lengthy 'subitist' and anti-*utpattikrama pūrvapakṣa*, refuted at equal length, see Ratnarakṣita's excursus at the end of his commentary on the thirteenth *paṭala* of the *Saṃvarodayatantra* (PaSaUdTaPa f. 21r7-24r3). For a scriptural passage that is concerned, *inter alia*, with the same issue see HeTa II.ii.29-45.) The subitist rhetoric of the rejection of all distinctions, ethical and ontological, could thus be confined to descriptions of the final phase of the path, at that point where path is transmuted into goal, and the potential threat posed by non-dualistic ontology and by 'non-dual practice' could be averted by incorporating dualism and non-dualism into a hierarchy in which non-dualism can only be approached through an accepted (Buddhist, *utpattikrama*) path. If this speculation as to the underlying motivation is at least partly correct, this development within tantric Buddhism would be strikingly parallel to developments within Śaivism, as uncovered by the researches of Sanderson and presented in his lectures at All Souls College, Oxford.

kramaḥ? yogasya. mantracihnādikrameṇa devatākāraniṣpattir yogina utpattiḥ, sā yasmin yoge 'sti sa utpattikramaḥ. utpannaṃ sahajam eva sādhakādīnāṃ rūpam, tad eva devatāditattvarūpeṇādhimucya yasmin yoge bhāvyate sa utpannakramaḥ. etat kramadvayam āśritya vajriṇāṃ buddhānāṃ dharmadeśanā yogadeśanā. (MuĀv MS A f. 55r6-55v3, MS B f. 39v2-4).

Here we find that Ratnākaraśānti explains the *utpattikrama* as that stage or type of yoga[93] in which the yogin produces, in a series of steps, (himself in) the form of the deity[94]. This form of yoga therefore may be said to involve *prapañca*, but its aim is to ultimately remove *prapañca*; it is thus an (essential) preparation for the ensuing, higher, stage of the *utpannakrama*[95]. The *utpannakrama* is the stage of yoga in which what is cultivated is the innate nature – which can be called '[already] arisen' in the sense that it does not need to arise or be produced – of the *sādhaka*

[93] Although he does not use the term in the passage quoted above, Ratnākaraśānti appears to regard the word *utpattikrama* (and similarly *utpannakrama*) as a *madhyapadalopī samāsaḥ*, equivalent to *utpattiyogakramaḥ*.

[94] Though the phrase actually used in this passage, *devatākāraniṣpattir yogina utpattiḥ*, might not by itself be sufficiently clear to a reader unfamiliar with esoteric Buddhism, I do not doubt that Ratnākaraśānti assumed that his audience would understand that the *utpattikramasādhaka* is to visualise himself as arising in the form of the deity. The expression *mantracihnādikrameṇa* refers to the fact that in the actual (self-)generation of the *sādhaka* as Hevajra the seed-syllable (*bīja*, here *mantra*) *hūṃ* would be visualized between a moon and a sun-disk (which have themselves first been visualized as produced from respectively the vowels and consonants); this *hūṃ* transforms into a vajra (the *cihna* of this deity) with the same seed-syllable on it; from this Tathāgatas are visualized as emerging in rays, pervading (and benefitting) the universe and then being reabsorbed; and after this the vajra, together with the seed-syllable and the disks of moon and sun, transforms into the fully visualized deity. For this process, the so-called *pañcākārābhisambodhi*, in the Hevajra-system see e.g. HeTa I.viii.6cd-7; BhraHa f. 2v1-3; YoRaMā pp. 114-115 and 124.

[95] Cf. HeTa II.ii.29: *utpattikramayogena prapañcaṃ bhāvayed vratī | prapañcaṃ svapnavat kṛtvā prapañcair niṣprapañcayet* || See also HeTa II.ii.34-35, in which Vajragarbha first asks what need there is of the *utpattikrama*: *vajragarbha āha | utpannakramayogo 'yaṃ sat sukhaṃ mahāsukhaṃ matam | utpanno bhāvanāhīna utpattyā kiṃ prayojanam || bhagavān āha | śraddhāvegena naṣṭo 'yaṃ mahābodhisattva iti.* The latter remark is explained by Ratnākaraśānti thus: ***śraddhā*** *utpannakrame gauravaṃ tayā* ***vega*** *auddhatyaṃ tena* ***naṣṭo*** *duṣṭaḥ, utpattikramapratikṣepāt* (MuĀv MS A f. 84v1). It may be noted that Ratnākaraśānti (in his writings on the Hevajra-system at least) does not refer to the idea, often stressed in the works of the Ārya school of the Guhyasamāja, that *utpattikrama* practice will take the practitioner to the eighth bodhisattva-level (see e.g. PaKra 2.72ab, where *ādikarmikayogena* is to be understood as referring to the *utpattikrama*).

and all other living beings[96]. Here visualization has no important part; the exercise is rather (as emerges in the *Hevajrasahajasadyoga*) a cultivation/contemplation of a sensation of bliss (*mahāsukha*), initially produced through a form of sexual yoga[97], that spreads throughout the *sādhaka*'s body, and then is to be imagined as pervading the entire universe[98].

In his commentary on the first *paṭala* of the *Hevajratantra* Ratnākaraśānti makes a further distinction between two kinds of *utpannakrama*. The first of these he calls the *paramagambhīra utpannakrama*[99]; it differs from the 'ordinary' *utpannakrama* (with which our *sādhana* deals) in consisting essentially of the *sādhaka* meditating on his own consciousness, shining forth without duality and appearances, as Hevajra[100], all-pervading

[96] That the *ādi* of *sādhakādīnām* is intended to have so wide a scope can be seen from e.g. HeTa II.ii.44, *tasmāt sahajaṃ jagat sarvaṃ*, together with Ratnākaraśānti's remark thereon: *sahajena buddhatvena yogāt* ***sahajaṃ jagat sarvam*** *iti sarvasattvāḥ* (MuĀv MS A f. 87r3-4). All living beings are supposed to be by nature endowed with this innate Buddhahood. As a famous passage from the *Hevajratantra* expresses it: *sattvā buddhā eva kiṃ tu āgantukamalāvṛtāḥ* | *tasyāpakarṣaṇād buddhāḥ* (HeTa II.iv.69; the reading *tasyāpakarṣaṇād buddhāḥ*, with no fourth pāda, for which Snellgrove has *tasyāpakarṣaṇāt sattvā buddhā eva na saṃśayaḥ*, is that of the available palm-leaf manuscripts, and is supported by the Tibetan translation and the readings in the same passage as borrowed in the *Saṃpuṭatantra* (f. 69r4-5)).

[97] As will be seen from the *Hevajrasahajasadyoga*, together with the additional passages quoted from the *Muktāvalī* in the notes below, Ratnākaraśānti appears to envisage a progression from *jñānamudrā* practice (in which the *sādhaka* imagines a union with a *manonirmitavidyā*) to *mahāmudrā* practice (in which the union is one that takes place between two seed-syllables within his own body) and finally to practice in which there is an actual union with a *bahirvidyā*.

[98] This is clearly quite different from Advayavajra's teaching in his *Nairātmyāprakāśa*, in which the *utpannakramaḥ* is a visualization which differs from the *utpattikramaḥ* simply (it seems) in that the maṇḍala is not produced in a sequence of successive transformations but 'instantaneously, without [first] visualizing a seed-syllable' (*jhagiti bījam anavalokayan eva pañcadaśayoginyātmakaṃ maṇḍalacakraṃ paśyed ity utpannakramaḥ*, NaiPra f. 263v1).

[99] There are other authors too who refer to a form of *utpannakramaḥ* as (*parama*)*gambhīra*; see for a detailed description e.g. the *Nāḍīcakrābhisambodhi sādhanopāyikā* by Divākaracandra, which is said in its colophon to be *paramagambhīrotpannakramasvarūpā* (NāCaAbhSa f. 156v5). In his *Nairātmyāprakāśa* Advayavajra teaches a *pariniṣpannakrama* (f. 263v1-264v2) which seems to correspond quite closely with Ratnākaraśānti's *paramagambhīra utpannakramaḥ*.

[100] I.e., in this case, as having the nature of great compassion and great bliss: *tat punar īdṛśaṃ mahājñānaṃ kathaṃ hevajraḥ? mahākaruṇāmahāprajñāsvabhāvatvāt* (MuĀv MS A f. 14r5-14v1). For the name Hevajra as meaning (the union of) compassion and bliss see HeTa I.i.7ab: *hekāreṇa mahākaruṇā vajraṃ prajñā ca bhaṇyate*.

yet at the same time located in the *sādhaka*'s body and thereby making that into a *vajradeha*, with the *yoginīs* of the Hevajra-maṇḍala also located therein in the form of *nāḍīs*[101].

This form of *utpannakrama* Ratnākaraśānti finds taught in HeTa I.i.12-20. The second kind he reads into I.i.21-30, which he introduces with the following words: *paramagambhīra utpannakrama uktaḥ. idānīṃ nātigambhīram utpannakramaṃ bahuprakāram ākhyātum āha –* ***saṃvarabheda*** (I.i.21) *ityādi* (MuĀv MS A 19r3-4, MS C f. 14r3-4)[102]. It is to this second type, itself said to be 'of many kinds' (*bahuprakāra*), that the *sahajayoga* belongs that is taught in the *sādhana* we are dealing with – to which the reader is now invited to return after this digression.

(End of excursus)

Verse 2 [c] *khadhātau ... yathodayam* (HeTa I.viii.1). G's unmetrical reading in pāda a has been accepted, because it is that of the palm-leaf manuscripts (as well as the editions) of the *Hevajratantra*. L's addition of *ca* is presumably an attempt by Vanaratna or an earlier transmitter to improve the metre.

This verse is to be understood as to be applied to both *utpattikramaḥ* and *utpannakramaḥ*. I shall pass over the (somewhat complicated) problem of its significance for the *utpattikrama*[103]. More relevant to our purpose is to note how the verse is explained later in the same chapter of the *Hevajra-*

[101] See especially the following passage: *tad evam utpannapakṣe yathoktaṃ mahājñānam eva hevajraḥ, tadadhiṣṭhitaḥ svadeha eva yogināṃ vajradehaḥ. tad eva tasyādhāramaṇḍalam. ādheyamaṇḍalaṃ tu pañcadaśayoginīsvabhāvā nāḍya eva iti jñāyata etat* (MuĀv MS A f. 15r2-3).

[102] Compare Germano's remarks distinguishing 'two distinct rubrics' that are covered by the term 'Perfection phase' (1994: 220-222). But though the distinction Germano draws can be related to that made by Ratnākaraśānti, it is not the case, for instance, that only the *paramagambhīra utpannakrama* (which corresponds roughly to Germano's 'second rubric') focusses 'on the human body as a directly sensed reality'.

[103] For Ratnākaraśānti's explanation see especially MuĀv MS A f. 46r1-46v4. If Ratnākaraśānti is right, and I am inclined to believe that he is, HeTa I.viii.2 is an explanation (*nirdeśaḥ*) of the significance of HeTa I.viii.1 as applied to the *utpattikrama*. The translation of HeTa I.viii.2 by Snellgrove (who evidently failed to understand Kṛṣṇa's commentary (YoRaMā pp. 123-124), which essentially gives the same interpretation as the *Muktāvalī*) is in that case very far from the mark. In this case Farrow and Menon have done better; they have succeeded in translating HeTa I.viii.2 in accordance with Kṛṣṇa's interpretation.

tantra itself as (also) referring to the *utpannakramaḥ*. See the following verses:

> ***khadhātāv*** *iti padmeṣu jñānaṃ* ***bhagam*** *iti smṛtam* |
> ***bhāvane****ti samāpattis tatsukhaṃ* ***cakram*** *ucyate* || (26)
>
> ***yathānyāyaṃ*** *svasaṃvedyaṃ bodhicittaṃ tu* ***devatā*** |
> ***yathodayaṃ*** *bhavec chukraṃ dvaividhyaṃ sahajaṃ tataḥ* || (27)

From Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on these two verses[104]: ***padmeṣv*** *iti dharmadhātusvabhāve.* ***jñānam*** *iti prayogamārgasvabhāvaṃ kuliśam.* ***dhyātv****eti praveśya. etat trayam ādiḥ sahajadvayam antaḥ. anayor* ***madhye kurvīta bhāvanām****. samāhitā pratipattir anuṣṭhānaṃ pariṣpandaḥ* ***samāpattiḥ*** *sā* ***bhāvanā****. bhāvanāyāḥ phalaṃ sahajānandadvayam. tad gāthāyām uttarārdhena sūcitam. tasyāyam arthaḥ.* ***yathānyāyaṃ*** *yat sukham utkṛṣṭatvād abhrāntatvāc ca* ***pūrvaṃ*** *kāraṇatvāt tac* ***cakraṃ*** *yoginīcakrasvabhāvam ity arthaḥ. yat punar* ***yathodayaṃ*** *kāraṇabalād utpannaṃ bodhicittaṃ tad* ***devatānām****. sarvaṃ nāmayatīti nām*[105]*. sarvonnatā devatety arthaḥ*[106]*. bhagavān vajradhara iti yāvat. asyaiva vyākhyānaṃ* ***tad*** (26d) *ityādi. tayā bhāvanayā janitaṃ sukhaṃ* ***tatsukham****.* ***cakram ucyate*** *yoginīcakram abhidhīyate, paramaprajñāsvabhāvena tāsāṃ saṃgrahāt. kīdṛśaṃ tatsukham ity āha –* ***yathānyāyam*** *iti. abhrāntam utkṛṣṭaṃ cety arthaḥ. etad eva vyācaṣṭe –* ***svasaṃvedyam*** *iti. atra vedyaśabdena sādhyasukhasya saṃmukhībhāva uktaḥ, asaṃmukhībhūtasya vedyatvāyogāt. saṃśabdena samyagarthenotkṛṣṭatvam. svaśabdenābhrāntatvam, svenaiva rūpeṇa vedyaṃ na bhrāntisamāropiteneti kṛtvā.* ***devatānām*** *ity asyānuvādo* ***devate****ti. artham āha –* ***bodhicittam*** *iti. tad eva svasaṃvedyaṃ dharmakāyasvabhāvaṃ bodhiḥ. bodhiniṣyandaś cittaṃ bodhicittaṃ sāmbhogikakāyasvabhāvaṃ sūkṣmākārayogāt. vajradharamūrtir ity arthaḥ. kiṃ tad ity āha*[107] *–****yathodayam*** *iti. yathārtham utpannam, sākāratve 'py arthānabhiniviṣṭatvāt. tat punaḥ katamad ity āha –* ***śukram*** *iti. yata evaṃ tataḥ kāraṇād* ***dvaividhyaṃ sahajaṃ*** *dvividhaḥ sahajānandaḥ* (MuĀv MS A f. 55v4-56v3).

[104] See also Kṛṣṇa's YoRaMā on the same verses (ed. Snellgrove p. 125), which is in many places very close to the MuĀv.

[105] *nām*] *em.*, *nāma* A

[106] Ratnākaraśānti thus is, with characteristic ingenuity, taking *devatānām* as a karmadhāraya compound of *devatā* and *nām*.

[107] *ity āha*] *em.*, *ityādi* A

[d] *ity uddeśaḥ*. Ratnākaraśānti sees the HeTa as consisting of *uddeśaḥ*, *nirdeśaḥ*, and connecting narrative passages. Of these *nirdeśaḥ* is a more detailed account or explanation of what was briefly indicated in an *uddeśaḥ*[108].

[e] *sthāne karaṇam āveśya*. The SaSaVṛ explains *gnas la byed pa źugs nas ni | źes bya ba la mtsho skyes la rgyal mtshan 'jug ste* (D f. 197r7, P f. 232r2, **sthāne karaṇam āveśyeti saroruhe dhvajaṃ praveśya*), no doubt indeed correctly representing Ratnākaraśānti's intentions, as the perusal of his commentary on HeTa I.viii.26-27 (quoted in note *c* above) shows.

[f] *utpattipakṣe ya ānandāś catvāras*. Cf. Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on HeTa I.viii.30cd, a line that runs *sahajaṃ caturvidhaṃ yasmād utpannakramapakṣataḥ*[109]: *nanu cānyathaiva catvāra ānandāḥ paṭhyante – ānandaḥ paramānando viramānandaḥ sahajānandaś ceti. iha tv anyathaiva varṇyante tat kathaṃ na virodha ity āha –* ***sahajam*** *ityādi. ānandaparamānandādayaś catvāra utpattipakṣe bhāvyante. utpannakramapakṣe tu sahaja evaikaś caturvidho bhāvyata ity arthaḥ* (MuĀv MS A f. 56v5-57r1)[110].

[g] *teṣāṃ yas tṛtīyaḥ paramāt paro viramāt pūrvaḥ sa khalu sahajānandaḥ*. Cf. e.g. HeTa I.viii.32, I.viii.24b (*viramāntaṃ punas tathā*, on which Ratnākaraśānti explains *sahajānandamātram ity arthaḥ* [MuĀv MS A f. 50v1-2]). Elsewhere in the HeTa the order of the four blisses is given as *ānandaḥ*, *paramānandaḥ*, *viramānandaḥ* and *sahajānandaḥ*: see e.g. HeTa I.i.28 or the following verse –

prathamānandamātraṃ tu paramānandaṃ dvisaṃkhyataḥ |
tṛtīyaṃ viramākhyaṃ tu caturthaṃ sahajaṃ smṛtam || (HeTa I.x.13)

[108] In other works a further category of *pratinirdeśaḥ*, usually referring to more detailed teaching of what was explained in a *nirdeśaḥ*, is found. Cf. e.g. PaKra, prose after 1.26, *ity uddeśapadam. tasya nirdeśapratinirdeśam āha*; YoSaTa *uddeśaṃ ca yathā proktaṃ nirdeśaṃ ca tathaiva ca || pratinirdeśa samastaṃ saṃketavidhivistaram |* (f. 1v1-2). In none of his three tantric commentaries available to me in Sanskrit (the MuĀv, GuMaMāTaṬī, and KhaKhaTaṬī) does Ratnākaraśānti use the word *pratinirdeśa*. It is also not found in the YoRaMā; Kamalanātha on the other hand does make use of this hermeneutical category (see RaĀv f. 17r3, referring to HeTa II.iii.7 as a *pratinirdeśa*).

[109] Cf. *Sahajasiddhi* 1.8cd *sahajaṃ caturvidhaṃ yasmāt samyaksambuddhabhāṣitam*.

[110] This passage of the *Muktāvalī* is apparently referred to by Alakakalaśa in his commentary on the *Yoginīsaṃcāratantra* (UpAnYoSaTaṬī f. 59v5-6).

An extensive controversy arose over the discrepancy between the two orders of listing[111]. Kamalanātha (for instance) explains the order with *sahajānandaḥ* last to be the correct one, though mentioning a *matāntaram* in which the other order is preferred[112]. The latter corresponds to Ratnākaraśānti's position. Ratnākaraśānti explains the order in such verses as HeTa I.x.13 (see above) as based on grouping the three which are to be transcended (*heya*) together, separately from the one that is to be realized (*upādeya*), not as corresponding to the order in which the blisses actually arise (see the discussion in the MuĀv MS A f. 112v4-6). This interpretation is refuted at some length by Abhayākaragupta in his commentary on the *Buddhakapālatantra* (AbhPa f. 4r3-7), though Abhayākaragupta does not mention by name any upholder of it.

[h] *sa eva cātra dvividhaḥ... pūrṇendusannibham*. This is clearly intended as a verse (and is rendered as verse in the Tibetan translation). I see no indication that it is a scriptural quotation; it therefore seems necessary to emend the first *pāda*, which is unmetrical as transmitted in the manuscripts[113]. There are of course several ways in which the metre could be improved by the insertion of a particle[114]; *sa eva cātra* has perhaps the merit that the similarity between the *akṣaras* *va* and *ca* in most East Indian scripts would make the error an easy one, which might have occurred twice independently. The principal scriptural source for this two-fold division of *sahaja* is *Hevajratantra* I.viii.27, which was quoted, together with Ratnākaraśānti's commentary, in note *c* above. Verse 4

[i] *atrāyam abhisamayaḥ*. This reading of G is supported by the Tibetan translation, which has here *'dir* (P [supported by SaSaVṛ D f. 198v1, P f. 233r6], *'di'i* D [as if *asyāyam* rather than *atrāyam*]) *mṅon par rtogs pa ni 'di yin te* (D f. 195r4-5, P f. 229r7), and seems somewhat more probable than the at first sight also acceptable reading *tatrāyam abhiprāyaḥ* of L. 7+

[111] This debate is the subject of an article which I am preparing, from which the few brief remarks below are summarized.

[112] This is in his explanation of HeTa II.ii.40. Kamalanātha's words are ***paramāntaviramādikam*** (40b) *iti paramasyānto virama ādir yasya. paramānantaraṃ viramaḥ, tadanantaraṃ sahajam ity arthaḥ. matāntare tu viramasyādir viramādiḥ. paramaviramayor antarāla ity arthaḥ* (RaĀv f. 16r3).

[113] Ratnākaraśānti was an expert in *chandaḥśāstra* who indeed with his *Chandoratnākara* made some substantial contributions to that field of learning (see e.g. Hahn 1987).

[114] The metre is also acceptable if one reads *eva atra*, without applying sandhi. But if the verse is indeed by Ratnākaraśānti such a reading is I think unlikely to be authorial.

[j] *āsane*. The Tibetan translation has *'jam pa'i stan la* (D f. 195r5, P f. 229r8), which suggests *mṛdvāsane*; a reading that would be more normal than the rather bald *āsane* of the MSS.

[k] *nirātmikām*. *nirātmikā* should not be taken as an adjective; instead it is equivalent to Nairātmyā, the name of the consort of the principal, sixteen-armed, form of Hevajra. This particular usage is not wide-spread, but there is no reason to emend; Kamalanātha in his commentary on the HeTa provides us with several parallels[115].

[l] *kakkole bolavilāsam*. The words *bola* and *kakkola* (both usually neuter, but occasionally masculine; both sometimes with the suffix *ka* if that is metrically expedient) are commonly used, especially in the literature of the Hevajra-cycle, in the sense of the male and female organs respectively. They are defined in HeTa II.iii.60cd: *vajraṃ bolakaṃ khyātaṃ padmaṃ kakkolakaṃ matam*.

[m] *yadi vā bolabile svanābhihṛdayād avatīrṇaprajñopāyavilāsaṃ bhāvayan*. One might well prefer to read a single compound *svanābhihṛdayāvatīrṇaprajñopāyavilāsaṃ*, which has some support from G, and avoids the *sāpekṣaḥ samāsaḥ*. What L has is acceptable though, and is parallelled in Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on the first *paṭala* of the *Hevajratantra*: *hṛdayād avatīrṇahevajreṇa bindubījādirūpeṇa* (MuĀv MS A f. 23r3, MS C f. 17r1).

While the first alternative given here is that of *jñānamudrā* practice, this one, as Thagana remarks, teaches *mahāmudrā*[116]. Cf. Ratnākaraśānti's remarks when commenting on HeTa II.iv.50a (*bolasaukhyaṃ mahāmudrā*): *nābher akāre bolāgraṃ gate, hṛdayād akārāgraṃ gate hūṃkāre*[117] ***bolasaukhyaṃ*** *sā* ***mahāmudrā*** (MuĀv MS A f. 100r2-3, MS C f. 71r5-6).

[n] *nirābhāsaprakāśamātram... yāvac chaknoti*. This sentence is rendered in the Tibetan translation as a verse;

| *snaṅ ba med ciṅ gsal ba tsam* |
| *bde ba chen po mtha' yas pa* |

[115] E.g. ***saiva bhagavatī prajñe****ti* (II.iv.41c) *nirātmikā* (RaĀv f. 18v7); ***tvaye****ti* (II.v.7b) *nirātmikayā sārdham* (RaĀv f. 21r5).

[116] See *'di tsam gyis ni ye śes kyi phyag rgya'i sbyor ba bstan to* || *yaṅ na* ***bo la'i bu gar*** *źes bya ba la sogs pas phyag rgya chen po'i man ṅag bśad par bya ste* (SaSaVṛ D f. 198v4-5, P f. 233v2-3).

[117] *gate hūṃkāre*] conj., *gato hūṃkāro* A C

| *ji srid nus ba de srid du* |
| *rgyun ma chad par blta bar bya* | (D f. 195r7, P f. 229v2-3)

There is no reason to think that the Sanskrit was ever metrical.

[o] *madbhavāḥ... mānavaḥ.* I judge it likely that Ratnākaraśānti has in this case slightly altered the text of the HeTa, which in I.viii.41a reads *madbhavā hi jagat sarvaṃ*[118] in place of *madbhavāḥ prāṇinaḥ sarve.* His commentary on these verses in his MuĀv runs thus: Verse 8

tat punaḥ samarasatvaṃ kathaṃ bhāvayed ity āha – ***mad*** *ityādi.* ***jagat sarvam*** *iti jaṅgamāḥ sarve.* ***madbhavā hī****ti madbhavā eva. na hi cittād anyo 'haṃ nāma kaścit. cittodbhavāś ca sarve, tato madbhavā eva.* ***bhuvanatrayam*** *iti sarve sthāvarāḥ. te 'pi madbhavā pūrvavat.* ***idam*** *api sthāvarajaṅgamaṃ* ***mayā vyāptam*** *iti cittasvabhāvatvāt.* ***nānyamayam*** *iti nācittasvabhāvam. bhavatu cittasvabhāvaṃ viśvam, mahāsukhasvabhāvaṃ tu kutaḥ? yasmāt svarūpasaṃvedanaṃ cittam, dvayaśūnyatā ca cittasya svarūpam eva. ataḥ sarvacittāni khasamajñānena mahāsukhātmakenānugatāni, dvayaśūnyatāsaṃvedanasāmānyāt. etenādhimokṣayoga uktaḥ. asyānuśaṃsām āha* ***evam*** *ityādinā.* ***mandapuṇyo 'pī****ty akṛtapuṇyo 'pi pūrvajanmasu.* ***sidhyatī****ty anenaiva yogena puṇyopacayāt* (MS A f. 60r5-60v4).

The slightly altered version of pāda a that Ratnākaraśānti gives in the *Hevajrasahajasadyoga* is not only grammatically better; the interpretation (taking pāda a to refer to all living/moving creatures and pāda b to insentient/stationary entities) that he put forward in his commentary is made more explicit in the verse itself, and the possibility that a reader might suspect a *punarukti* is avoided.

[p] *vyutthitayogaḥ.* Thagana glosses this as **asamāhitayogaḥ* (*ldaṅ ba'i rnal 'byor ni mñam par ma bźag pa'i rnal 'byor ro* SaSaVṛ D f. 199v1, P f. 234r8). Note that *samāhitayogaḥ* and *vyutthitayogaḥ* are not to be taken as bahuvrīhi compounds, as might at first sight appear natural. I have not found the term *vyutthitayogaḥ* elsewhere. 9+

[q] *yathābalam evaṃ yogadvayena.* This reading of G may be said to have some support from the Tibetan translation which runs *rnal 'byor gñis po ni*

[118] Thus MS A of the HeTa, and this is the reading that Ratnākaraśānti's MuĀv comments on. Snellgrove prints *madbhavaṃ hi jagat sarvaṃ.*

nus pa ji lta ba bźin du (D f. 195v3); this might be translated fairly literally '[the practitioner performing] both yogas in accordance with [his] power[s]'[119]. The sentence is not syntactically independent; it must be construed with the verse quotation that follows. The reading of L must be a corruption, for which no cause is immediately apparent; it does not however suggest an underlying reading to me that could merit consideration.

Verse 10 *ʳ nadīsrotaḥpravāhena... ahorātrataḥ*. Ratnākaraśānti's commentary:

> *durlabhā bodhiḥ. sā katham ekena janmanā sahajānandabhāvanayāpi sidhyatīti cet – āha* ***nadī****tyādi.* ***nadyāḥ srota*** *oghas tadvat* ***pravāho*** *nirantaraḥ prabandhas tena.* ***dīpajyotir*** *dīpaśikhā tasya* ***prabandhas*** *tad****vat****.* ***satataṃ*** *nirantaraṃ* ***tattvayogaḥ*** *sahajānandayogas tena* ***sthātavyam ahorātram****. evaṃ saty avaśyam ihaiva janmani bodhiḥ sidhyatīty arthaḥ* (MuĀv MS A f. 66v4-67r1).

Thagana apparently believes that this verse should be taken as teaching *tattvayogaḥ* as a third type of yoga (aside from the *samāhitayogaḥ* and *vyutthitayogaḥ = asamāhitayogaḥ*): see *chu bo'i rgyun ni rgyu ba bźin | źes bya ba la sogs pa'i tshigs su bcad pas de kho na ñid yin te gźan* (*yin te gźan* D, om. P) *gyi rnal 'byor gsum pa bstan to* (SaSaVṛ D f. 199v1-2, P f. 234v1-2). He may have been thinking of the remark Ratnākaraśānti makes at the start of his commentary on HeTa I.v: *uktau dvau devatāyogau – samāhitaḥ sandhyāsu, asamāhitaḥ sandhyāntarāleṣu. tattvayogo vaktavyaḥ, yatas tribhir vinā nāsti śīghrataraṃ bodhiḥ* (MuĀv MS A f. 34v4-5, MS C f. 24v5). But this passage seems to me a not quite appropriate parallel, for the two kinds of *devatāyogaḥ* that Ratnākaraśānti refers to in it are of the *utpattikramaḥ* rather than the *utpannakramaḥ*. Furthermore, as we just saw above, in his commentary on the verse Ratnākaraśānti explains *tattvayogaḥ* as *sahajānandayogaḥ*. It seems to me therefore that we should understand that rather than three different kinds of yoga, what Ratnākaraśānti teaches is *samāhitayogaḥ* (during the meditation sessions proper) and *vyutthitayogaḥ* (between them) as two modes of *sahajayogaḥ* (= *sahajānandayogaḥ*); when correctly practised the resultant constant awareness of great bliss both in one's own body and pervading all animate and inanimate objects is called *tattvayogaḥ*.

[119] It is quite likely that *nus pa ji lta ba bźin du* renders merely *yathābalam*; cf. e.g. AbhNir f. 42r4 *yathāśakti*, rendered in the translation Tōhoku 2476 by *nus pa ji lta ba bźin du* (D f. 163v5). There is then no reflex of *evam*.

[s] *svasaṃvedyam… sarvajñajñānatanmayam*. Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on this verse: Verse 11

svasaṃvedyam *ityādir upasaṃhāraślokaḥ.* ***ātmanā jñāyate*** (HeTa I.viii.36c) *ityādinā sarveṇa yad uktaṃ tasyopasaṃhāraḥ.* ***svasaṃvedyam idaṃ jñānam*** *iti* ***nānyena kathyate sahajaṃ na kasminn api labhyate*** (HeTa I.viii.36ab) *iti yad uktaṃ tasyopasaṃhāraḥ.* ***vākpathātītagocaram*** *iti vācāṃ panthāḥ pravṛttir vākpathaḥ, tasyātītagocaraṃ tadviṣayātikrāntam ity arthaḥ. samagrasyotpannakramasyopasaṃhāraḥ –* ***adhiṣṭhānakramo hy eṣa*** *iti. sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittasaṃgrāhakaprajñopāyasvabhāvena bhagavatā vajradhareṇa yadātma sattvabhājanalokānāṃ tādātmyād adhiṣṭhānam adhiṣṭhitatvaṃ tadālambano bhāvanāprakāro 'dhiṣṭhānakramaḥ. etad evāha –* ***sarvajñajñānatanmayam*** *iti. sarvajñānāṃ sarvatathāgatānām ātmani tādātmyena saṃvedanaṃ sarvajñajñānam. tat khalu vajradharatvam. tatsvabhāvam eva carācaraṃ viśvaṃ tanmayam. sarvajñajñānaṃ ca tanmayaṃ ceti samāhāre dvandvaḥ* (MuĀv MS A f. 65v1-6).

[t] *pṛthivī āpa … naiva śakyate*. G's 'incorrect' readings in the first *pāda* are supported by the palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Hevajratantra*; L's reading is therefore likely to be a result of scribal 'polishing'. Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on the verse (see note [u] below) does not however allow one to ascertain precisely what readings he had in his text. Verse 12

[u] Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on this verse runs as follows:

pṛthivī*tyādinā ślokadvayena dṛṣṭadhārmikām anuśaṃsām āha. kathaṃ pṛthivyādibhir na bādhyate? yata ākāṅkṣayā pṛthivyāṃ nimajjaty unmajjati tiraḥkuḍyaṃ tiraḥparvatam apy asajyamāno gacchati, viṣaśastrādibhiś ca na kliśyate, apām upariṣṭād adhastāc ca śete niṣīdati tiṣṭhati caṅkramate, vṛṣṭyādibhiś ca na kliśyate. evaṃ tejovāyvākāśair yathāyogam.* ***svaparasaṃvittivedanam*** *iti svaparacittāny atītānāgatapratyutpannāni parijānāti.* (MuĀv MS A f. 65v6-66r3).

[v] *svaparabhāgavikalpena*. The Tibetan translation is probably corrupt here, giving *raṅ* ***bźin*** *dbye ba'i rtog pa yis* (D f. 195v5, P f. 230r2). Read *gźan* for *bźin*[120]. Verse 13

[120] It is possible, but I think less likely, that the corruption (conceivably *svabhāva*° for *svapara*°) was instead in the Sanskrit manuscript(s) used by the translators.

13+ [w] *avasthābhedāt*. The Tibetan translation has *gnas skabs kyi dbye ba daṅ* | *thabs kyi dbye bas* (D f. 195v5, P f. 230r2), as if reading something like *avasthābhedād upāyabhedāc ca*. The addition of *upāyabhedāt* would make sense, and loss of the word in both manuscripts, as a result of eyeskip, is quite conceivable, but it may be noted that while Thagana clearly comments on *avasthābhedāt* (see especially the discussion, centered on the question of how it is that this *sahajayoga* has a variety of *avasthā*s, beginning *'dir gal te lhan cig skyes pa'i rnal 'byor ṅo bo gcig yin pa'i phyir de la gnas skabs kyi dbye ba rnam pa bźi ru bstan pa yin te* SaSaVṛ D f. 199v6, P f. 234v7-8), there is no evidence for him having read something like *upāyabhedāt* in the text as well.

[x] *caturdhā bhavati – meghopamo māyopamaḥ svapnopamaḥ svapnajāgaropamaś ceti*. This is based on *Hevajratantra* I.x.19:

> *prathamaṃ meghavad bhāti siddhe tu māyāvad bhavet* |
> *sahasā svapnavad bhāti svapijāgradabhedavat* ||

Ratnākaraśānti comments:

> *evaṃ samyag upalakṣite sahajānande tam eva bhāvayataḥ krameṇa meghopamamāyopamasvapnopamasvapnajāgaropamākhyāś catvāraḥ samādhayo bhavanti. tān eva ślokenāha –* ***prathamam*** *ityādinā. yāvat saṃyogabhāvanayā saha bhāvyamānaḥ sahajo na sākṣād bhavati tāvad asau* ***meghavad bhāti****. tanumeghacchannaprapūrṇacandravad bhātīty arthaḥ. yadā tu sākṣād bhavati tadā siddhiḥ.* ***siddhe*** *sati* ***māyāvad bhavet****, manonirmitavidyābalena sākṣādbhāvāt. tata ūrdhvaṃ* ***sahasā svapnavad bhāti*** *saṃyogabhāvanām apāsya tam eva kevalaṃ yathopadeśaṃ bhāvayato yoganidrāgatasya yogino 'kasmāt tasya pratyakṣībhāvāt. tata ūrdhvaṃ* ***svapijāgradabhedavad*** *bhāti. svapnajāgarābhyām aviśiṣṭam ity arthaḥ. kathaṃ jāgarād aviśiṣṭam? dehadvayaparirambhaprativedhādisaṃbhavāt. kathaṃ svapnād aviśiṣṭam? satām api teṣām anupalambhena kevalasahajabhāvanayā tasya pratyakṣībhāvāt* (MuĀv MS A f. 73v4-74r4, MS C f. 53r4-53v2).

[y] *tanumeghacchannapūrṇacandravat*. G's reading (°*paripūrṇacandravat*) is of course also possible. The manuscripts of the *Muktāvalī* on HeTa I.x.19, quoted directly above, read °*prapūrṇacandravat*; but the parallel passage in the YoRaMā (p. 133) has °*pūrṇacandravat*[121], and the Tibetan translation of the HeSaSaYo has no reflex of any verbal prefix.

[121] Note that Snellgrove's *tatra meghacchannapūrṇacandravat* should be emended to *tanumeghacchannapūrṇacandravat*.

[z] *yoganidrāgatasya sahasotpatteḥ*. For the term *yoganidrā* see also Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on *Mahāmāyātantra* 2.19[122]: *ekāntanirvikṣepatvena nidrāsādharmyān nidreva nidrā. yogaś cāsau nidrā ca* ***yoganidrā****, tayā samāgatāḥ saṃgatāḥ santaḥ. tasyaiva nirdeśo* ***dhyāyanta*** *ityādi.* ***rūpāṇīti*** *sarvadharmān.* ***eke****ti nirābhāsaprakāśamātraikarasān.* ***piṇḍam*** *iti tāny evātyantapiṇḍanāt susūkṣmīkaraṇāt piṇḍaṃ bindumātraṃ sarṣapasūkṣmam ity arthaḥ. etena vīrasya mudrārūpaṃ prasādhitam.* ***tadgatamānasā*** *iti tatraiva piṇḍe sthitacittāḥ. etena yoganiḍrārthaḥ sūcitaḥ* (GuMaMāTaṬī pp. 33-34).

[aa] *bahirvidyāyogajanitatvāt*. Cf. Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on HeTa I.x.20 (*mudrāyogī tu siddhyati*): ***mudrāyogī*** *adhikṛtabāhyavidyāsaṃyuktaḥ. mahāmudrāsiddhau lakṣaṇāsiddheḥ*[123] *pradhānakāraṇatvān mudrāyogasya ca tatsahakāritvāt. sa hy atra samayaḥ. vidyāpuruṣasiddhiś ca mahāmudrāsiddhiḥ. nāsau kulavidyayā vinā syāt. prathamasamādhitraye tu sā neṣyate, tadānīṃ vikṣepakāraṇatvāt tasyāḥ* (MuĀv MS A f. 74v1-3, MS C f. 53v4-5).

[ab] *kathaṃ svapnopamaḥ? svaparayor anupalambhāt*. The same words are used in the *Yogaratnamālā* ad *Hevajratantra* I.x.19 (ed. Snellgrove p. 134); note that they do not occur in the *Muktāvalī* on the same passage of the *Hevajratantra*.

[122] The editors of Ratnākaraśānti's commentary reconstruct the verse commented on as follows: *buddhayanti hi saṃbuddhā yoganidrāsamāgatāḥ | dhyāyanta ekarūpāṇi piṇḍaṃ tadgatamānasāḥ ||* Note that a slightly different form of the first half of this verse occurs in Ghaṇṭāpāda's PaKraUp; the manuscript I have consulted of this work reads *budhyayaṃtīha saṃbuddhā yoganidrām upāgatāḥ* (f. 68v2).

[123] Ratnākaraśānti had earlier commented on HeTa I.x.20a (*abhedalakṣaṇāsiddhau*) with the words *abhedaḥ svapnajāgarābhyām aviśeṣaḥ, tena lakṣaṇā sahajabhāvanā tayā siddhiḥ sahajasākṣātkriyā* (MuĀv MS A f. 74r5-74v1, MS C f. 53v3).

Appendix: Tantric works by Ratnākaraśānti preserved in Sanskrit

I have not aimed here to give full details of all extant manuscripts. Instead what follows is meant to supplement and where necessary correct the information in BBK. References are given to the pages in BBK where each work is dealt with, and to the edition in the case of published texts.

a) Hevajra-cycle.

1. *Muktāvalī*, a *pañjikā* on the *Hevajratantra*. See BBK pp. 296-297. Note that Tokyo University Library MS 513, which BBK lists as a manuscript of the *Yogaratnamālā*, is in fact another manuscript of the *Muktāvalī*.

2. *Bhramahara*, a *sādhana* of the sixteen-armed Hevajra. See BBK pp. 300, 493-494. Aside from the palm-leaf manuscript referred to in BBK (now in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Cod. MS. Sanscr. 257), the work is also included in the Ṅor *Hevajrasādhanasaṃgraha* codex (f. 107v4-114r3); it was wrongly identified by Sāṅkṛtyāyana (and following him BBK and Bandurski) as a *Hevajrasādhana* by Anaṅgavajra.

3. *Hevajrasahajasadyoga*, a short work teaching the yoga of the *utpannakrama* in the system of Hevajra. See BBK p. 301. For details of MSS and for an edition see above.

4. *Nairātmyāsādhana*. See BBK p. 307. Preserved in the *Hevajrasādhanasaṃgraha* codex, f. 245v6-249r7. Tibetan translation Tōhoku 1309[124]. The Tibetan translation gives the title as **Nairātmyasādhanapauṣṭikanirdeśa* and the author as dKon mchog 'byuṅ gnas (*Ratnākara). This *sādhana* has probably been extracted, not by the author but by some other hand, from Ratnākaraśānti's *Muktāvalī* on *Hevajratantra paṭala* I.viii. My main reason for suggesting that this is so (rather than that Ratnākaraśānti may have composed the *sādhana* as an independent work and then incorporated it into the commentary) is the fact that the *sādhana* lacks both an opening *maṅgala*-verse and a concluding verse

[124] BBK does not suggest an identification with a Tibetan translation.

dedicating the *puṇya* arising from composing the text[125]. Such omissions would be unique among the works attributed to Ratnākara-śānti.

b) *Sarvarahasyanibandha Rahaḥpradīpa*, a commentary on the *Sarvara-hasyatantra*. See BBK p. 203.

c) *Guṇavatī*, a *pañjikā* on the *Mahāmāyātantra*. See BBK p. 308. Published in Sarnath, 1992, as Rare Buddhist Text Series 10[126].

d) *Khasamā*, a *pañjikā* on the *Khasamatantra*. See BBK p. 331[127].

e) *Vajratārāsādhana*. See BBK p. 425. Published as SāMā 110.

f) *Mahāmāyāsādhana*. See BBK p. 468. Published as SāMā 239. Though neither the editor of this text, B. Bhattacharya, nor the authors of BBK identified the author of this *sādhana* nor a Tibetan translation, it is identical to the work translated as Tōhoku 1643 = Ōtani 2515 and attributed in the colophon of the Tibetan translation to Ratnākaraśānti. This attribution may be said to be confirmed by many strikingly close parallels to the *Bhramahara* and other works by Ratnākaraśānti.

Probably not by Ratnākaraśānti is the *Abhiṣekanirukti* (Royal Asiatic Society, London, MS Hodgson 35)[128]. Though one of two Tibetan translations (Tōhoku 2476, Ōtani 3301) attributes the work to him, the Sanskrit manuscript and another Tibetan translation (Tōhoku 2477, Ōtani 3302) give the author's name as Jinasujayaśrīgupta (see p. 4 above). On grounds of style and terminology I do not believe that the ascription to Ratnākaraśānti is correct.

[125] The Tibetan translation has added a concluding verse but not an opening one.

[126] The edition is based on two MSS, one palm-leaf and one a paper apograph thereof. Some leaves of another manuscript survive as part of the collection of leaves of several palm-leaf manuscripts now shelved as Tokyo University Library MS 517, not identified as such in Matsunami's catalogue, no doubt mainly because the first and last folio have both been lost.

[127] I recently learned that an edition of this commentary, by Jagannatha Upadhyaya, was published in *Saṃkāy Patrikā* (Saṃpūrṇānand Saṃskṛt Viśvavidyālay) 1 (1983: 226-255). See Davidson 1999: 29 n. 16. This edition is not available to me at present.

[128] I have prepared an edition of the *Abhiṣekanirukti* which I hope to publish, together with some observations on the content of this in many ways remarkable text.

On the other hand, a *sādhana* of Kṛṣṇayamāri, which has been published, though incomplete and somewhat disarranged, in the edition of Kumāracandra's *Ratnāvalī*, a *pañjikā* on the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, contains such close parallels to Ratnākaraśānti's teachings and wordings in other *sādhana*s, that it must be suspected to be by our author, or to have been modelled closely on his *sādhana*s. The text of this *sādhana* is found on pp. 135-136 and 139-144 (*aṣṭādaśapaṭalavyākhyānam*) of the edition of Kumāracandra's commentary; I have not been able to find a Tibetan translation. What survives appears to be nearly complete, with only the beginning lacking. Note the editors' footnote 16 on p. 135: '*vety apare' ity ata ārabhya paṭalasamāptiparyanto bhāgo nāsti bho.,* [i.e. in the Tibetan translation of the *Ratnāvalī*] *tatsthāne vidyamānaḥ pāṭhas tatraiva draṣṭavyaḥ*, and their footnote 1 on p. 139: *kevalaṃ 'gha'mātṛkāyāṃ vyākhyānam idaṃ dṛśyate. na cāsya ko 'pi saṃbandhaḥ paridṛśyate 'ṣṭādaśena paṭalena. ataḥ pariśiṣṭatayāyam aṃśo 'tra sthāpyate.* This *sādhana* is not identical with the one translated as Ōtani 2798 (**Kṛṣṇayamārisādhana Protphullakumudanāma* by Ratnākaraśānti).

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AbhPa	*Abhayapaddhati*, a *ṭīkā* by Abhayākaragupta on the *Buddha kapālatantra*. National Archives Kathmandu (NAK) MS 5-21 = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) A 48/2.
AbhDhaKo	*Abhidharmakośa* by Vasubandhu, edited by Prahlad Pradhan, Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 8, Patna 1975. [First edition 1967.]
AbhNir	*Abhiṣekanirukti* by Jinasujayaśrīgupta, Royal Asiatic Society, London, MS Hodgson 35 f. 40r3-45r4.
UpAnYoSaTaṬī	Alakakalaśa's *Upadeśānusāriṇī Yoginīsaṃcāratantraṭīkā*. NAK MS 3-683 = NGMPP A 1279/2.
KṛYaTa	*Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, edited, together with Kumāracandra's KṛYaTaPa, by Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajvallabh Dwivedi [and others], Rare Buddhist Text Series 9, Sarnath 1992.

[129] All manuscripts referred to are palm-leaf. I am indebted to a large number of individuals and institutions for providing access to or photocopies or microfilms of Sanskrit manuscripts used in this study: Dr. Dominic Goodall; Isabelle Onians; Somdev Vasudeva; Prof. Dr. Albrecht Wezler; the Oriental Institute, Baroda; Cambridge University Library; the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen; the Royal Asiatic Society, London; and the National Archives, Kathmandu, and the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project.

KhaKhaTaṬī	*Khasamā Khasamatantraṭīkā* by Ratnākaraśānti. Kaiser Library MS 227 = NGMPP C 25/8.
GuMaMāTaṬī	Ratnākaraśānti's *ṭīkā* called *Guṇavatī* on the *Mahāmāyātantra*. Published in Sarnath, 1992 as Rare Buddhist Text Series 10, together with a Sanskrit text of the *Mahāmāyātantra* that has been reconstructed on the basis of the Tibetan translation and Ratnākaraśānti's commentary.
GuSaTa	*Guhyasamājatantra*, edited by Yūkei Matsunaga, Osaka 1978.
CaMaTa	*Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*. For the first eight chapters see Christopher S. George: *The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra. A Critical Edition and English Translation, Chapters I-VIII*. American Oriental Series 56, New Haven (Connecticut) 1974.
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NaiPra	*Nairātmyāprakāśa* by Avadhūtādvayavajra, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, MS Xc 14/39, f. 260r5-264v5.
PaKra	*Pañcakrama*, edited by Katsumi Mimaki and Tōru Tomabechi, Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 8, Tokyo 1994.
PaKraUp	*Pañcakramopadeśa* by Ghaṇṭāpāda. MS NAK 3-693 = NGMPP A 936/11.
PaCaMaTaPa	*Padmāvatī*, a *pañjikā* on the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* by Mahāsukhavajrapāda, MS NAK 3-402/vi. bauddhatantra 19 = NGMPP B 31/7.
PaSaUdTaPa	*Padminī*, a *pañjikā* on the *Saṃvarodayatantra* by Ratnarakṣita. MS Takaoka CA 17.
PraUd	Candrakīrti's commentary *Pradīpoddyotana* on the GuSaTa, edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 25, Patna 1984.
BhraHa	*Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* by Ratnākaraśānti. My references are to the text as contained in Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Cod. MS Sanscr. 257, f. 1v1-5r1. Also contained in the *Hevajrasādhanasaṃgraha* codex, fols. 107v4-114r3.
MaSūAl	*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* by Asaṅga, edited by Sylvain Lévi, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques 159, Paris 1907.
MuĀv	*Muktāvalī*, a *pañjikā* on the HeTa by Ratnākaraśānti. Three palm-leaf manuscripts are available to me: MS A = NAK MS 4-19 = NGMPP A 994/6, MS B privately owned = NGMPP E 260/2, MS C = Tokyo University Library MS 513. MS B and MS C are two parts of what was originally a single codex.
MūMaKā	Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, edited with Candrakīrti's commentary *Prasannapadā* by Louis de la Vallée Poussin, Bibliotheca Buddhica 4, Osnabrück 1970 [reprint of first edition published 1903-1913].
YoRaMā	*Yogaratnamālā*, a *pañjikā* on the HeTa by Kāṇha (Kṛṣṇa), edited by D.L. Snellgrove together with the HeTa, on the basis of a palm-leaf

	MS in Cambridge (Add. 1699, MS C), restoring some of the lacunae therein from a palm-leaf MS in the National Archives, Kathmandu (3-364 = NGMPP B 31/25; MS K).
YoSaTa	*Yoginīsaṃcāratantra*. NAK MS 4-20 = NGMPP A 48/5.
RaĀv	*Ratnāvalī*, a *pañjikā* on the HeTa by Kamalanātha (also called Mañjuśrī). MS Kesar Library, Kathmandu, 231 = NGMPP C 26/4. This commentary appears not to have been translated into Tibetan.
RaĀvKṛYaTaPa	*Ratnāvalī*, a *pañjikā* on the KṛYaTa by Kumāracandra. MS NAK 4-122 = NGMPP A 140/12. For details of edition see under KṛYaTa above.
SaTa	*Saṃpuṭatantra* (a.k.a. *Saṃpuṭodbhavatantra*). Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine MS ε 2.
SaSaVṛ	**Sahajasadyogavṛtti Garbhaprakāśanāma* by Thagana. Tibetan translation Tōhoku 1247, Ōtani 2376.
SāMā	*Sādhanamālā*, edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, 2 vols, Baroda 1925 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 26) and 1928 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 41).
HeTa	*Hevajratantra*, edited by D.L. Snellgrove, London 1959. Also published in G.W. Farrow and I. Menon: *The Concealed Essence of the Hevajra Tantra. With the Commentary Yogaratnamālā*. Delhi 1992. The latter edition lacks an apparatus, and is probably mainly dependent on the *editio princeps*. I do not mention its reading unless that differs from Snellgrove's. Sanskrit manuscripts referred to: A = NAK MS 1-1697 $\frac{11}{2}$ = NGMPP A 933/7, B = NAK MS 5-93 = NGMPP A 48/8, C = Cambridge University Library MS Add. 1697.
HeSaSaYo	*Hevajrasahajasadyoga* by Ratnākaraśānti. L = Royal Asiatic Society, London, MS Hodgson 35 f. 45r4-45v9, G = Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, MS Xc 14/39, f. 199v2-201r1. See edition above.

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BBK Tsukamoto, K., Matsunaga Y., Isoda, H. (Eds.) (1989) *Bongo Butten no Kenkyū IV. Mikkyō Kyōten Hen. A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, Vol. IV. The Buddhist Tantra*. Kyoto.

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ON THE DATES AND WORKS OF ŚAṄKARANANDANA

Professor Gnoli was the first and only expert not to date Śaṅkaranandana (in short: Ś.) on the basis of Tibetan tradition but to use textual sources. He was also the first to consider Ś.'s conversion from Buddhism to Śaivism[1]. Since almost 40 years have passed since Gnoli's investigations, in the following I should like, on the basis of his results, to take into account more recent material and examine once again Ś.'s lifetime and the problem of his conversion, as well as to present a list of his works. To begin with, we must clarify the issue of his name – Śaṅkarānanda or Śaṅkaranandana.

Frauwallner (1933: 241) already pointed out that the form of the name 'Śaṅkaranandana', recorded in Vādidevasūri's *Syādvādaratnākara*[2] and in Abhinavagupta's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī*[3], is to be preferred to the alternative 'Śaṅkarānanda', found in the secondary literature[4] and also in Tibetan texts[5]. Since the form of the name found in the SVR and in the ĪPVV is also to be found in the *Mālinīvijayavārttika* (see below, n. 58), in the *Tan-*

[1] See below, pp. 4ff.

[2] *tad āha śaṅkaranandanaḥ* | SVR 783,20; see also the references mentioned below pp. 3ff and note 14.

[3] *tathā hi bhaṭṭaśaṅkaranandanaḥ* … ĪPVV I 236,1; *tena yad āha bhaṭṭaśaṅka-ranandanaḥ* … ĪPVV II 16,10; see also below, note 25.

[4] The form 'Śaṅkarānanda' can be found with variations in transliteration in, for instance, Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1920: 344f, 349; Obermiller 1932: 155; Stcherbatsky 1932: 42, 45f, 247; Gnoli 1960: xxiiiff; Naudou 1980: 14, 121-127, 180, 229, 231; and Kuijp 1983 (see below, note 35).

[5] Cf. for instance the colophon of Ś.'s *Anyāpohasiddhi*: *gźan sel ba grub pa dge bsñen dam pa* | *mkhas pa chen po śaṃ ka rānandas mdzad pa rdzogs so* || AAS 302a7. Likewise the colophon of the *Sambandhaparīkṣānusāra* reads: *'brel pa brtag pa'i 'grel pa bram ze śaṃ ka rā nandas mdzad pa rdzogs so* || SPA 35a3. In addition there are the alternatives *śaṅkananda, śam kar nan ta* (see below, note 30), and *śaṅ kar nanta* (see below, note 31).

In the Tibetan translation of the name, bDe byed dga' ba, *dga' ba* can translate both *ānanda* and *nandana*; see Frauwallner 1933: 241.

trālokaviveka[6], in the *Dravyālaṅkāraṭīkā*[7] and in the colophon of Ś.'s *Īśvarāpākaraṇasaṅkṣepa*[8], in other words since the form 'Ś a ṅ k a r a n a n d a n a' is the only form in all the Sanskrit sources, preference must be given to it.

In addition to the Tibetan translation of his name, bDe byed dga' ba, Ś. is often referred to as Bram ze or Bram ze chen po, the (great) Brahmin.

WORKS

Ś.'s works are described in Bühnemann 1980, in Much 1988: 16, 21, 27f and, in most detail, in Steinkellner and Much 1995: 80–84, who also take into account the previous findings on Ś. and his writings. For this reason, we can limit ourselves here to a list of his works and a few comments and additions. The sequence reflects the relative chronology as shown in the Table on [p. 508], whereby I assume that the commentaries were written at the same time as the basic texts. For reasons of clarity, I have listed together below larger (*bṛhat*) and smaller (*sūkṣma*) works that belong together, although their chronological classification is by no means certain. Although the *kārikā*s of his *miśraka* works have also survived separately, I treat these texts as one work, since as yet there is no indication that Ś. wrote the basic texts and the corresponding commentaries separately. It should be noted beforehand that the works of which only the *kārikā*s have survived may also have been *miśraka* texts. However, there can be no final certainty on this point until these are found or new fragments discovered:

1. *Prajñālaṅkārakārikā*
   Commentary on *Prajñālaṅkārakārikā*
2. *Dharmālaṅkārakārikā*
   Commentary on *Dharmālaṅkārakārikā*
3. *Bṛhatprāmāṇyakārikā*
4. *Madhyaprāmāṇyakārikā*
5. *Sūkṣmaprāmāṇyakārikā*
6. *Anyāpohasiddhikārikā*
   Commentary on *Anyāpohasiddhikārikā*

[6] *śaṃkaranandana-sadyojyotir-devabala-kaṇabhugādimatam* …, TĀV Vol. IV 1884,5.

[7] *śaṅkaranandanas tv āha, Dravyālaṅkāraṭīkā* 2nd chapter *fol.* 112 = Jambūvijaya 1981: 137; *śaṅkaranandanas tv āha, Dravyālaṅkāraṭīkā* 3rd chapter *fol.* 79 = Jambūvijaya 1981: 143.

[8] *īśvarāpākaraṇasaṅkṣepaḥ sampūrṇaḥ kṛtir bhaṭṭaśaṅkaranandanasya*, $ĪAS_{ms}$ 8,1f.

7. *Pratibandhasiddhikārikā*
   Commentary on *Pratibandhasiddhikārikā*
8. *Laghupratibandhasiddhikārikā*
9. *Īśvarāpākaraṇakārikā*
   Commentary on *Īśvarāpākaraṇakārikā*
10. *Saṅkṣipteśvarāpākaraṇakārikā*
    Īśvarāpākaraṇasaṅkṣepa (Commentary on *Saṅkṣipteśvarāpākaraṇakārikā*; includes the *kārikā*s)[9]
11. Commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Vādanyāya*
12. *Sambandhaparīkṣānusāra* (Commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Sambandhaparīkṣā*)
13. *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* (incomplete commentary on Dharmakīrti's PV I and PVSV up to k. 130)
14. *Sarvajñasiddhikārikā*
    Commentary on *Sarvajñasiddhikārikā*
15. *Svalpasarvajñasiddhikārikā*
    Commentary on *Svalpasarvajñasiddhikārikā*
16. *Āgamasiddhikārikā*
    Commentary on *Āgamasiddhikārikā*

This list includes a further four in addition to the 22 works[10] enumerated to in Steinkellner and Much (1995: 80):

1. Commentary on *Prajñālaṅkārakārikā*
2. Commentary on *Dharmālaṅkārakārikā*
7. Commentary on *Pratibandhasiddhikārikā*
11. Commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Vādanyāya*

On 1.) From the *Prajñālaṅkāra*, prose quotations have survived that could only come from the commentary to *Prajñālaṅkārakārikā*:

yat prajñālaṃkāraḥ –

praroho 'syāḥ saṃvidaḥ paṭīyastvaṃ sa eva saṃskāro vācya iti ĪPVV I 234,12f[11]

[9] The two works mentioned separately in Steinkellner and Much (1995: 80) "17. Kommentar zur Saṅkṣipteśvarāpākaraṇakārikā" and "18. Īśvarāpākaraṇasaṅkṣepa" are no doubt a single work, if we do not wish to assume that Ś. wrote two Commentaries on the *Saṅkṣipteśvarāpākaraṇakārikā*.

[10] The larger number of works in Steinkellner and Much is a result of their counting *kārikā*s and Commentaries separately.

[11] Cf. Gnoli 1960: xxiiif[3]; Bühnemann 1980: 196.

yad uktaṃ prajñālaṃkāre –

evaṃ tarhi jagad ekasyaiva kasyacid anaṃśasya yathoktavidhinā rūpam astu kiṃ naḥ kṣīyate TĀV II 406, 8-10[12]

On 2.) Alongside the quotations from the *Dharmālaṅkārakārikā* mentioned in Bühnemann (1980: 194), Jayaratha's commentary *Tantrālokaviveka* on Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* contains two more quotations in prose:

yad dharmālaṃkāraḥ –

tatra sāmarthyaṃ hi tasya janakatvam, tac ca yadi tasmin sati nà bhavati kathaṃ nāma tatsāmarthyam, atha bhavati kathaṃ sāmarthyaṃ syād iti TĀV IV 1652,2–5

yad dharmālaṃkāraḥ –

tad evam ayaṃ vastusvabhāva eva kāryakāraṇabhāvaḥ, na tu vyavahāramātrasiddhir iti TĀV IV 1654,17–1655,3

Likewise, in the SVR Vādidevasūri adds to a stanza[13] quoted from the *Dharmālaṅkārakārikā* a further explanation concluded by *iti*, which we can without doubt regard as a commentary by Ś. to his *kārikās*. The text is preceded by a refutation in which Vādidevasūri shows that the fact of being caused is not a conclusive logical reason for the transience of things (… *ity anaikāntikam eva kṛtakatvam iti* SVR 787,11f). He then continues that this also refutes what was said in the previously (SVR 783,21f) mentioned *kārikā* by Ś.[14]. The text now reads[15]:

yad api śaṅkaranandana eva vyākaroti –

na hi svahetujo nāśo nāśināṃ naśvarātmatā |
nāśāyaiṣāṃ bhavantas te bhūtvaiva na bhavanti tat ||

nāśināṃ naśvarātmataiva nāśārthaḥ, na tu vināśahetujo vināśo nāśārthaḥ. tato yathā bhāvaviśeṣaḥ svahetor ghaṭātmako bhavan ghaṭa eva bhavati, ghaṭajanakād bhāvād aghaṭātmatāyā asaṃbhavāt, tathā vinaśvaro bhavan vinaśvara eva bhavati, bhūtvaiva samanantaraṃ nāśāt. nānyathā naśvaraḥ syāt. naśvarātmatayātmalābhasamanantaranāśitaiva kṣaṇikatvam iti. [*tatrocyate* …] SVR 787,13–21

[12] Cf. Gnoli 1960: xxiiif³ and xxv³; by Bühnemann 1980: 196 identified in Ms 22a5–6.

[13] Identified in Bühnemann 1980: 194. The following prose was not interpreted as being Ś.'s declaration.

[14] *etena śaṅkaranandanoktakārikāyāṃ yad* (°*kāyāṃ yad* conj. : °*kāṃ yāvad*) *uktam apāstam* SVR 787,12. The text cannot be construed without correction.

[15] On the translation, see above, p. 10.

On 7.) According to Bu ston's Chos 'byuṅ rṄog lotsāba Blo ldan śes rab (1059–1109) wrote a summary (*bsdus don*) not only of Ś.'s *Anyāpohasiddhi* but also of his *Pratibandhasiddhi*[16]. Since it cannot be assumed that rṄog lotsāba summarised the 22 *kārikā*s of the Pratibandhasiddhi – Ś. already presents a summary of these in the *Laghupratibandhasiddhikārikā* – we can assume that Ś. wrote a commentary both to the *Anyāpohasiddhikārikā* and to the *Pratibandhasiddhi*, which forms the basis for rṄog lotsāba's summary.

On 11.) See below, note 36.

According to Bühnemann (1980: 192) the *Pratibandhasiddhikārikā* occupies the position of *fol.* 1b1–2a1 in the manuscript of the Bihar Research Society, Patna. In this, when counting the folios, wherever the folio reference is illegible she has used the sequence in the photos made by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana. Each photo shows 5 or more folio pages, *recto* or *verso*, in ascending sequence one beneath the other. Sāṅkṛtyāyana exchanged folio pages 2a and 2b, so that the sequence on the first photo is 1b → 2a → 3b → 4b → 5b, and in the second photo 2b → 3a → 4a → 5a → 6a. Consequently, the correct folio reference for the *Pratibandhasiddhikārikā* is 1b1–2b1. The manuscript also contains a numeric reference, which is, however, illegible. According to the Tibetan translation, there are 22 stanzas.

Accordingly, the folio references of the two following works in the manuscript must be changed. The *Laghupratibandhasiddhikārikā*, which directly follows the *Pratibandhasiddhikārikā*, does not start from 2a1–2a5, but from 2b1–2b5, and the *Sūkṣmaprāmāṇyakārikā* does not begin in 2a5, but in 2b5. The numeric reference for the *Sūkṣmaprāmāṇyakārikā* in the manuscript is 10.

Consequently, the entry for the first three works mentioned in Bühnemann (1980: 192) should read[17]:

Title	Numeric reference in the manuscript	Folio
1. Pratibandhasiddhikārikā (PSK) (= P 5755)	22 (?)	1b1–2b1
2. Laghupratibandhasiddhikārikā (LPSK)	8	2b1–2b5
3. Sūkṣmaprāmāṇyakārikā (SPK)	10	2b5–3a5

[16] See Jackson 1987: 127 (references on p. 147[3]).

[17] The details in Steinkellner and Much 1995: 80f must also be corrected accordingly.

Time of activity

In his introduction to the text edition of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti*, Raniero Gnoli corrected the lifetime of Ś. claimed by Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Stcherbatsky as being "about 1050 AD."[18] and "XIth century A. D."[19] to "9th or 10th century"[20]. In justification of this subsequently generally accepted dating[21], Gnoli notes that Ś. is frequently quoted by Abhinavagupta (950–ca.1020) and that he, according to Abhinavagupta, refuted Dharmottara (740–800)[22], and thus must have been active between these two[23]. In addition, Gnoli refers to a legend handed down by Tāranātha and dPag bsam ljon bzaṅ, according to which Ś., as he was about to write a refutation of Dharmakīrti's *pramāṇa* theories, received a vision of Mañjuśrī in a dream, who convinced him that Dharmakīrti's views were correct[24]. As a result, Ś. did not write a criticism but rather a commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Svavṛtti*. From this, and from the fact that Ś. is quoted with copious praise by Abhinavagupta and, on the other hand, wrote works obviously based on Buddhist systematic preconditions, such as his PVṬī, Gnoli assumes that Ś. converted to Śaivism. However, while the Tibetan tradition suggests that Ś. converted to Buddhism, Gnoli is of a different opinion: "Things may well have gone another way, however, and this is suggested by an eulogising epithet that Abhinavagupta gives to Śaṅkarānanda, of whom he says that 'he recovered illumination thanks to the force of asceticism and to a constant exercise of thought on consciousness, owed to the maturation of his good actions carried out earlier'[25]." The rendition of *pratilabdhonmeṣa*[26] by 'he recovered illumination' in the sense of a conversion from Buddhism to

[18] Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1920: 344.

[19] Stcherbatsky 1932: 45.

[20] Gnoli 1960: xxiiif.

[21] E.g. Bühnemann 1980: 191, Tsukamoto *et al.* 1990: 458 and Steinkellner and Much 1995: 80.

[22] On the dating see Krasser 1991.

[23] References can be found in Gnoli 1960: xxiiif[3] and xxivf[3].

[24] See the translation of Tāranātha by Schiefner 1869: 247f.

[25] Gnoli 1960: xxvi. The Sanskrit text reproduced by Gnoli in note 2 reads: *prāktanakuśalavipākapravartitasaṃvitparāmarśābhyāsatapaḥprabhāvapratilabdhonmeṣeṇa bhaṭṭaśaṅkaranandanenāpi* ... ĪPVV II 199,16–18. The quotation that follows (*siddhaṃ siddhatayā rūpaṃ nirūpyaṃ na tathā tataḥ*) comes from Ś.'s Prajñālaṅkāra and is identified in Bühnemann 1980: 196.

[26] The basic meaning of *unmeṣa* is 'the opening of the eyes', 'the opening of the flowers/blossoms'. The correlate is *nimeṣa*, 'the closing of the eyes', 'the closing of the

Śaivism is certainly an overinterpretation, since then the statement 'he recovered illumination' would imply that Ś. had previously already acquired illumination and had lost it by converting to Buddhism or in some other way. However, also Gnoli does not assume this, and there is no other indication that Ś. acquired illumination more than once, or changed faith more than once. Thus the point referred to by Gnoli cannot be used to clarify the direction of Ś.'s conversion and *pratilabdhonmeṣa* is better understood as 'he obtained illumination'.

Another of Gnoli's arguments is "that Śaṅkarānanda, among various other works of Buddhist nature, wrote at least one that wanders far from Buddhist orthodoxy or that is frankly contrary to the Buddhist logic and gnoseology commonly accepted. This work... is the *Prajñālaṃkāra*, which obviously is not included in the Tibetan canon. This work is held in high esteem by Abhinavagupta, who constantly gives Śaṅkarānanda the title of *bhaṭṭa* and once even of *guru*, and recognises in him a true precursor of the doctrine of knowledge adopted by his school."[27] Gnoli derives this from the fact that, when introducing a quotation from Ś.'s *Prajñālaṅkāra*, Abhinavagupta refers to him as one who has acquired

flowers/blossoms'. By analogy, the two terms are connected in Śaivism with the unfolding and dissolution of the empirical world. In the first stanza of Vasugupta's *Spandakārikā* the unfolding and dissolution of the world follow the opening and closing of the eyes of the highest godhead: "We laud that Śaṅkara, who is the source of the power of the wheel of the energies, by whose opening and closing of the eyes there is the appearance and dissolution of the world: *yasyonmeṣanimeṣābhyāṃ jagataḥ pralayodayau*" (Padoux 1992: 250[72]). According to Abhinavagupta's *Parātriṃśikāvivaraṇa unmeṣa* is the state in which, when Śiva's power of perception unfolds, all objects desired by him have unfolded (see Padoux 1992: 251 and note 75: "*PTV*, p. 168: *unmiṣantī tu jñānaśaktir iṣyamāṇasakalabhāvonmeṣamayī u iti.*"). In addition, he equates *unmeṣa* with the highest level of consciousness (*saṃvid*), of which he says: "This consciousness which the Āgamas celebrate under the name of insight (*pratibhā*), unfolding (*unmeṣa*), and so forth, abides in the interval between two dualistic cognitions, when one ceases and the other appears. It is undifferentiated [or devoid of thought-construct: *avikalpakam*]. It precedes as such all differentiated thought-construct such as the notion of blue, and so forth, which are mutually exclusive [since linked to duality]. As such it is inseparable from the infinite diversity of appearances [constituting the world]. That there is such an interval between two cognitions cannot be denied, because [cognitions] cannot but be different; and this interval is made of pure consciousness. ..." (Padoux 1992: 181f and 182[39]: "*bhavati cedam astamitodeṣyadubhayavikalpajñānāntaralāvarty unmeṣapratibhādiśabdāgamagītaṃ nirvikalpakaṃ sasaṃvādaviruddhābhimātanīlādivikalpapūrvabhāvi | tasmāt tad anantāvabhāsāvibhāgamayam eveti | ubhayoś ca jñānayor antarālam anapahvanīyaṃ jñānayor bhedād eva | tac ca saṃvidātmakam eva...*").

[27] Gnoli 1960: xxiv.

illumination[28]. Since Abhinavagupta himself quotes a stanza from the *Prajñālaṅkāra* in his *Tantrāloka*, and interprets this as Buddhist doctrine (*uktaṃ ca ... iti saugataiḥ;* see below [p. 504 and note 59]), it is difficult to interpret the *Prajñālaṅkāra* as a work that is entirely Śaivite and opposed to Buddhist doctrine[29].

On the other hand, the notion of an abandonment of Śaivism and a move towards Buddhism is supported by the fact that Ś. plays a very major role in Tibetan tradition. This is reported not only by the legends passed on by Tāranātha and others[30], but also follows from statements in the texts by

[28] See above, note 25.

[29] See also Gnoli's own comment on the reference quoted from his introduction to PVSV: "The scanty fragments of this work hardly permit us to get an idea of its content." (Gnoli 1960: xxiv[3])

[30] A further hagiography to which Kuijp (1994a: 381[18]) refers survives in Glo bo mkhan chen:

> ... *'di'i [=bde byed dga' ba'i] gtam ni | kha che groṅ khyer chen po dpe med du mu stegs kyi paṇḍi ta chen po bram ze śaṅkananda* ([A]; *śam kar nan ta* [B]) *źes bya ba blo gros phun sum tshogs pa daṅ ldan pa byuṅ ste | de yaṅ 'dod pa la sred pas chaṅ 'tshoṅ* ([B] : *tshoṅ* [A]) *ma źig* ([A] : *gcig* [B]) *daṅ yid gcugs śiṅ | de'i gnas su yaṅ yaṅ 'gro ba źig yod pa de | de'i naṅ pa'i dge bsñen gcig* ([B] : *cig* [A]) *kyaṅ de'i sar 'gro ba na | de'i dpe saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das la tshaṅs pa daṅ dbaṅ phyug la sogs pa las khyad par du 'phags par bstod pa | mtho btsun grub rjes mdzad pa yod pa de las nas | de śaṅkanandas* ([A]; *śam kar nan tas* [B]) *mthoṅ la de'i don bden par rtogs nas saṅs rgyas la śin tu dad de | bram ze rnams kyis* ([B] : *kyi* [A]) *gus par bya ba'i tshaṅs skud kyis dge 'dun gyi mchil lhwam* ([A]; *lham* [B]) *'gel ba'i srad bu byas nas saṅs rgyas kyi bstan pa la źugs te | de nas rtog ge'i* ([A] : *ge* [B]) *tshad ma'i bstan bcos kyaṅ brtsams* ([B] : *brtsam* [A]) *par bźed de | ...* mKhas 'jug rnam bśad [A] 342,1–5 = [B] 507,3–508,2.
>
> The legend about him [i.e. Śaṅkaranandana] is as follows: In the big Kashmiri town of Anupamamahāpura[a] lived a great heretical scholar, a Brahmin by the name of Śaṅkananda, whose intellect was excellent. Since he craved (*sred pa*) love (*'dod pa*), he took pleasure (*yid gcugs*) in a spirits vendor (*chaṅ 'tshoṅ ma*). He visited her again and again in her house (*gnas*). When also a Buddhist Upāsaka of that [town] came to her place (*de'i sar*) he left (las [pa = lus pa]) his book [called *Viśeṣastava* (*Khyad par du 'phags*)][b] there, which praised Buddha as particularly exulted (*'phags pa*) over Brahman and Īśvara and which was written by Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin (mTho btsun grub rje). When Śaṅkananda then saw that [book] and recognised its contents (*don*) as true, he conceived an extremely devout trust in Buddha. After he had made a line (*srad bu*) of the Brahmin string (*tshaṅs skud*) highly revered by the Brahmins for hanging up (*'gel ba*) the monk's (*dge 'dun*) sandals (*mchil lhwam*), he entered the Buddhist doctrine. Thereupon he also wrote *pramāṇaśāstras*. [Thus] it is said (*bźed*).

Following this point, Glo bo mkhan chen reports a similar story as transmitted by Tāranātha, according to which Ś. was persuaded by Mañjuśrī (see above, note 24).

the Tibetan authors themselves. As one of many instances originating from no less than Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251), the following extract from his commentary on *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* should be sufficient to illustrate this point. The explanations and translation are from Kuijp (1983: 5f):

> The case in point is a passage that occurs in the ninth chapter where Sa-skya Paṇḍita submits immediate referential awareness (*yid-kyi mngon-sum, mānasapratyakṣa*) to a fairly detailed analysis. Having given a survey of the opinions of Prajñākaragupta and Dharmottara, he closes his preliminary discussion by attributing a view to Śaṅkarānanda (ca. 1000?) on the basis of oral transmission; in his words:
>
> "Only this, the intent of Śaṅkarānanda which was obtained from our abbot, I perceive as correct."[31]
>
> The 'abbot' of course refers to the Kashmiri Śākyaśrībhadra (1127-1225) who functioned as the abbot (*mkhan-po*) when Sa-skya Paṇḍita was ordained as monk in 1208 ...[32]

Ś.'s important position in the Tibetan epistemological tradition also follows from the fact that Sa skya Paṇḍita followed him in the line of transmission of the *Pramāṇavārttika* interpretation. Several texts report that Ś.'s pupil, whose name has been handed down as 'Vagindra Paṇḍita', 'Vaṅgu Paṇḍita' or 'Paṇ chen Mewaṅgu' was the teacher of the influential Śākyaśrībhadra[33], who in turn was Sa skya Paṇḍita's teacher[34]. In addition, according to Go ram pa bSod nams seṅ ge, Sa skya Paṇḍita is said to have been involved in the translation of Ś.'s *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā*, the translators

[a] On Anupamamahāpura, also known as Anupamapura and Kaśmīrapura, see Naudou 1980: 208f.

[b] The text has been recently published: Johannes Schneider, *Der Lobpreis der Vorzüglichkeit des Buddha. Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmins Viśeṣastava mit Prajñāvarmans Kommentar.* Bonn 1993.

[31] Kuijp 1983: 258[12] quotes the following text: "See the *TMRGRG* fol. 110a/4: *shang-kar-nan-ta'i dgongs-pa kho-bo'i mkhan-po-las rnyed-pa 'di kho-na 'thad-par mthong-ngo* ||"

[32] 'Jam dbyaṅs bźad pa's summary of Ś.'s view on *mānasapratyakṣa* is translated in Stcherbatsky 1930: 324. On 'Jam dbyaṅs bźad pa's analysis thereof, see Stcherbatsky 1930: 327–330.

[33] On a biography of Śākyaśrībhadra, see Jackson 1990 and the detailed discussion thereof in Kuijp 1994b.

[34] Cf. Kuijp 1983: 6 and 258f[12]; also Mejor 1991: 176 (where the name reads 'Waṃku Paṇḍita').

of which are not mentioned in bsTan 'gyur [35]. Likewise, he is alleged to have translated a commentary written by Ś. on Dharmakīrti's *Vādanyāya*, which, however, has survived neither in the original nor in translation[36].

These reasons are without doubt sufficient to establish Ś.'s significance for the Tibetan tradition. It is therefore clear that Ś. was not only according to legend fully integrated in the tradition, but was also thus in practice, and was regarded by Sa skya Paṇḍita and other Tibetans as one of their own. For there can be no doubt that Sa skya Paṇḍita would not have adopted the doctrines of a predecessor who himself dismissed these doctrines as false.

A further indication that Ś. irrevocably turned his back on Śaivism can be seen in the bitterness expressed in the final stanza of his ĪAS:

> What could one experienced in the countless (*viparyāsu*), widely disseminated (*prarūḍhāsu*) [and] immeasurable doctrines (*dṛṣṭiṣu*), even if he is well prepared (*prayato 'pi*), do for a world of little understanding[37]?

That Ś. is referring to himself as experienced in countless, widely disseminated and immeasurable doctrines indicates that he had already pursued a career with a variety of doctrinal traditions and was at an advanced age.

A further indication can be found in the Tibetan colophon to his *Pratibandhasiddhikārikā*. This colophon may be a translation of an addition marked in the margin of the Sanskrit manuscript. The addition is made to the first word in line 1 of *fol.* 2b[38] (*siddhikārikā*s ||), and indicated by the writer as belonging to the latter by means of a *kākapada*, a small apostrophe above the two *daṇḍa*s. The text, which is inserted above the

[35] See Kuijp 1983: 104: "He [=Sa-skya Paṇḍita] also embarked on the translation of the *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* by Śaṅkarānanda in which he collaborated with Saṃghaśrībhadra, a member of Śākyaśrī's entourage." The relevant text, to which van der Kuijp, p. 303[292] refers, reads: ... *bram ze'i 'grel ba daṅ bcas pa gsan nas bsgyur* | (Go ram pa bSod nams seṅ ge, *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bśad pa sde bdun rab gsal*, in *The Complete Works of Go ram bSod nams seng ge*, compiled by bSod nams rgya mtsho. [The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa skya Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism 12] Tokyo 1969: *fol.* 5b4).

[36] Cf. Jackson 1987: 113 and Much 1991, Part I, p. xxvii[24].

[37] *viparyāsu prarūḍhāsu kim apārāsu dṛṣṭiṣu* | *jagaty alpamatau kuryāt prayato 'pi viśāradaḥ* || 10 || $\bar{\text{I}}\text{AS}_{\text{ms}}$ 7,19f. A critical edition together with a translation is in preparation.

[38] The *Pratibandhasiddhikārikā* starts in the manuscript from *fol.* 1b1–2b1; cf. above [p. 492].

line in a script smaller than that of the manuscript and extends beyond the end of the line, is illegible due to the poor quality of the photograph, but probably corresponds roughly in length with the Tibetan translation. This colophon states inter alia that Ś. highly appreciated the doctrines of the Sugata:

> *'brel pa grub pa slob dpon mkhas pa chen po bram ze'i rigs su sku 'khruṅs pa chos kyi grag pa gñis pa źes 'jig rten na gtam* (D : *gtan* Q) *du grags śiṅ rtog ge pa phal pa'i gźuṅ 'jig pa daṅ* || *thogs pa med pa don gyi de kho na rnam par 'jog* (Q : *'jig* D) *pa'i blo'i mthu stobs kyis* (Q : *kyi* D) *'gran zla daṅ bral pa* || *bde bar gśegs pa'i bstan pa la gces spras* (D : *spas* Q) *su 'dzin pas legs par bśad pa'i ro myaṅ ba la sems rtse* (*rtse* D; lacks Q) *gcig tu gźol ba dge bsñen dam pa śaṅka rā nandas* (Q; *śaṃka rānan das* D) *mdzad pa rdzogs so* || PrSi D 303a5–7 = Q 326a6–8.

> The *Pratibandhasiddhi* written by the teacher (*slob dpon, *ācārya*), the great scholar (*mkhas pa chen po, *mahāpaṇḍita*), the honourable (*dam pa*) Upāsaka Śaṅkarānanda has been completed. [Namely by the teacher Śaṅkarānanda], born to the Brahmin caste (and) celebrated by the people (*'jig rten na gtam du*) as a "second Dharmakīrti", who destroyed the doctrines (*gźuṅ*) of the ordinary logicians, who is invincible (*'gran zla med pa, *asapatna*) thanks to his unmatched (*thogs pa med pa*) spirit, which recognises how things really are (*don gyi de kho na, *arthatattva*), and who, since he highly appreciates (*gces spras su 'dzin pa*) the teachings of the Sugata, persists with his spirit (*sems*) in concentration on the enjoyment (*ro myaṅ ba, *āsvāda*) of [his] exquisite utterances.

That the author of the colophon felt it necessary to add extra emphasis to the circumstance that Ś. was born to a Brahmin family and highly appreciated the teachings of the Buddha etc., can only be explained by the fact that as one born to a Brahmin family and educated in the Śaiva tradition, he flirted with the Buddhist doctrines. For there would be no particular need to mention that someone who had always been a Buddhist appreciated the teachings of Buddha.

It follows from the arguments put forward that Ś. was first a Śaiva, and had appreciated Buddhist teachings from the very beginning, and that he later abandoned Śaivism, for there must have been a breach with Śaivism, since the teaching of the non-existence of God contained in the *Īśvarāpākaraṇakārikā* together with its commentary, in the *Īśvarāpākaraṇa-*

saṅkṣepa and in the *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā*[39] is incompatible with Śaivism. From this it then follows that it was only after the completion of Abhinavagupta's ĪPVV, which according to an oral communication by Prof. Raffaele Torella (November 18, 1994) was probably his last philosophical work[40], and which gives the year 1014/15 in the colophon as the time of completion, that he must have made the break with Śaivism and written a number of works setting out his Buddhist point of view. It cannot be stated with certainty which of his works are to be located in the period after his renunciation of Śaivism. For, as the example of the *Anyāpohasiddhi* shows, neither the title nor the fact that a work was translated into Tibetan are conclusive criteria for determining the time of writing. Nevertheless, his works refuting the proof of God and his *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* can certainly be placed in the time after the completion of the ĪPVV as can probably be his commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Sam-*

[39] Cf. Ś.'s explanation of *arthānartha°* (PVSV 1,8): ***don** ni don dam par yod pa'i ṅo bo'o* || ***don ma yin pa** ni de las bzlog pa ste* | *gzugs la sogs pa kun rdzob tu yod pa'am* | *gtso bo daṅ dbaṅ phyug daṅ ri boṅ gi rwa la sogs pa med pa ñid do* || PVṬī 4a5f = "*artha* is the absolutely really existing thing. *Anartha* is what is different from that. It is either the conventionally existing such as material (**rūpa*) or it is something completely (**eva*) non-existing such as primordial matter (**pradhāna*), God (**īśvara*) or a hare's horn."[a] In addition: ... *'gro ba mtha' dag byed pa po'i dbaṅ phyug gcig ni mi srid do* || PVṬī 95b6 = "... a unique God, who is the creator of all being, is not possible."

[a] The identification of *artha* and *anartha* with *paramārtha* and *saṃvṛti* was already known to Karṇakagomin, who considered this interpretation as the last of six possibilities: *yadvārthaḥ paramārthasatyam anarthaḥ saṃvṛtisatyam* ... (PVSVṬ 7,27f). The various possibilities of interpretation are dealt with in the translation of the logical sections in Dharmakīrti's PVSV, prepared by Ernst Steinkellner (note on *artha* and *anartha*).

[40] In any event the ĪPVV is the last of the works containing references to Ś.; these include also the *Tantrāloka*[a] and the *Mālinīvijayavārttika* (see Gnoli 1960: xxiiif[3]; Bühnemann 1980). For the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* contains a reference to the *Tantrāloka* (*yathokte mayeva ... tantrāloke* ĪPVV I 33,23), while the latter knows the *Mālinīvijayavārttika* (... *mālinīślokavārttike* TĀ 37th chapter k. 30 in TĀV VIII 3691,17; Pandey 1963: 30 refers to this passage).

[a] The *Tantrāloka* contains no direct references to Ś., but for instance TĀ, 2nd chapter, k. 54, according to Jayaratha's Commentary, presupposes statements of the *Prajñālaṅkārakārikā*:

nijadharmāprahāṇena pararūpānukāritā |
pratibimbātmatā soktā khaṅgādarśatalādovat ||

iti prajñālaṃkārakārikārthagarbhīkāreṇa lakṣaṇam āha [... k. 54] TĀV II 414,13–15 (cf. Gnoli 1960: xxiiif[3]; Bühnemann 1980: 196).

bandhaparīkṣā and *Vādanyāya*[41]. The last three were translated into Tibetan, although the Commentary to the *Vādanyāya*, as already mentioned, has not survived. Of the other two works available in Tibetan translation, the *Anyāpohasiddhi* must be assigned to the period before Abhinavagupta's ĪPVV, since the latter cites it. The same applies to the placing of the *Pratibandhasiddhikārikā*, if we follow the above-mentioned (p. 8) colophon. Likewise, the *Laghupratibandhasiddhikārikā* is also probably to be assigned to this period. With the exception of the *Bṛhatprāmāṇyaparīkṣā* and the *Prajñālaṅkārakārikā*, both quoted by Abhinavagupta[42], and the *Dharmālaṅkārakārikā* and commentary, which according to Jayaratha's commentary *Tantrālokaviveka* is presupposed by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*[43], his other known works cannot be ascribed to either of the two periods.

A further fact that must be taken into account when narrowing down Ś.'s period of activity is that according to the testimony of Abhinavagupta, Utpaladeva, in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛti*, criticises a statement made by Ś. The reference in the ĪPVV, the source of which is not identified[44], reads:

yad āha bhaṭṭaḥ
kāryaucityāt prāk svasaṃvidasaṃvitsmaraṇāntare ǀ
iti ǀ *etan na sahate tadetad iti* ĪPVV II 369,12–14[45]

The relative chronology of the works of Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta and Ś. determined in the above discussion is set out in the Table on p. 15 for greater clarity. Concerning Ś.'s period of activity, it follows that at least one of his works must have been written before Utpaladeva's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛti*, and that several were written after Abhinavagupta's ĪPVV (completed in 1014/15). The year in which the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛti* was written is not known. However, it is certainly a late work by Utpaladeva, whose dates are given as 900/25–950/75[46]. According to Torella (1994:

[41] His commentaries on these works by Dharmakīrti cannot be ascribed with certainty since Ś. could have written these before his final break with Śaivism. For the *Anyāpohasiddhi* is also a Buddhist work. In addition, other cases are known in which non-Buddhists have written commentaries to Buddhist works (see Funayama 1994: 372f).

[42] See Gnoli 1960: xxiiif[3] and Bühnemann 1980: 193f.

[43] Cf. below, note 60: ... *yad dharmālaṃkāraḥ... ity āśaṅkhyāha...*

[44] Since the earliest of Ś.'s works quoted by Abhinavagupta is the *Prajñālaṅkārakārikā*, this must also be assumed to be the source of the passage against which the Utpaladeva is directed. However, the quotation cannot be identified in the manuscript of the *Prajñālaṅkāra* as a result of illegibility.

[45] See Gnoli 1960: xxiiif[3] and Bühnemann 1980: 197.

[46] Torella 1994: xx.

xli), Utpaladeva wrote the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* and the *Vṛtti* at the same time, and then wrote the *Vivṛti* or *Ṭīkā* on both of these later[47]. A considerable period of time must have passed between the writing of the first two works and the *Vivṛti*, for "In the *ṭīkā*, that was composed later on, we already find multiple interpretations of the same stanza, all considered equally possible but evidently being the outcome of further reflections" (Torella 1994: xlii). If we assume the later dates for Utpaladeva, i.e. 925–975, and assume that the work presupposed by the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛti* was a work from Ś.'s youth, we arrive at a period of activity of approx. 970–1020/30. I should therefore like to propose as a working hypothesis a lifetime of approx. 940/50–1020/30[48].

From the data obtained so far, it follows that Ś. must have been very strongly under Buddhist influence even in his youth. Thus in the *Anyāpohasiddhi* he dedicated the introductory stanza of reverence to the all-knowing[49], and that in the *Pratibandhasiddhi* to the Sugata[50]. In addition to the *śloka* of reverence of the latter, he refers to the Sugata (*bde bar gśegs pa*) as one who has eliminated either the matter (*don*) or the misery (*ṅan*) of the heretics (*mu stegs can*)[51]. And Gnoli (1960: xxv[3]) already pointed out that

[47] Cf. also Torella 1988: 137–142.

[48] The Tibetan tradition according to which Ś.'s pupil 'Vagindra Paṇḍita', 'Vaṅgu Paṇḍita' or 'Paṇ chen Mewaṅgu' (see above [p. 7]) was the teacher of Śākyaśrībhadra, agrees neither with Gnoli's earlier dating nor with that proposed here. It is assumed that Śākyaśrībhadra lived from 1127 or approx. 1140 to 1225 (see Jackson 1990: Introd. p. 1 and 18[1]). Even according to Ś.'s later dating, 'Vagindra Paṇḍita' would have had to have lived from approx. 1000 to 1140/60. Perhaps the different names also conceal two different persons, which may have given rise to the confusion of the names (for another possible explanation cf. Kuijp 1983: 213[12]).

[49] *kun mkhyen 'khrul bral dus gsum gnas pa yi* || *don rnams ji bźin gzigs pa la btud de* || AAS 281a6f = "I bow before the all-knowing, before the one free of error, the one who sees things in all three times as they [really] are." That Ś. was referring to Buddha and not Śiva with the word "all-knowing" is shown by the fact that he also uses this epithet in his *Sambandhaparīkṣānusāra* (*kun mkhyen de la phyag 'tshal lo* || SPA 21b5).

[50] *bde bar gśegs pa de la ... phyag 'tshal lo* || PrSi D 302b2 = "Reverence to the Sugata".

[51] Since I do not entirely understand the stanza of reverence, I shall not attempt to translate it. The passage to which I refer, *mu stegs can don/ṅan bsal bas*, reads *don* in the Peking edition and *ṅan* in the Derge edition, with both alternatives being possible:

> *de ñid śes tshul don des mṅon sum mtshan la de lam rjes źugs kyis* || *mu stegs can don* (*don* Q; *ṅan* D) *bsal bas rgyal phyir gaṅ gi rgyal rṅa rgyal chen nam* || *dam pa'i tshul lugs brjod pa'i bdag 'di gnod med ṅes par rab bsgrags pa* || *bde bar gśegs pa de la rtag tu rtse gcig blos ni phyag 'tshal lo* || PrSi Q 325a8–325b2 = D 302b1–2.

according to Abhinavagupta in the *Prajñālaṅkāra* and other works not mentioned by name, he adopted a position similar to that of Vasubandhu and Dignāga with respect to the reality of the external world[52]. That the *Dharmālaṅkāra* also contains Buddhist ideas is shown by the reference quoted from the SVR, where Ś., like Dharmakīrti, argues that things are transient by virtue of their nature and that their transience is not due to causes[53]:

> For the perishing of transient things does not arise from a cause. For their perishing, they are of a transient nature. If they are, they are no more as soon as they come into existence. That [is momentariness] [54].
> The meaning of 'perishing' is only that transient things are of a transient nature. It is not, however, the meaning of 'perishing' that perishing arises from a cause for the perishing. Just as a particular thing, if it arises as having the nature of a pot from its cause, is simply a pot, since the [characteristic] of not being of the nature of a pot is not possible from a thing that creates a pot, likewise, something that arises as transient is simply transient, since immediately after its arising it perishes. Otherwise it would not be transient. It is precisely this perishing immediately after coming into existence (*ātmalābha*) as of a transient nature that is momentariness.

In the *Bṛhatprāmāṇyakārikā*[55] cited by Abhinavagupta, Ś. also attests reverence to the Buddha[56].

This however means that all Ś.'s works cited by or preceding Abhinavagupta already contain strong Buddhist tendencies or exclusively Buddhist ideas, and that Abhinavagupta did not know any purely Śaivite works by him to which he could have referred in his writings. That he nevertheless mentions Ś. with such praise (see above, p. 494 with note 25),

[52] Gnoli refers to ĪPVV II 144,11–13: *ālambanaparīkṣādau daiṅnāge, vijñaptimātrādisiddhau vāsubandhavyāṃ* (conj.: °*siddhāvāsabandhanyāṃ*), *prajñālaṃkārādiṣu bhāṭṭadarśaneṣu tatra tatra cānyatra vitatyāyam artha ukta iti* |

[53] On the Sanskrit text, see above [p. 4].

[54] *tat* cannot be construed within the stanza. Perhaps it should be read with the following stanza. According to the final sentence in the commentary, it could mean momentariness.

[55] Cf. *yat punaḥ prāmāṇyaparīkṣāyai bhaṭṭena uktam –*
vyaktaḥ prakāśaḥ svārthārthaṃ saṃskārapratibodhakaḥ |
nānyathā syād vikalpe 'pi tatpravṛttir apīṣyatām ||
iti ĪPVV II 221,4–7 (see Gnoli 1960: xxiiif[3]; identified in Bühnemann 1980: 193 in manuscript 5b1 [she also indicates textual alternatives]).

[56] *buddham… praṇamya…* Ms 4a1f.

can in my opinion only be explained by the fact that the two were contemporaries who knew each other, and that Ś. was integrated as a respected personality in the Śaivite community in Kashmir[57]. It is also probably due to Ś.'s influence that Abhinavagupta integrated Dharmakīrti's logic, as far as compatible with his system, in his ĪPVV.

It remains to be noted that Ś.'s ambivalent relationship to Śaivism from the very beginning is also reflected in Abhinavagupta's works. In the MVV he refers to him by name and calls him a *guru* in the introduction to a quotation from the *Prajñālaṅkāra*[58]. In contrast, he no longer mentions him by name in the *Tantrāloka*, but quotes a stanza from the *Prajñālaṅkāra* and expressly refers to the opinion it contains as Buddhist: *uktaṃ ca... iti saugatair*[59]. The ĪPVV, as already noted (see above, **[p. 5]** with note 25), speaks very highly of Ś. In his *Tantrālokaviveka*, Jayaratha also clearly reveals that Ś. wrote Buddhist works as a Śaiva. According to Jayaratha, TĀ IX k. 11 presupposes a Buddhist objection in which the Buddhist refers to a section in Ś.'s *Dharmālaṅkāra* to reinforce his own position[60].

[57] According to the hagiography recorded in Glo bo mkhan chen, Ś. was born in the Kashmiri town of Anupamamahāpura; cf. above, note 30.

[58] ... *tathā cāha guruḥ śaṅkaranandanaḥ* –

na mānatvāt tato 'nyatvān na bādhād asthiteḥ sthitiḥ || MVV I 431

[59] TĀ chapter III k.55: *uktaṃ ca – sati bāhye 'pi dhīr ekānekavedanāt | anekasadṛśākārā na tv aneketi saugataiḥ*. Jayaratha comments: ***uktam*** *iti prajñālaṃkārādau. tad uktaṃ tatra* –

tasmāt saty api bāhye 'rthe dhīr ekānekavedanāt | anekasadṛśākārā nānekaiva (PAK, TĀV II : *nānekeva* TĀV III) *prasajyate* || iti TĀV II 416,6–9.

Gnoli 1960: xxiiif[3] refers to the passage; identified in Bühnemann 1980: 196 in manuscript PAK 22a5–6. The stanza from PAK is also quoted in TĀV III 1308,4–5 with the introduction *yad āhuḥ*.

[60] *nanu... iti sthita eva bījāṅkurādau bhāve bhāvātmā kāryakāraṇabhāva iti yad dharmālaṃkāraḥ* –

bhāva eva[a] *parasyeha kāryatābhāva*[b] ... |*

iti,

svabhāvo janako 'rthānām abhūtākārabhāvakaḥ ||*

iti ca. na ca svabhāvam utsṛjya bhāvānām anyat kiṃcid apekṣaṇīyam iti kim atra cetanānupraveśanenety āśaṅkyāha ... [followed by TĀ IX k.11] TĀV IV 1648,13–1649,6 = "[Buddhist:] ... Hence it is certain that with things (*bhāva*) such as seed and shoot there is the fact of an effect and a cause, that is in the nature [of these] things. As (*yad*) the Dharmālaṅkāra [says]:

'Only the being (*bhāva*) of the later is here [in this case/in our system] the being [of this later] that exists in being the effect'

and

'The creative nature of the things produces something that is of the nature that it previously did not exist'.

However, this is only possible if Ś. is a Śaiva. For a reference to a Buddhist is hardly likely to be of much effect in a dispute with a Śaiva. However, in the same context of discussion, Jayaratha presents Ś. as a Buddhist when he says that the Buddhist would, under certain circumstances, undermine his own tenets (*svasiddhānta*), relying for this tenet on a quotation from Ś.'s *Dharmālaṅkāra*[61].

Thus in summary it can be said that Śaṅkaranandana originated from a Kashmiri Brahmin family, lived in Anupamamahāpura and grew up in the Śaiva tradition. However, from the very beginning he was attracted not only by the Śaiva tradition but also, as an Upāsaka, to a great extent by the Buddhist tradition. After Abhinavagupta's ĪPVV (completed in 1014/15) he abandoned Śaivism entirely and wrote a number of further works in which he denies the existence of God. From this, and from the fact that one of his works was already known to Utpaladeva, we can conclude a period of activity from approx. 970–1020/30 and a lifetime from approx. 940/50–1020/30.

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ĪPVV — *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī*: *The Iśvarapratyabhijnā Vivritivimarśini by Abhinavagupta*, edited by Madhusūdan

And nothing else should be taken into account while abandoning the nature of the things. Why in such a case do we need to seek for a conscious being (*cetana*) [namely God as author]? Fearing [this Abhinavagupta] says ..."

* The quotations are identified in Bühnemann 1980: 194 in DAK Ms 14b4 and 14b6.

[a] *eva* TĀV : *evā* DAK. [b] *eva ca* to be complemented with DAK.

[61] *vyavahāramātrasiddhatve vā tasya kāryakāraṇabhāvo 'pi evaṃ syād iti svasiddhāntabhaṅgaḥ – kāryakāraṇabhāvasya vastusvabhāvatvenābhyupagamāt, yad dharmālaṃkāraḥ*

tad evam ayaṃ vastusvabhāva eva kāryakāraṇabhāvo na tu vyavahāramātrasiddhaḥ |

iti TĀV IV 1654,15–1655,3 = "Or if this [being previous etc.] is only proven according to everyday use, [then] the being an effect and cause is also thus. [And] this [would be] the ruin of your own teaching, because you assume the being an effect and cause to be the nature of the thing. As (*yad*) the Dharmālaṅkāra [teaches]:

Thus in this way the being an effect and cause is indeed the nature of the things, it is not merely proved according to everyday use".

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SPA	*Sambandhaparīkṣānusāra* (Śaṅkaranandana): Derge Tshad ma Vol. 17, No. 4237, 21b4-35a3.
SVR	*Syādvādaratnākara* (Vādidevasūri): *Śrīmad-Vādidevasūriviracitaḥ Pramāṇanayatattvālokālaṅkāraḥ tadvyākhyā ca Syādvādaratnākaraḥ*. Ed. L. Motīlāl. [5 vols.] Poona 1926-1930.
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Utpaladeva	Abhinavagupta				Not ascribed
Before *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛti*	Before MVV	Before TĀ	Before ĪPVV	After ĪPVV	
yad āha *bhaṭṭaḥ* *kāryaucityāt prāk svasaṃvidasaṃvitsmaraṇāntare | iti* quoted in ĪPVV II 369,12–14; Source unknown	*Prajñālaṅkārakārikā*	*Dharmālaṅkārakārikā* with commentary	*Bṛhatprāmāṇyakārikā* ? *Sūkṣmaprāmāṇyakārikā* ? *Madhyaprāmāṇyakārikā* *Anyāpohasiddhikārikā* with commentary *Pratibandhasiddhikārikā* ? *Laghupratibandhasiddhikārikā*	*Īśvarāpākaraṇasaṅkṣepa* (*includes Saṅkṣipteśvarāpākaraṇakārikā*) *Īśvarāpākaraṇakārikā* with commentary *Vādanyāya* Commentary *Sambandhaparīkṣānusāra* *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* -	*Sarvajñasiddhikārikā* with commentary *Svalpasarvajñasiddhikārikā* with commentary *Āgamasiddhikārikā* with commentary

Śaṅkaranandana's works in relation to the writings of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta

MUNI JAMBUVIJAYA, Hardwar

अनुयोगद्वारसूत्रविवरणेषु ग्रन्थान्तरेभ्य उद्धृताः कतिचन विशिष्टाः पाठाः ।

अनुयोग इति जैनानां पारिभाषिकः शब्दः । जैनागमग्रन्थान् व्याख्यातुं या विशिष्टा पद्धतिः प्राचीनसमये आसीत् सा अनुयोग इत्युच्यते स्म । अनुयोगो नाम अर्थकथनविधिः । प्राकृतभाषायामयमेव 'अणुयोग' इत्युच्यते ।

''**अणुयोजणमणुयोगो सुतस्स णियएण जमभिधेयेणं ।**

वावारो वा जोगो जो अणुरूवोऽणुकूलो वा ।।८३६।।

अणु० गाहा । आह- अनुयोग इति कः शब्दार्थः ? उच्यते - श्रुतस्य स्वेनार्थेन अनुयोजनमनुयोगः । अथवा [अणोः] सूत्रस्य स्वाभिधेयव्यापारो योगः । अनुरूपोऽनुकूलो [वा] योगोऽनुयोगः ।।८३६।।

अधवा जमत्थतो थोव-पच्छभावेहि सुतमणुं तस्स ।

अभिधेये वावारो जोगो तेणं व संबंधो ।।८३७।।

अध० गाहा । अथवाऽर्थतः पश्चादभिधानात् स्तोकत्वाच्च सूत्रमनु, तस्याभिधेयेन योजनमनुयोगः । अणुनो वा योगोऽणुयोगः, अभिधेयव्यापार इत्यर्थः ।।८३७।।'' इति **विशेषावश्यकभाष्य**स्य **जिनभद्रगणि**क्षमाश्रमणविरचितायां स्वोपज्ञ**वृत्तौ** ।

यथा नगरं प्रवेष्टुं द्वाराणि अपेक्ष्यन्ते तथा शास्त्रस्य विस्तरेणार्थं सम्यगधिगन्तुं द्वाराणि अपेक्ष्यन्ते । यथा हि नगरमकृतद्वारम् अनगरमेव भवति, निर्गम-प्रवेशोपायाभावतोऽनधिगमनीयत्वात्, कृतैकद्वारमपि दुरधिगमं कार्यातिपत्तये च भवति । चतुर्मूलद्वारं तु प्रतिद्वारानुगतं सुखाधिगमं कार्यानतिपत्तये च सम्पद्यते । एवमेव शास्त्रार्थाधिगमाय अनुयोगस्य चत्वारि द्वाराणि सप्रभेदानि अवश्यं ज्ञातव्यानि ।

उपक्रमः १, निक्षेपः २, अनुगमः ३, नयः ४ इति मुख्यानि चत्वारि अनुयोगद्वाराणि । उपक्रमद्वारे ग्रन्थस्य सामान्यतो विशेषतश्च नाम, ग्रन्थाध्ययनार्थमुपयोगिनो विनयादयो गुणाः, अपरेऽपि च आनुषङ्गिका बहवो विषया वर्ण्यन्ते ।

निक्षेपद्वारे ग्रन्थान्तर्गतानां शब्दानां ये ये विविधा अर्थाः संभवन्ति तेषां निरूपणं विधाय प्रस्तुते कोऽर्थोऽभिप्रेत इति अभिधीयते ।

अनुगमद्वारे ग्रन्थस्य व्याख्यानं कथं कर्तव्यमिति ग्रन्थव्याख्यानविधिः महता विस्तरेण वर्ण्यते ।

नयद्वारे, एकस्यैव वस्तुन अपेक्षाभेदेन येऽभिप्रायभेदास्ते नया इत्युच्यन्ते, तेषु केन नयेन किमत्र इष्यते इति वर्ण्यते । नयविचारणा जैनग्रन्थेष्वेव विस्तरेण वर्ण्यते ।

एतेषामपि चतुर्णां द्वाराणां बहवो भेदाः प्रभेदाश्च । एतेषां महता विस्तरेण वर्णनम् **अनुयोगद्वारसूत्रे** आगमग्रन्थे वर्तते । अस्य तिस्रः प्राचीना वृत्तयः -

(१) **जिनदासगणि**महत्तरैः विशिष्टायां प्राकृतभाषायां विरचिता **चूर्णिः** । एते **चूर्णिकारा** वैक्रमस्य सप्तमशतकस्योत्तरार्धे अष्टमशतकस्य पूर्वार्धे च आसन्निति ऐतिह्यविद आमनन्ति ।

(२) तदनन्तरं याकिनीमहत्तराधर्मसूनुभिः आचार्यश्री**हरिभद्रसूरिभिः** मुख्यतया संस्कृतभाषायां क्वचित् क्वचिच्च **चूर्ण्य**नुसारिण्यां प्राकृतभाषायां विरचिता वृत्तिः । एतेषां समयो विक्रमसंवत्सरस्य अष्टमः शतक इति इतिहासविदो मन्यन्ते ।

(३) ततः परं मलधारिभिराचार्यश्री**हेमचन्द्रसूरिभिः** संस्कृतभाषायां विस्तरेण विरचिता वृत्तिः । विक्रमसंवत्सरस्य द्वादशे शतके एतेषामवस्थितिरासीत् ।

प्राचीनतमतालपत्रलिखितान् आदर्शानवलम्ब्य अस्माभिः संशोधिता एतास्तिस्रोऽपि वृत्तयः **अनुयोगद्वार**सूत्रेण सह श्री**महावीरजैनविद्यालयेन** (50/54, August Kranti Marg, Bombay-400036) विविधैः परिशिष्टैः सहिताः सम्प्रति प्रकाशिताः । अत्र च विविधेभ्यो ग्रन्थान्तरेभ्यो बहवः पाठा उद्धृता वर्तन्ते । तेषु ये केवलं जैनसिद्धान्तग्रन्थेभ्यः

पाठा उद्धृता ये च पाणिनीयव्याकरण-कातन्त्रव्याकरणादिभ्यः पाठा उद्धृताः तान् विहाय ये विविधविषयका आयुर्वेद-संगीत-नाट्यशास्त्र-दार्शनिकादिशास्त्रेभ्यः पाठा उद्धृतास्ते इह संगृह्य विस्तरेण उपन्यस्यन्ते -

ज्ञानमप्रतिघं यस्य वैराग्यं च जगत्पतेः ।
ऐश्वर्यं चैव धर्मश्च सहसिद्धं चतुष्टयम् ॥ [ ] हे०[१] पृ० ९४
सर्वं पश्यतु मा वाऽसाविष्टमर्थं तु पश्यतु ।
कीटसंख्यापरिज्ञानं तत्र नः क्वोपयुज्यते ॥ [प्रमाणवा०] हे० पृ० ९५
एक एव हि भूतात्मा भूते भूते व्यवस्थितः ।
एकधा बहुधा चैव दृश्यते जलचन्द्रवत् ॥ [ ] हे० पृ० ९९
दिग्भागभेदो यस्यास्ति तस्यैकत्वं न युज्यते ।
[विंशतिका विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धिः का० १४८] हा० हे० पृ० १५३
नित्यं सत्त्वमसत्त्वं वा [प्रमाणवार्तिके ३।३५] हे० पृ० १८५
श्लेष्माणमरुचिं पित्तं तृषं कुष्ठं विषं ज्वरम् ।
हन्यात् तिक्तो रसो बुद्धेः कर्ता मात्रोपसेवितः ॥१॥
कटुर्गलामयं शोफं हन्ति युक्त्योपसेवितः ।
दीपनः पाचको रुच्यो बृंहणोऽतिकफापहः ॥२॥
रक्तदोषं कफं पित्तं कषायो हन्ति सेवितः ।
रूक्षः शीतो गुरुग्रा(र्ग्रा)ही रोपणश्च स्वरूपतः ॥३॥
अम्लोऽग्निदीप्तिकृत् स्निग्धः शोफ-पित्त-कफावहः ।
क्लेदनः पाचनो रुच्यो मूढवातानुलोमकः ॥४॥
पित्तं वातं विषं हन्ति धातुवृद्धिकरो गुरुः ।
जीवनः केशकृद् बाल-वृद्ध-क्षीणौजसां हितः ॥५॥ [ ] हे० पृ० २७०,२७१ ॥
परिणामो ह्यर्थान्तरगमनं न च सर्वथा व्यवस्थानम् ।
न च सर्वथा विनाशः परिणामस्तद्विदामिष्टः ॥ हे० पृ० २९७
नाशां कण्ठमुरस्तालु जिह्वां दन्तांश्च संश्रितः ।
षड्भिः संजायते यस्मात् तस्मात् षड्ज इति स्मृतः ॥१॥
वायुः समुत्थितो नाभेः कण्ठ-शीर्षसमाहतः ।
नर्दन् वृषभवद् यस्मात् तस्मात् वृषभ उच्यते ॥२॥
वायुः समुत्थितो नाभेः कण्ठ-शीर्षसमाहतः ।
नानागन्धावहः पुण्यो गान्धारस्तेन हेतुना ।३॥
वायुः समुत्थितो नाभेरुरो-हृदि समाहतः ।
नाभिं प्राप्तो महानादो मध्यमत्वं समश्नुते ॥४॥
वायुः समुत्थितो नाभेरुरो-हृत्-कण्ठ-शिरोहतः ।
पञ्चस्थानोत्थितस्यास्य पञ्चमत्वं विधीयते ॥५॥
अतिसन्धयते यस्मादेतान् पूर्वोदितस्वरान् ।
तस्मादस्य स्वरस्यापि धैवतत्वं विधीयते ॥६॥
निषीदन्ति स्वरा यस्मिन् निषादस्तेन हेतुना ।
सर्वांश्चाभिभवत्येव यदादित्योऽस्य दैवतम् ॥७॥ [ ] हे० पृ० ३१०-३११

१. संकेतानां विवरणम् - चू० = जिनदासगणिमहत्तरविरचिता चूर्णिः । हा० = हारिभद्री वृत्तिः । हे० = मलधारिहेमचन्द्रसूरिविरचिता वृत्तिः । पृ० = पृष्ठम् । पं० = पङ्क्तिः । का० = कारिका ।

बाह्यार्थालम्बनो यस्तु विकारो मानसो भवेत् ।
स भावः कथ्यते सद्भिस्तस्योत्कर्षो रसः स्मृतः ॥ [ ] हे० पृ० ३२६

शृङ्गार-हास्य-करुणा रौद्र-वीर-भयानकाः ।
बीभत्सा-ऽद्भुत-शान्ताश्च नव नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ॥ [ ] हे० पृ० ३२६

त्यागो गुणो गुणशतादधिको मतो मे । [ ] हे० पृ० ३२६

परं लोकातिगं धाम तपः श्रुतमिति द्वयम् । [ ] हे० पृ० ३२६

तेषां कटतटभ्रष्टैर्गजानां मदबिन्दुभिः ।
प्रावर्तत नदी घोरा हस्त्यश्वरथवाहिनी ॥ [ ] हे० पृ० ३३१,६१३

स एव प्राणिति प्राणी प्रीतेन कुपितेन च ।
वित्तैर्विपक्षरक्तैश्च प्रीणिता येन मार्गणाः ॥ [ ] हे० पृ ३३१

अस्थिष्वर्थाः सुखं मांसे त्वचि भोगाः स्त्रियोऽक्षिषु ।
गतौ यानं स्वरे चाज्ञा सर्वं सत्त्वे प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ हा० पृ० ३७१, हे० ३७४ ।

हन्त सम्प्रेषण-प्रत्यवधारण-विवादेषु [ ] हा० पृ० ३८८

सहवर्तिनो गुणाः, क्रमवर्तिनः पर्यायाः । [ ] हा० पृ० ४९७

उक्तं च न्यायवादिना **पुरुषचन्द्रेण** -
अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वमात्रं हेतोः स्वलक्षणम् ।
सत्त्वासत्त्वे हि तद्धर्मौ दृष्टान्तद्वयलक्षणे ॥१॥
धूमादेर्यद्यपि स्यातां सत्त्वासत्त्वे च लक्षणे ।
अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वप्राधान्याल्लक्षणैकता ॥२॥
दृष्टान्ते सदसत्त्वाभ्यां हेतुः सम्यग् यदीष्यते ।
लोहलेख्यं भवेद् वज्रं पार्थिवत्वाद् द्रुमादिवत् ॥
अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ।
नान्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण कम् ॥ [ ] हा० हे० पृ० ५०२, ५०३, ५०५

रोलम्ब-गवल-व्याल-तमालमलिनत्विषः ।
वृष्टिं व्यभिचरन्तीह नैवंप्रायाः पयोमुचः ॥ [[1]न्यायमञ्जर्याम्] हा० पृ० ५०६

उदधाविव सर्वसिन्धवः समुदीर्णास्त्वयि नाथ दृष्टयः ।
न च तासु भवान् प्रदृश्यते प्रविभक्तासु सरित्स्विवोदधिः ॥ हे० पृ० ५३८
[सिद्धसेनविरचिता द्वात्रिंशिका ४।६]

गोशब्दः पशु-भूम्यंशु-वाग्-दिगर्थप्रयोगवान् ।
मन्दप्रयोगो दृष्ट्यम्बु-वज्र-स्वर्गाभिधायकः ॥ [ ] हा० प० ५४३, हे० पृ० ५४४

एक एव हि भूतात्मा भूते भूते प्रतिष्ठितः ।
एकधा बहुधा चैव दृश्यते जलचन्द्रवत् ॥ [ ] चू० पृ० ५७८

ज्ञानानुभवतो दृष्टस्तद्गुण्यात्मा कथञ्चन ।
गुणदर्शनरूपं तु घटादिष्वपि दर्शनम् ॥ [ ] हा० पृ० ५८०

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१. ''गम्भीरगर्जितारम्भनिर्भिन्नगिरिगह्वराः । रोलम्ब-गवल-व्याल-तमालमलिनत्विषः ॥१॥ त्वङ्गत्तडिल्लतासङ्गपिशङ्गोत्तुङ्गविग्रहाः । वृष्टिं व्यभिचरन्तीह नैवंप्रायाः पयोमुचः ॥'' इति **जयन्त**भट्टविरचितायां **न्यायमञ्जर्यां** द्वितीय आह्निके ॥

फेनपिण्डोपमं रूपं वेदना बुद्बुदोपमा ।
मरीचिसदृशी संज्ञा संस्काराः कदलीनिभाः ।
मायोपमं च विज्ञानमुक्तमादित्यबन्धुना ॥ [ ] हा० पृ० ५८०

उत्पन्नस्यानवस्थानादभिसन्ध्याद्ययोगतः ।
हिंसाऽभावान्न बन्धः स्यादुपदेशो निरर्थकः ॥ [ ] हा० पृ० ५८०

प्राणी प्राणिज्ञानं घातकचित्तं च तद्गता चेष्टा ।
प्राणैश्च विप्रयोगः पञ्चभिरापद्यते हिंसा ॥ [अभिधर्मकोशे] हा० पृ० ५८०

सर्वं क्षणिकमित्येतद् ज्ञात्वा को न प्रवर्तते ।
विषयादौ, विपाको मे न भावीति दृढव्रतः ॥ [ ] हा० पृ० ५८०-५८१

नयास्तव स्यात्पदलाञ्छिता इमे रसोपविद्धा इव लोहधातवः ।
भवन्त्यभिप्रेतगुणा यतस्ततो भवन्तमार्याः प्रणता हितैषिणः ॥
[बृहत्स्वयम्भूस्तोत्रे] हा० पृ० ५८१, हे० पृ० ५८३

न हिंस्यात् सर्वभूतानि त्रसानि स्थावराणि च ।
आत्मवत् सर्वभूतानि यः पश्यति स धार्मिकः ॥ [ ] हे० पृ० ५८२

षट् सहस्राणि युज्यन्ते पशूनां मध्यमेऽहनि ।
अश्वमेधस्य वचनान्न्यूनानि पशुभिस्त्रिभिः ॥ [ ] हे० पृ० ५८३

सर्वं क्षणिकमित्येतद् ज्ञात्वा को न प्रवर्तते ।
विषयादौ, विपाको मे न भावीति विनिश्चयात् ॥ [ ] हे० पृ० ५८३

एतावानेव लोकोऽयं यावानिन्द्रियगोचरः ।
भद्रे वृकपदं पश्य यद् वदन्त्यबहुश्रुताः ॥ [ ] हे० पृ० ६१२

पिब खाद च चारुलोचने यदतीतं वरगात्रि ! तन्न ते ।
न हि भीरु ! गतं निवर्तते समुदयमात्रमिदं कलेवरम् ॥ [ ] हे० पृ० ६१२

कर्म चास्ति फलं चास्ति कर्ता न त्वस्ति कर्मणाम् । [ ] हे० पृ० ६१३

अत्र येषामुद्धृतपाठानां मूलस्थानमस्माभिर्लब्धं तत् [ ] एतादृशे चतुरस्रे कोष्ठकेऽस्माभिर्निवेदितम् । येषां तु मूलस्थानं न लब्धं तत्र [ ] रिक्तं कोष्ठकं स्थापितम् ।

— पूज्यपादगुरुदेवमुनिराजश्री **भुवनविजयान्तेवासी**
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